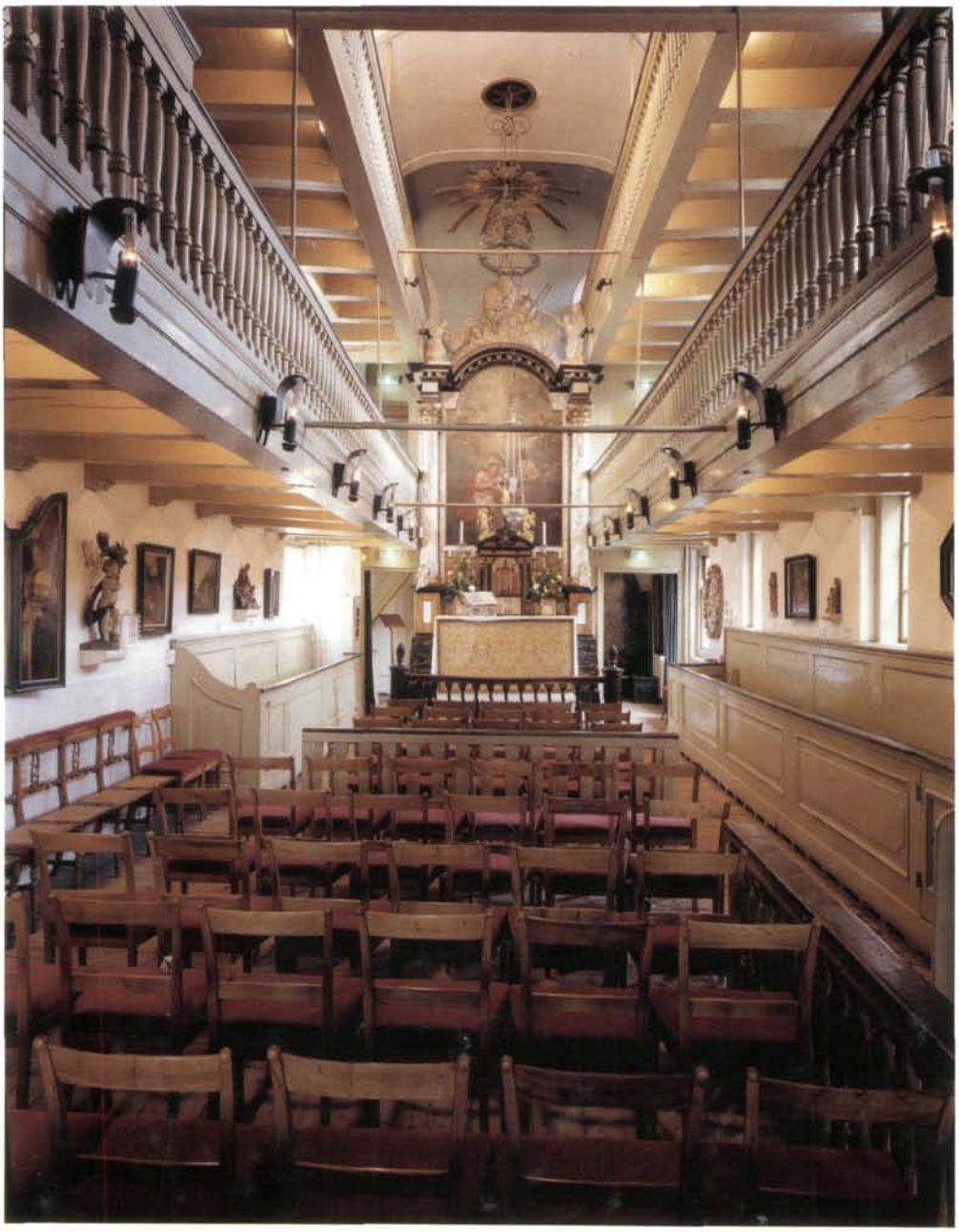
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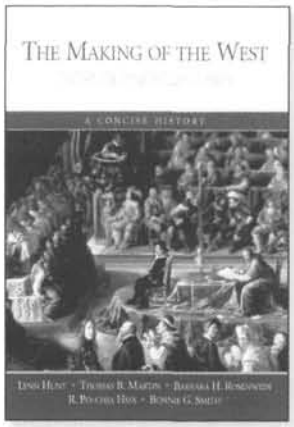
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In This Issue

This issue contains four articles and a review essay. The articles examine secret churches in early modern Europe, anti-Jewish discrimination in medieval Spain, voluntary associations in tsarist Russia, and the connections between Buffalo Bill Cody and Bram Stoker. The review essay is a global assessment of the current literature on mass violence and mass killings in the twentieth century. In addition, the issue contains our usual array of book and film reviews.

Articles

Benjamin Kaplan examines an aspect of the history of religious toleration often ignored: the practical arrangements that have enabled different religious groups to live alongside one another peacefully. He focuses on one such arrangement, a type of church building invented in the wake of the Protestant and Catholic reformations. Known in Dutch as a *schuilkerk*, or clandestine church, it had hundreds of examples in the Dutch Republic, the Holy Roman Empire, the British Isles, and other parts of early modern Europe. These structures went by a great variety of names: house chapel, prayer house, and mass house, to name a few. Often looking on the outside like ordinary houses, they hid the worship of religious dissenters from public view. They were not truly secret, however, since neighbors and officials invariably knew of their existence. But, as dissenters learned, by practicing their faith behind a domestic façade, they gave less offense to members of the local official church. Kaplan argues that giving these places of worship a superficial invisibility allowed communities to maintain a semblance of religious unity. Through their connivance in this comforting fiction, dissenters, conformers, and officials all contributed to the creation of a new distinction between public and private spheres. Kaplan's essay thus gives us a new understanding of both the mechanisms of religious coexistence and the way in which boundaries were drawn between public and private spheres of life.

David Nirenberg reminds us that sexual prohibitions are among the most universal ways in which communities imagine their boundaries. Although he explains that this universality makes them attractive to historians and other social scientists, he also acknowledges that it makes them difficult to analyze historically. How, he asks, are we to subject such general phenomena to the particulars of place and time? In order

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to confront this question, Nirenberg first describes a sexualized logic through which medieval Christians imagined their common solidarity and the boundaries that set them apart from their Muslim and Jewish neighbors. Then he traces that logic across a period of dramatic transformation in Spanish history, a period punctuated by the massacre of thousands of Jews in 1391 and the conversion to Christianity of thousands more. He does so to analyze how the logic of sexual boundaries structured the expression of contemporary anxieties about these changes and how this logic itself was transformed by these anxieties. In this manner, Nirenberg's investigation of medieval Spain provides a case study for questions that are relevant to any number of societies whose categories and classifications are radically destabilized by mass conversion, assimilation, or emancipation.

Joseph Bradley explores civil society and the public sphere in imperial Russia by focusing on voluntary associations, a component watched closely by tsarist officialdom but neglected by historians. He does so within a broad theoretical and comparative context that uses the study of associations to highlight the relationship between state and society in authoritarian regimes, such as Russia's, where civil society was vigorously contested. By examining the contribution of a select group of well-known St. Petersburg and Moscow societies to three broad areas of public life—the application of science, the study of the national heritage, and social reform movements—he reconstructs the broader institutional framework in which associations operated. Bradley argues that, in the late eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries, Russians created a public sphere and secular associations based on the model of the European Enlightenment that raised consciousness, accorded an opportunity for special-interest constituencies of men to enter the public arena, framed policy issues, and mobilized a public in the language of representation. Accordingly, he maintains, views of Russian political culture must be modified to take into consideration what kept tsarist Russia together as well as what broke it apart, the opportunities as well as the constraints for individual initiative. By suggesting how the growth of associations and the idea of citizenship could emerge under autocracy, Bradley's essay helps us think about how to conceptualize the development of civil society and the way in which the disenfranchised enter public life.

Louis S. Warren tells us that, as unlikely as it may seem, during the 1880s and 1890s, William F. Cody, the impresario of Buffalo Bill's Wild West show, and Bram Stoker, the author of *Dracula*, socialized together in London. He argues that their relationship was crucial to the creation of Stoker's vampire tale, and that the most famous gothic novel should be read as a frontier story. As Warren demonstrates, showman and novelist each sought to address pervasive anxieties about racial decay by appealing to frontier myths of Anglo-Saxon race origin. But where the Wild West show's vision of frontier history was optimistic and progressive, the novel *Dracula* was pessimistic about the legacy of frontiers for Western civilization. He suggests that European ideas of the frontier merit more examination, and there is much to be learned by exploring the dark fears of frontier conquest that informed much gothic literature and contemporary criticism of American expansion. Warren's

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provocative new interpretations of frontier mythology and the novel *Dracula* provides us with a new way of examining the frontier mythology of the transatlantic world.

Review Essay

Mark Mazower explores the recent tendency to highlight the violent nature of the modern state and questions the degree to which our understanding of this phenomenon has been influenced by the contemporary concern with the Holocaust. He examines the general categories—notably "genocide," "ethnic cleansing," and "totalitarianism"—that have been employed to generate wide-ranging discussions of mass violence, and suggests that these categories are of limited usefulness to historians. Instead, Mazower argues in favor of giving greater attention to the role of contingency in explaining the origins of episodes of mass violence, notably the impact of wars and of periods of international tension such as the Cold War, and explores the differing roles played by military, paramilitary, and civilian agencies within the state apparatus of various regimes and countries. He also examines how the Eurocentric character of the debate on mass violence has led settler violence against indigenous peoples to be downplayed, and how the connections between practices of violence in imperial and European settings have similarly been neglected. Mazower concludes by suggesting that even though mass violence may be a weapon in the hands of non-state actors, we should not write off the state too readily as a violent actor. His comprehensive and thought-provoking analysis places mass violence in a global perspective that challenges us to reexamine the ways in which we understand this critical issue.

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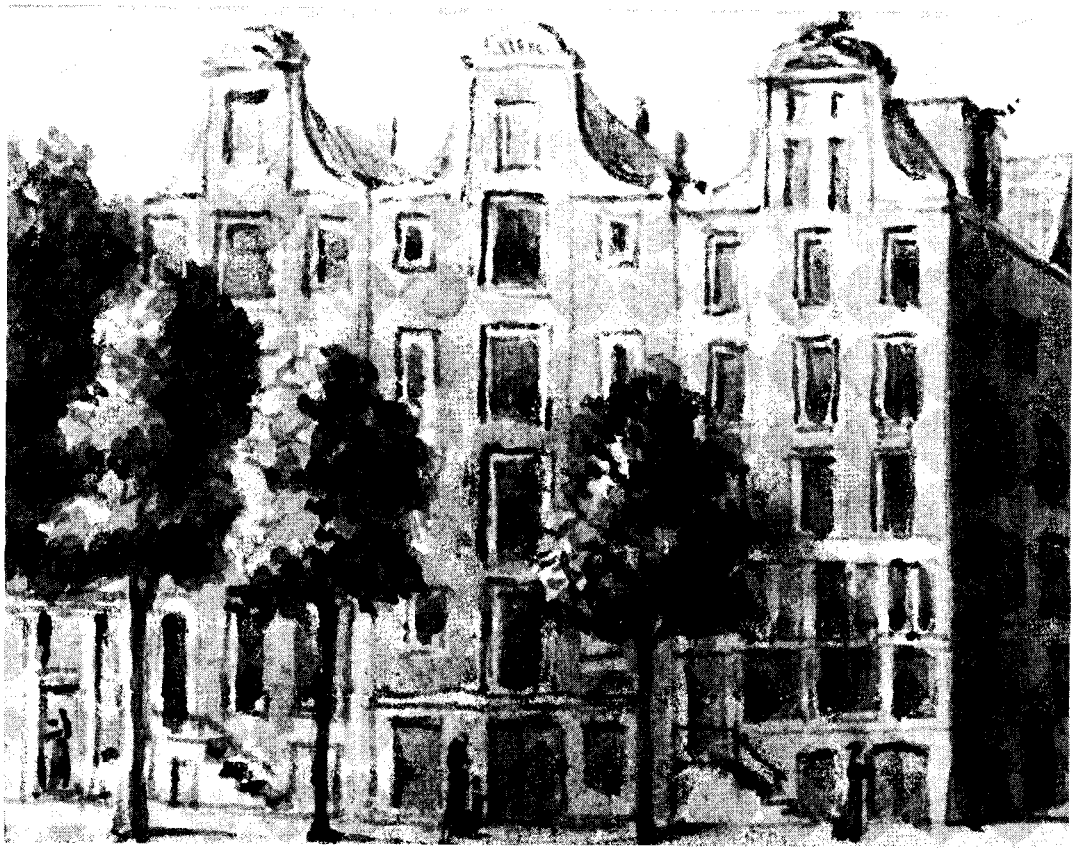


FIGURE 1: House called "The Hart," corner of Oudezijds Voorburgwal and Heintje Hoekssteeg, Amsterdam, exterior view. It is the furthest right of the three houses. Detail from J. L. van Beek after C. van Waardt, *De Bloei der R.C. Kerk te Amsterdam*, etching, circa 1805. Courtesy of Gemeentearchief Amsterdam.

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Fictions of Privacy: House Chapels and the Spatial Accommodation of Religious Dissent in Early Modern Europe

BENJAMIN J. KAPLAN

IN AMSTERDAM'S OLDEST NEIGHBORHOOD, on the corner of the Oudezijds Voorburgwal and the Heintje Hoekssteeg, stands a unique museum. Despite the banner hanging in front, tourists—on foot or in boats—often pass right by it, mistaking it for an ordinary house. Tall and thin, in the manner typical of Dutch residential architecture, the building dates from circa 1629 and was extensively rebuilt in 1661–1663, when its owner, a stocking merchant named Jan Hartman, had a figure of a hart set in the front façade and renamed the building after himself. A drawing from around 1805 shows how it looked, with three bays and a neck gable (Figure 1). Its exposed right flank reveals the unusual depth of the structure, which consists of a canal house plus two "rear houses" facing the alley, all under a single roof and connected internally. Rows of windows indicate five stories; steps lead down to a basement door, while a staircase parallel to the front façade gives access to the main door. Entering, modern visitors to the Amstelkring Museum find themselves in a well-preserved seventeenth-century merchant's house. Hartman used the airy front room, with its double tier of windows and high ceiling, to display his wares, the one behind it to keep his books. Following the museum's suggested route, visitors work their way upward, passing through a series of domestic chambers, among them the *Sael* (sitting room), a pristine model of neoclassicism and monument to Hartman's social pretensions. Only when they reach the third floor do they see what inspired a group of prominent Dutch Catholics in 1887 to purchase the building and make it a museum. There they find themselves suddenly in a church.

It was named "Our Lord in the Attic" (*Ons' Lieve Heer op Solder*) in the nineteenth century; before, it was simply called the Hart, or the Haantje. Invisible from the street, this place of Roman Catholic worship could accommodate over 150 congregants. To reach it, worshipers entered a side door facing the alley and then climbed some thirty stairs. Narrow and deep, its main hall occupies almost the entire third floor; large rectangular holes in the fourth and fifth create two sets of

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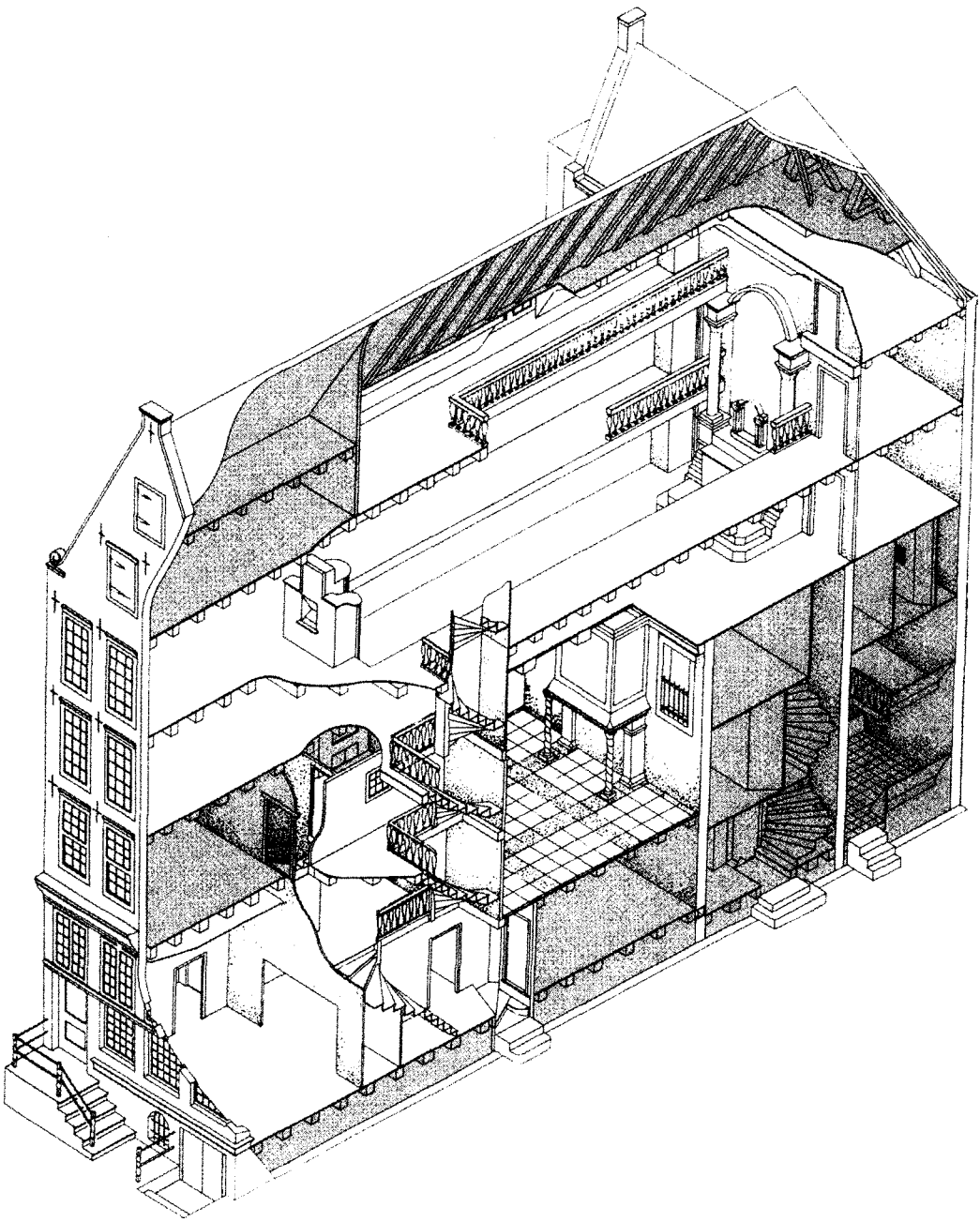


FIGURE 2: Cross-sectional drawing of the Hart (Museum Amstelkring), with clandestine church beginning on the third floor. Courtesy of Museum Amstelkring.

galleries (Figures 2, 3). Along the side walls are two pews reserved for prominent men. At one end of the hall stands the main altar, on it a rosewood tabernacle, behind it an altarpiece set in a high baroque frame rising two stories high. The painting, which dates from around 1716, is a Baptism of Christ in the Jordan by Jacob de Wit; formerly, it hung for only part of the liturgical year, taking turns on

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FIGURE 3: Clandestine church in the Hart, called "Our Lord in the Attic" (*Ons' Lieve Heer op Solder*). Modern photograph taken from the main floor. Courtesy of Museum Amstelkring.

display with several other altarpieces. Inside the base of the frame's left column nestles a small pulpit, built in the late eighteenth century, pivoting out into the left aisle for use. Behind the altar frame is a door to an ancillary chapel; opposite it, on the first gallery level, an organ.[1]

[1] Marco Blokhuis, *et al.*, eds., *Vroomheid op de Oudezijds: Drie Nicolaaskerken in Amsterdam* (Amsterdam, 1988), 37–99; *Amstelkring Museum—Ons' Lieve Heer op Solder* (Amsterdam, 1977); R.

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The Hart is one of the best-preserved examples of what the Dutch call a *schuilkerk*, or clandestine church. In its day, it had counterparts throughout the northern Netherlands. In Amsterdam alone, Catholics had twenty of these illegal places of worship in 1700 and Mennonites six, while at least four other groups had one each. In Utrecht, there were fifteen: eleven Catholic, two Mennonite, one Lutheran, one Remonstrant. As early as 1620, Haarlem had eleven: seven Catholic, three Mennonite, and one Lutheran.[2] In certain towns, groups perceived as foreigners had splendid places of worship that were not at all clandestine, such as Amsterdam's Portuguese synagogue, built in 1675, or the eighteenth-century Lutheran church in Middelburg, whose congregation consisted largely of German immigrants.[3] Non-Calvinists of native descent, though, worshiped overwhelmingly in *schuilkerken*. In the Generality Lands—the southern strip of territory captured by the Dutch army that belonged to no one of the seven provinces—the large majority of the population, being Catholic, relied on *schuilkerken* for services.

Historians have long recognized that *schuilkerken* played a crucial role in the religious life of the Dutch Republic. For political reasons, the Calvinist, or Reformed Church, emerged from the revolt against Spain as the official church of the republic, with unique powers and privileges.[4] Religious dissenters, however, enjoyed a de facto tolerance that made Dutch society religiously the most diverse and pluralistic in seventeenth-century Europe. The *schuilkerk* was the chief accommodation, or arrangement, whereby dissenters worshiped in what was officially a Calvinist country. Behind closed doors, they operated churches with permanent clergy and regular services, in violation of hundreds of placards; what harassment they suffered from authorities was sporadic and local, and in any event dropped sharply over time. Also, as scholars have recently emphasized, the secrecy in which these churches operated was never very strict. On the contrary, neighbors and even strangers knew about their existence; indeed, magistrates often had a significant if informal say in the appointment of their pastors. For this reason, a few scholars reject the very use of the term *schuilkerk*, which, as Sebastien Dudok van Heel points out, goes back only to the nineteenth century, when Catholics, caught up in their emancipation movement, exaggerated the oppression under which their ancestors lived.[5]

Meischke, "De huiskerk 'Het Hert' aan de O.Z. Voorburgwal," *Maandblad Amstelodamum* 43 (1956): 149–60; P. M. Grijpink, "Kerk van den H. Nicolaas, bijgenaamd het Hert, te Amsterdam," *Bijdragen voor de geschiedenis van het bisdom Haarlem* 31 (1908): 258–86.

[2] Jan Wagenaar, *Amsterdam in zijne opkomst, aanwas, geschiedenissen, vorregten, koophandel, gebouwen, kerkenstaat, schoolen, schutterye, gilden en regeeringe* (Amsterdam, 1760), vol. 3, book 3; Benjamin J. Kaplan, "Confessionalism and Its Limits: Religion in Utrecht, 1600–1650," in *Masters of Light: Dutch Painters in Utrecht during the Golden Age* (San Francisco and Baltimore, 1997), 60–71; Joke Spaans, *Haarlem na de reformatie: Stedelijke cultuur en kerkelijk leven, 1577–1620* ('s-Gravenhage, 1989), 91–104.

[3] Peter van Rooden, *Religieuze regimes: Over godsdienst en maatschappij in Nederland, 1570–1990* (Amsterdam, 1990), 25.

[4] The most recent account in English appears in Jonathan I. Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall 1477–1806* (Oxford, 1995); the most influential remains Pieter Geyl, *The Revolt of the Netherlands, 1555–1609* (London, 1958); see also esp. Alastair Duke and Rosemary L. Jones, "Towards a Reformed Polity in Holland, 1572–1578," *Tijdschrift voor geschiedenis* 89 (1976): 373–93.

[5] For examples of magisterial involvement, see Spaans, *Haarlem na de reformatie*, 92, 96–97. Dudok van Heel proposed to use the term *huiskerk* instead of *schuilkerk*, and some scholars have followed him.

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If historians have described the Dutch *schuilkerk* often enough, though, they have never explained it fully. Like those of other countries, historians of the Netherlands have paid far more attention to theories of religious tolerance than to its practice. They have dissected the arguments offered by major proponents of tolerance, such as Dirck Coornhert and Pieter de la Court, and summarized the statutes and resolutions that set government policy toward the various churches and religious groups. Such intellectual and politico-legal approaches continue to dominate the historiography of religious tolerance in early modern Europe. With their focus on ideas and intentions rather than behavior and actions, they have left much unknown about the concrete arrangements and accommodations that made it possible, in certain communities, for people of conflicting beliefs to live peacefully alongside one another. Whereas scholars like Natalie Zemon Davis, Barbara Diefendorf, and Denis Crouzet have offered new insights into religious violence by treating it as a form of patterned behavior enacted on the popular, local level, the historiography of early modern Europe has so far produced few studies that treat tolerance similarly.[6]

The *schuilkerk* offers an opportunity to do so. It raises a host of questions about the sensibilities, social interactions, boundaries, and complicities involved in confessional coexistence. If *schuilkerken* were not genuinely clandestine, why the pretense of secrecy at all? Under what restrictions did they operate, and how were those restrictions set? Why did magistrates so often condone them, and why did neighbors of other faiths not react violently to their presence? What was the relationship between official (in)action and popular opinion? And why did dissenters settle for such cramped, inconvenient, inglorious places of worship, leaving the position of the official church essentially unchallenged?

These questions gain additional urgency when one realizes that the Dutch *schuilkerk* had thousands of counterparts elsewhere in Europe. Such edifices went by a variety of names: house churches, prayer houses, meeting houses, mass houses,

Van Eck has championed the continued use of *schuilkerk*. Contrary to his assertion, *huiskerk* was indeed one of many terms contemporaries used in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, along with *huiskapel* and *kerkhuis*. S. A. C. Dudok van Heel, "Amsterdamse schuil- of huiskerken?" *Holland* 25 (1993): 1–10; Xander van Eck, *Kunst, twist en devotie: Goudse schuilkerken 1572–1795* (Delft, 1994), 3–4, 225 n. 8; *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal*, 29 vols. (1882–1998), 6: 1251–52, 7/1: 2341. R. Schillemans reviews the question in "Zeventiende-eeuwse altaarstukken in de amsterdamse staties: Een inventarisatie," in *Putti en Cherubijntjes: Het religieuze werk van Jacob de Wit (1695–1754)*, Guus van den Hout and Robert Schillemans, eds. (Haarlem, 1995), 53–71.

[6] Natalie Zemon Davis, "The Rites of Violence," in Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford, Calif., 1975), 152–87; Barbara B. Diefendorf, *Beneath the Cross: Catholics and Huguenots in Sixteenth Century Paris* (New York, 1991); Denis Crouzet, *Les guerriers de Dieu: La violence au temps des troubles de religion (vers 1525–vers 1610)* (Seyssel, 1990). The most prominent exceptions to the last generalization are Etienne François, *Die unsichtbare Grenze: Protestanten und Katholiken in Augsburg 1648–1806* (Sigmaringen, 1991); Gregory Hanlon, *Confession and Community in Seventeenth-Century France: Catholic and Protestant Coexistence in Aquitaine* (Philadelphia, 1993); Paul Warmbrunn, *Zwei Konfessionen in einer Stadt: Das Zusammenleben von Katholiken und Protestanten in den paritätischen Reichstädten Augsburg, Biberach, Ravensburg und Dinkelsbühl von 1548 bis 1648* (Wiesbaden, 1983); Joachim Whaley, *Religious Toleration and Social Change in Hamburg 1529–1819* (Cambridge, 1985); Peter Zschunke, *Konfession und Alltag in Oppenheim: Beiträge zur Geschichte von Bevölkerung und Gesellschaft einer gemischtkonfessionellen Kleinstadt in der frühen Neuzeit* (Wiesbaden, 1984); and, inconsistently, Ole Grell and Bob Scribner, eds., *Tolerance and Intolerance in the European Reformation* (Cambridge, 1996).

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house chapels, oratories, assembly places. Little studied by historians, they could be found in France, Austria, the British Isles, and the Holy Roman Empire. There, as in the Dutch Republic, they served as a mechanism—not the only one but a crucial one—for the accommodation of religious dissent at the local level. Examining them alongside the Dutch *schuilkerk* offers insight, therefore, into a phenomenon that transcended national boundaries—into a particular way that religious tolerance was constructed and practiced in Europe in the era between Reformation and French Revolution.[7]

As these architectural artifacts attest, one way that tolerance worked in this era was through a new distinction between public and private worship. This distinction came, in one sense, to be set literally in stone, embodied in the architecture of buildings. In a more important sense, though, its boundaries were constantly being negotiated. Parties to this process included not just governing authorities and religious dissenters but also neighbors and fellow citizens, to whose opinion both authorities and dissenters were sensitive. Defined chiefly in symbolic and visual terms, the resulting boundaries were fundamentally different from the legal ones distinguishing public from private in the modern world. Examining them sheds new light on the broader distinction, much discussed by scholars, between public and private life in the early modern era. On the one hand, the *schuilkerk* testifies to an equation of the private sphere with the family home. On the other, it raises questions about the rise postulated by German philosopher Jürgen Habermas of an "authentic, bourgeois" public sphere in the eighteenth century.

Ultimately, I shall argue, the early modern distinction between public and private was as much cultural fiction as it was social reality. The *schuilkerk* and its equivalents were bona fide churches, places where large assemblies took place, not without the knowledge of magistrates and neighbors. Both the religious dissenters who attended their services and the orthodox who tolerated them were engaging in a pretense. Nevertheless, this pretense provided a crucial detour, as it were, around one of the chief obstacles to religious pluralism: the central role of religion in defining communal identity. By containing religious dissent within spaces demarcated as private, *schuilkerken* preserved the monopoly of a community's official church in the public sphere. By maintaining a semblance of religious unity, they neutralized the threat posed by dissent to the identity and thus to the very integrity of communities.

In a Europe divided into competing confessions

the *schuilkerk* addressed an urgent dilemma: the vital role that religion continued to play in shaping collective identity and social life. However many changes the Reformation and Counter-Reformation brought, they did not end the close intertwining of civic and sacral community that had characterized the late Middle Ages. In large, nuclear villages, parish and commune were often one and the same in terms of membership, territory, and leaders. Physically and symbolically, the parish church, with its

[7] See my forthcoming book, *Divided by Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe* (Harvard University Press).

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surrounding cemetery, usually stood at the center of the village; dances, markets, feasts, and assemblies all typically took place in or in front of them. Time itself marched to the beat of the church, with saints' days or sabbaths setting the rhythm of work and leisure. The same was true in cities, although there the rhythm could vary among neighborhoods and parishes within the larger whole. As units, though, most cities retained a strong sense of collective responsibility to God. Those of the Holy Roman Empire provide a case in point. As late as 1700, the statutes of most included a wealth of religious and moral injunctions. A typical example is the 1650 constitution of Nördlingen, a Lutheran town; its very first article forbade cursing and blasphemy, urging burghers to "warn, pray for, and admonish one another" not to engage in such, "for the honor of God's will, for the better appeasement of His righteous and well-deserved wrath, and for the laudable establishment of Christian discipline and civic honor in our city and *commune*."[8] Most German cities made orthodoxy a prerequisite for full citizenship. Moreover, as Etienne François has found, it was the most autonomous and communal cities that equated civic and sacral life most closely, and, as a result, were most intolerant.[9]

This equation manifested itself most clearly in times of real or impending disaster—of war, plague, famine, or political crisis. These were moments of special peril for religious dissenters, who might be blamed either as concrete agents or as spiritual causes. Popular opinion saw in their opposition to the dominant church an enmity extending to the community and to the entire established order, which that church embodied spiritually. This made them notoriously vulnerable to accusations of conspiracy and sedition. To avert impending disaster, entire cities turned to fasting and prayer, if Protestant, or mounted elaborate processions, if Catholic. Both viewed such disasters as expressing God's wrath, which would descend on any community that tolerated heresy or vice in its midst. The 1656 debates in England's parliament about the Quaker James Naylor are typical in their language, drawn from the Old Testament, and their reasoning: the only way to "divert the judgement from the nation," pronounced horrified members of Parliament, was to crush the heresy and thus "vindicate the honour of God."[10] Neither Reformation nor time, nor the fragmentation of English Protestantism, had eradicated the legislators' sense of belonging to a *corpus Christianum*. In this sense, people continued to view their *salus*—their welfare, both spiritual and material—as a collective affair, to be won or lost by all together.

So long as this mentality prevailed, toleration could only be grudging. It was a mentality that construed all religious deviance (however defined) as undermining the integrity of the entire community and its standing before God. Calvinists quoted frequently and with intense feeling the words of the Apostle Paul: "Do not share in another man's sins" (1 Timothy 5: 22). In their view, and equally that of their rivals, to admit a heretic to one's company was to share in his sin. One of the most widely

[8] August Friedrich Schott, *Sammlungen zu den Deutschen Land- und Stadtrechten*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1772–73), 1: 204; see also Mack Walker, *German Home Towns: Community, State, and General Estate 1648–1871* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1971), 42.

[9] Warmbrunn, *Zwei Konfessionen*, 11–15; Etienne François, "De l'uniformité à la tolérance: Confession et société urbaine en Allemagne, 1650–1800," *Annales: E.S.C.* 37 (1982): 792.

[10] Blair Worden, "Toleration and the Cromwellian Protectorate," in *Persecution and Toleration*, W. J. Sheils, ed. (Oxford, 1984), 224.

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used religious metaphors of the early modern era likened evil to a contagious disease infecting the entire body social in which it resided. The usual remedy: cut off the infected part. Thus in the 1560s, Catholic crowds in Paris needed no specific provocation to attack suspected Huguenots; their very presence was viewed as a mortal threat to the city.[11] Likewise, in the course of the Dutch revolt against Spain, Protestant troops claimed repeatedly that military victory hinged on the eradication of Catholicism. Justifying a rampage in Delft, one group of soldiers argued that "Prince [William of Orange] could not be victorious as long as [Catholic priests] persisted with their idolatry in the town."[12]

In the broader context, however, such extreme aggression was not the rule. All deviance did not offend equally; rather, the more public the act, the greater the "offense" or "scandal" it caused. This was as true of heretical behavior as it was of moral transgressions, which Europe's churches handled quite differently depending on their public or private character.[13] Public acts of worship were simply hard to avoid or ignore. By taking place in spaces designated as stages for social interaction—street, square, commons, churchyard—they invited reaction. Indeed, they forced witnesses to respond in an equally public manner, making evasion or neutrality almost impossible. Also, contemporaries endowed public rituals with representative powers, as enacting the will not just of individual participants but of the entire community in whose space they occurred. Every member of the community was believed, in the words of Olivier Christin, "to participate at least passively, as citizens, in the collective rite."[14] So, when a religious group enacted its beliefs in a public space, it was claiming possession not just of that space but of the entire community, appropriating the authority to speak and act for everyone, and making those of other faiths accomplices in rituals they rejected or even abhorred. Consequently, public devotions were far more provocative than private ones, and far more likely to become flashpoints for confessional conflict.

Catholic processions offer many obvious examples, and the crisis that struck the German city of Donauwörth in 1606–1607 illustrates neatly the close tie between their public character and their explosive potential. It began when the city's small Catholic minority resolved to alter the pilgrimage procession to the village of Auchsesheim held annually on the Feast of St. Mark. The practice had been instituted in 1573 by the monks of Holy Cross Abbey, in the northern part of town.

[11] Barbara Diefendorf, "Prologue to a Massacre: Popular Unrest in Paris, 1557–1572," *AHR* 90 (December 1985): 1071–72. On the concept of the "body social," see the classic article by Natalie Zemon Davis, "The Sacred and the Body Social in Sixteenth-Century Lyon," *Past and Present*, no. 90 (1981): 40–70. Recent research, though, does not support Davis's association of the concept with only Catholic, not Protestant, notions of community.

[12] Benjamin J. Kaplan, *Calvinists and Libertines: Confession and Community in Utrecht, 1578–1620* (Oxford, 1995), 60; Duke and Jones, "Towards a Reformed Polity," 379.

[13] On Catholic popular sensibilities on this point, see Wietse de Boer, *The Conquest of the Soul: Confession, Discipline, and Public Order in Counter-Reformation Milan* (Leiden, 2001), 63–67, 230–36; on Lutheran ones, David Warren Sabean, *Power in the Blood: Popular Culture and Village Discourse in Early Modern Germany* (Cambridge, 1984), 116–17; on Calvinist ones, Heinz Schilling, *Civic Calvinism in Northwestern Germany and the Netherlands: Sixteenth to Nineteenth Centuries* (Kirksville, Mo., 1991), chap. 2. For a similar distinction in secular law (that of Augsburg), see Bernd Roeck, *Eine Stadt in Krieg und Frieden: Studien zur Geschichte der Reichsstadt Augsburg zwischen Kalenderstreit und Parität (1584–1648)* (Göttingen, 1989), 378.

[14] Olivier Christin, *La paix de religion: L'autonomisation de la raison politique au XVI^e siècle* (Paris, 1997), 111 (speaking only of processions).

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For thirty years, the marchers had always kept to back streets, eschewing all pomp and noise until they got out of the city, and the event had always passed peacefully. In 1603, however, the monks attempted to fly the banners of their abbey. When the town's Lutheran magistrates stopped them from doing so, the monks complained to the Imperial Aulic Council in Vienna, which in 1605 ruled in their favor. After that, the magistrates felt their hands were tied. Ordinary townsfolk, though, did not.

On St. Mark's Day, 1606, Donauwörth's Catholics unfurled their banners, hefted crosses, and set off through the city's chief arteries, chanting litanies as they marched. Lutherans responded by attacking the procession as it attempted to reenter through a city gate. Ripping banners and smashing crosses, they diverted the marchers from their planned route, forcing them to traverse some of the city's foulest alleys on their way back to the abbey where they began. Supported by Emperor Rudolph II, Donauwörth's Catholics tried again the next year. The city council pled vainly with both sides for restraint. This time, the procession never made it out of the abbey, which was surrounded by troops of guildsmen armed with clubs and harquebuses. Two men were beaten simply for refusing to participate in the siege. As in 1606, rioters directed their violence chiefly against symbols and routes—in other words, against the heightened publicity of the procession—demanding not that it be canceled but that it revert to "traditional" form. Rudolph responded by placing an imperial ban on the city, licensing Maximilian of Bavaria to occupy and re-Catholicize it by force.[15]

Such flashpoints, as the episode suggests, were capable of being at least partially defused. From the seventeenth through the entire eighteenth century, Dutch Catholics made regular group pilgrimages to Kevelaer, Uden, Handel, and other sites outside the United Provinces without provoking a violent response from the country's dominant Calvinists. They simply did what Donauwörth's Catholics refused to do: hide their banners and crosses and refrain from song until outside Dutch territory.[16] Funeral processions and holiday celebrations might similarly be arranged so as to lessen the chance of a clash. But such piecemeal approaches had limited potential. So long as sacral acts occurred within communal space, they remained offensive to those of other religions.

One solution was for dissenters to practice their faith, but only outside the physical boundaries of the community. Although this practice left the community mixed in its sentiments, it preserved it, with regard to worship, as an exclusive enclave of the normative religion. Dissenters might, in a pinch, simply hold their services in the open air just outside of town. The "hedge preaching" that swept the Netherlands in June 1566 is the largest-scale instance known of this practice. Magistrates forbade Protestant sermons within the city walls but tacitly allowed them in the adjacent rural parts of the city's jurisdiction. Urban dwellers flocked to

[15] Arturo da Carmignano, "La part de S. Laurent de Brindes dans le Ban de Donauwörth (1607)," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 58 (1963): 460–86; Felix Stieve, *Der Ursprung des dreissigjährigen Krieges, 1607–1619* (Munich, 1875), 20, 41–45, 77–81. Bavaria's seizure of Donauwörth became a turning point for imperial politics, completing its polarization along religious lines by leading to the formation first of the Protestant Union, then of the Catholic League.

[16] Marc Wingens, *Over de grens: De bedevaart van katholieke Nederlanders in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw* (Nijmegen, 1994); P. J. Margry, "Processie versus stille omgang: Het probleem van de openbare godsdienstuitoefening buiten gebouwen en besloten plaatsen in Holland," *Holland* 25 (1993): 174–96.

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these sermons by the hundreds and even thousands, passing through the city gates in a regular mass exodus. Hedge preaching alone soon failed to satisfy Dutch Calvinists. At a crucial time, though, it gave their movement space in which to grow, and, as long as it lasted, no violence occurred.[17]

The same arrangement had a much longer history elsewhere. Since in the best circumstances open-air services were rudimentary, the form of *Auslauf*, as German speakers called it, that most widely prevailed involved travel to a nearby locale, where one's faith was exercised in a church or other suitable building. For over fifty years, beginning in the 1570s, Viennese Protestants trekked to Inzersdorf, Vösendorf, and above all to Hernals to worship. At Schloss Hernals, seat of the powerful Jörger family, a Lutheran minister conducted services either in the great hall of the castle or in its freestanding chapel (Figure 4).[18] *Auslauf* was even more stable and institutionalized in the Holy Roman Empire, where in 1648 the Peace of Westphalia granted those who lived as dissidents in one German territory a constitutional right to attend services in amenable neighboring ones. With this clause, the peace formalized and extended a practice that had grown common decades earlier in the territorial patchwork of the German southwest. Calvinists in the bishopric of Speyer, for example, had been commuting every Sunday to neighboring villages in the Calvinist Palatinate since at least the 1590s. Catholics in the Palatinate made the same trip in reverse. For Lutherans who lived in the Catholic imperial city of Weil der Stadt, all roads led to orthodoxy: their town, with its tiny territory, was surrounded by the Lutheran duchy of Württemberg, where the urbanites became regular visitors as early as the 1570s.[19]

Such Sunday commuting had practical advantages that kept some groups contented for long periods: by utilizing the ecclesiastic infrastructure at hand, they avoided having to provide for themselves a place of worship, a priest or minister, and the appurtenances necessary for services. The primary appeal of the practice, however, lay in its power to accommodate religious diversity while maintaining the monopoly over religious life enjoyed by the established church of a locale. It removed dissenting worship from the communal space where it constituted a threat. To be sure, the practice did not avert all violence. An incident in Paris is particularly revealing. To placate the city's militant Catholics, and in recognition of the city's symbolic import as capital, in 1598 the Edict of Nantes forced Protestants to worship no closer than five leagues from the city. When Henry IV eased this restriction in 1606, permitting them to worship in nearby Charenton, his decision precipitated a riot: the following Sunday, a Catholic crowd attacked the Huguenots as they returned to town through St. Anthony's Gate. As in Donauwörth the same year, the violence occurred precisely where Huguenots penetrated the sacral space

[17] See, among others, Phyllis Mack Crew, *Calvinist Preaching and Iconoclasm in the Netherlands, 1544–1569* (Cambridge, 1978).

[18] Josef Karl Mayr, "Wiener Protestantengeschichte im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert," *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für die Geschichte des Protestantismus in Österreich* 70 (1954): 41–133, quotation on 103; Grete Mecenseffy and Hermann Rassl, *Die evangelischen Kirchen Wiens* (Vienna, 1980), 25–26; Mecenseffy, *Geschichte des Protestantismus in Österreich* (Graz, 1956), 56, 84, 140.

[19] Marc Forster, *The Counter-Reformation in the Villages: Religion and Reform in the Bishopric of Speyer, 1560–1720* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1992), 132 n. 54, 136–37.

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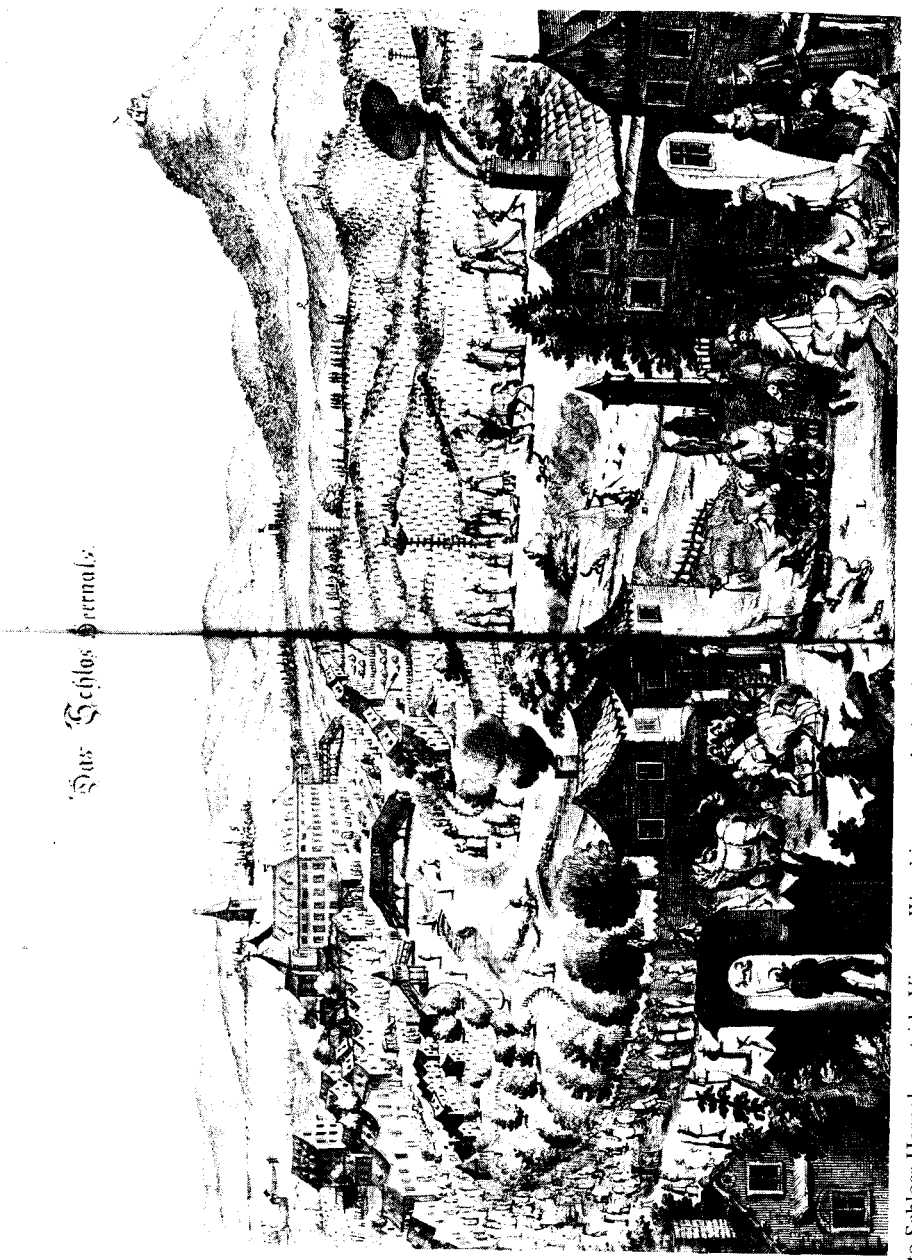


FIGURE 4: *Auslauf* to Schloss Hernals, outside Vienna. Worshipers are depicted traveling from the city to services at the castle. Engraving circa 1620 by Matthias Merian the Elder, in *Topographia provinciarium austriacarum, Austriæ Styriæ, Carinthiæ, Carniolæ, Tyrolis, etc.* (Frankfurt am Main, 1659). Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

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of the city. Until then, keeping heresy at a sufficient distance had assuaged popular sentiment.[20]

Worship outside the physical boundaries of the community could be arranged other ways as well. In the empire, entire satellite communities populated by religious dissenters grew in the vicinity of certain major urban centers, such as Altona near Hamburg and Mülheim near Cologne.[21] It took geographic and juridical happenstance, though, to make this sort of arrangement work. It was most practical where jurisdictions were small and fragmented; while, for the elderly, the sick, and the poor, it could be a real hardship. But if dissenting religious practices were tolerable as long as they occurred outside communal space, the question arose what the boundaries of that space precisely were. Crucially, the post-Reformation period saw the emergence of a new sort of boundary, internal rather than external, delimiting that contested space: a line was drawn around the family home separating it from the public areas surrounding it. Public and private, communal and family spheres grew more distinct, and within the latter, by common consent, dissenters were allowed greater freedom of worship.

IN THE DUTCH REPUBLIC, this distinction between public and private supplied the key to religious toleration. It was a cultural distinction, not a legal one; it does not appear as such in the Union of Utrecht (1579) or in other defining documents of the polity.[22] These drew a different contrast, rather, between freedom of conscience and freedom of worship. By virtue of Article 13 of the union, all Netherlanders enjoyed freedom of conscience—but that is the only religious freedom the law ever guaranteed them.[23] What did it entail? First, that people could believe as they wished; magistrates had no authority to examine or judge religious convictions. Second, no one could be required to attend Calvinist services; the Dutch Reformed Church would not assume the role of "established" church, with membership in it required by law. In theory, that was all freedom of conscience guaranteed. It made

[20] Elie Benoist, *The History of the Famous Edict of Nantes: Containing an Account of All the Persecutions, That have been in France From its First Publication to this Present Time* (London, 1694), 1: 419–20. Elsewhere in France similarly, how far out of town Huguenots had to travel in order to worship depended on how much power they wielded in a locale. Penny Roberts, "The Most Crucial Battle of the Wars of Religion? The Conflict over Sites for Reformed Worship in Sixteenth-Century France," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 89 (1998): 247–67; Elisabeth Labrousse, "Calvinism in France, 1598–1685," in *International Calvinism 1541–1715*, Menna Prestwich, ed. (Oxford, 1985), 286.

[21] François, "De l'uniformité à la tolérance"; Heinz Stoob, *Forschungen zum Städtewesen in Europa* (Cologne, 1970), 269–70. The specialized literature on Altona and Mülheim, especially the former, is large. Besides Whaley, *Hamburg*, see esp. Franklin Kopitzsch, *Grundzüge einer Sozialgeschichte der Aufklärung in Hamburg und Altona* (Hamburg, 1982); Clemens von Looz-Corswarem, "Köln und Mülheim am Rhein im 18. Jahrhundert: Reichsstadt und Flecken als wirtschaftliche Rivalen," in *Civitatum Communitas: Studien zum europäischen Städtewesen*, Helmut Jäger, Franz Petri, and Heinz Quinn, eds. (Cologne, 1984), 543–64.

[22] On the role of the distinction in Dutch culture more generally, see Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr., and Adele Seeff, eds., *The Public and Private in Dutch Culture of the Golden Age* (Newark, N.J., 2000).

[23] S. Groenveld and H. L. Ph. Leeuwenberg, eds., *De Unie van Utrecht: Wording en werking van een verbond en een verbondsacte* (The Hague, 1979), 34–35; see H. A. Enno van Gelder, *Vrijheid en onvrijheid in de Republiek: Geschiedenis der vrijheid van drukpers en godsdienst van 1572 tot 1798* (Haarlem, 1947); H. A. Enno van Gelder, *Getemperde vrijheid: Een verhandeling over de verhouding van Kerk en Staat in de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden en de vrijheid van meningsuiting in zake godsdienst, drukpers en onderwijs, gedurende de 17e eeuw* (Groningen, 1972).

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no provision for dissenters acting on their beliefs by worshiping God in their own manner. In practice, though, much more ensued. The distinction between conscience and worship was recast into one between private and public piety, and the line between the two was drawn not around the conscience but around the family house.

Although never established, the Reformed Church played a unique role in Dutch society. Secular authorities sanctioned its teachings, paid its ministers, and watched over its meetings. The church provided pastoral care to the republic's soldiers and sailors, as it did to orphans and residents of other public institutions. It enjoyed exclusive use of the old parish churches and had an important say in educational, charitable, and marital matters. On Sundays, its ministers read mundane announcements from their pulpits, and in times of crisis led the community in penitential prayer. In their sermons, they called not just church members but the entire nation to account for its sins. The official spiritual organ of society, yet unestablished, the Dutch Reformed Church required a new label: Netherlanders called it the "public church." It monopolized public religious life in their land.[24]

It was forbidden for non-Calvinists to challenge that monopoly. As individuals, they might manifest their piety in daily interactions with friends and neighbors, but as groups they could not assume a public profile.[25] They could not worship in buildings that looked like churches, nor could they organize open-air services. Indeed, Dutch law defined any worship that involved a gathering of different families as a public event, a "conventicle," and proscribed it. But within the confines of their own home, it permitted individuals and single families to do as they pleased. Catholics, for instance, could say prayers or recite the hours to themselves, and for this purpose they could use any devotional paraphernalia they desired, including books, paintings, and furniture. Neither the production and sale nor the purchase and ownership of such objects was illegal. Indeed, an early seventeenth-century Catholic chronicler reported "that almost every house belonging to a Catholic had a small room used as a place of prayer, [outfitted] with a pretty little altar and devout images, where [the family] went to read and pray."[26] Thus "freedom of conscience" really meant freedom of private, domestic worship. It meant, as the States General explained in a letter of 1644, that "for the sake of conscience every inhabitant could remain unmolested in his private home and family."[27] In this context, "family" meant not a unit of kinship so much as a household—a co-resident

[24] See Heinz Schilling, "Religion und Gesellschaft in der calvinistischen Republik der Vereinigten Niederlande: 'Öffentlichkeitskirche' und Säkularisation; Ehe und Hebammenwesen; Presbyterien und politische Partizipation," in *Kirche und gesellschaftlicher Wandel in deutschen und niederländischen Städten der werdenden Neuzeit*, Franz Petri, ed. (Cologne, 1980), 202–22; Arie Th. van Deursen, *Bavianen en slijkgeuzen: Kerk en kerkvolk ten tijde van Maurits en Oldebarnevelt* (Assen, 1974), chap. 2; Kaplan, *Calvinists and Libertines*, 264–72.

[25] On daily interactions, see Willem Frijhoff, "Dimensions de la coexistence confessionnelle," in *The Emergence of Tolerance in the Dutch Republic*, Christiane Berkvens-Stevelinck, Jonathan I. Israel, and G. H. M. Posthumus Meyjes, eds. (Leiden, 1997), 213–37.

[26] *Bijdragen voor de Geschiedenis van het Bisdom Haarlem* (1873): 319.

[27] Gelder, *Getemperde vrijheid*, 113. Compare the terms of the French Edict of Amboise (1563): "chacun pourra vivre et demeurer par tout en sa maison librement, sans être recherché ni molesté, forcé ni contraint pour le fait de sa conscience." André Stegmann, ed., *Edits des guerres de religion* (Paris, 1979), 34. See also Kaplan, *Calvinists and Libertines*, 264–72.

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group that could include servants, apprentices, wards, and even long-term guests, as well as relatives.[28]

Such freedom of conscience did not license dissenters to meet in groups larger than a single family—to have, in other words, a church. In practice, however, domestic devotions served as a cover for something much more robust and elaborate, namely the *schuilkerk*. At their simplest, clandestine places of worship resembled the prayer room described by our chronicler. In Leiden, the Catholic sisters Van Santhorst described theirs as a cramped attic room with some candles, a picture of the Virgin, and a chest that doubled as an altar; whenever a priest came around to perform a Mass, they would send word to their Catholic neighbors to attend.[29] In the early years of the republic, such places of worship were legion: in 1619, Catholics in the Hague met in some fifty different houses, most with room for only a few worshipers at a time; in 1641, Leiden's 3,500 Catholics met in thirty.[30] Such dispersion maximized invisibility but made it exceedingly difficult for a small number of priests to serve the entire membership. So while the number of places of worship a denomination had in any particular locale varied with the number of its members there, it was also an inverse indicator of the degree of security it enjoyed. The trend over the seventeenth century was for consolidation to reduce the number of places of worship, as ad hoc prayer rooms and one-room chapels were replaced by larger, permanent *schuilkerken* with resident pastors. Catholics called these "stations," replacements for the parish churches lost with the Reformation.

In the cities, such *schuilkerken* typically resembled the Hart, an adapted attic able to accommodate large numbers of people, with galleries creating multiple levels and proper accoutrements for worship.[31] A report prepared in 1643 by the provincial court of Holland noted that such "formal chapels" usually had "very expensive altars, galleries [supported] on pillars, vaulted roofs, pews, organs, musicians and all sorts of musical instruments and, in sum, everything that might be asked of a chartered chapel." They were "of so large a size and capacity that if the exercise of their religion were allowed publicly, they [the Catholics] could not ask for them to be larger or more decorous."[32] Recent reconstructions of *schuilkerk* interiors in Gouda and Amsterdam show that the report, while wishful in its thinking, was not indulging in hyperbole: by the middle of the seventeenth century, such interiors tended already to be richly decorated.[33] In cities, warehouses too

[28] See Naomi Tadmor, "The Concept of the Household-Family in Eighteenth-Century England," *Past and Present*, no. 151 (1996): 111–40. On the Dutch family, see, among others, Donald Haks, *Huwelijk en gezin in Holland in de 17de en 18de eeuw* (Utrecht, 1985).

[29] *Bijdragen voor de Geschiedenis van het Bisdom Haarlem* 6 (1878): 73–74.

[30] W. P. C. Knuttel, "Vergaderplaatsen der Katholieken te 's-Gravenhage in de zeventiende eeuw," *Archief voor Nederlandsche Kerkgeschiedenis* 5 (1895): 106–10, 109; Israel, *Dutch Republic*, 390.

[31] Analysis of the architectural forms of Amsterdam's *schuilkerken* appears in R. Meischke, "Amsterdamse kerken van de zeventiende eeuw," *Bulletin Koninklijke Nederlandse Oudheidkundige Bond* 12 (1959): kol. 85–130.

[32] Gelder, *Getemperde vrijheid*, 118.

[33] Eck, *Kunst, twist en devotie*; Schillemans, "Zeventiende-eeuwse altaarstukken." See Xander van Eck, " 'Haar uitstekend huis, en hoge kerke': Enkele gegevens over de bouw, inrichting en aankleding van schuilkerken der jezuïeten in Gouda en andere Noordnederlandse steden," in Catalogus tentoonstelling Utrecht, *Jezuïeten in Nederland* (Utrecht, 1991), 41–52; P. van Dael, "Rooms-katholiek kerkzilver in de zeventiende eeuw: Functie en vorm," in Guus van den Hout, *et al.*, *Kerkzilver uit de gouden eeuw* (Amsterdam, 1993), 7–20; R. Schillemans, "Schilderijen in Noordnederlandse katholieke kerken uit de eerste helft van de zeventiende eeuw," *De zeventiende eeuw* 8 (1992): 41–52.

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FIGURE 5: Aerial photograph of the *schuilkerk* Vrijburg, the former Remonstrant Church in Amsterdam, built 1629–1631, located between rows of houses. Size approximately 18 by 20 meters. Courtesy of KLM Aerocarto—Arnhem.

provided readily adaptable space; in rural districts, converted barns offered enough room for huge assemblies. Most *schuilkerken*, though, were located inside houses.

Some *schuilkerken* were actually separate structures newly built to function as churches. Typically, they were erected between rows of houses on ground formerly occupied by their back gardens. One, named Vrijburg, still stands. Used by Amsterdam's Remonstrants, it was built in 1629–1631 behind a row of houses facing the Keizersgracht (Figures 5, 6). A large brick-faced structure with a wooden frame, it had an elegant neoclassical interior with nave, side aisles, and two sets of galleries supported on columns. Eventually, the congregation bought most of the houses immediately surrounding it, using one as a parsonage and renting out the others.[34] Some Catholic congregations, like St. Jan Baptist in Gouda or St. Marie in Utrecht, built entire ecclesiastic complexes by accumulating real estate in this manner, providing housing not only for their pastor but for women known as *geestelijke maagden*, or *kloppen*, who lived together in the manner of a non-cloistered religious order and provided crucial services to the Catholic community.[35]

[34] *Vrijburg: Geschiedenis en toekomst van een Amsterdamse schuilkerk* (Amsterdam, 1980).

[35] Marit Monteiro, *Geestelijke maagden: Leven tussen klooster en wereld in Noord-Nederland gedurende de zeventiende eeuw* (Hilversum, 1996). Much information on the number and fate of Catholic stations in the Netherlands can be gleaned from the reports sent to Rome by the apostolic vicars who headed the Holland Mission and by other church leaders: a great number of these were published in the late nineteenth century in *Archief voor de Geschiedenis van het Aartsbisdom Utrecht*.

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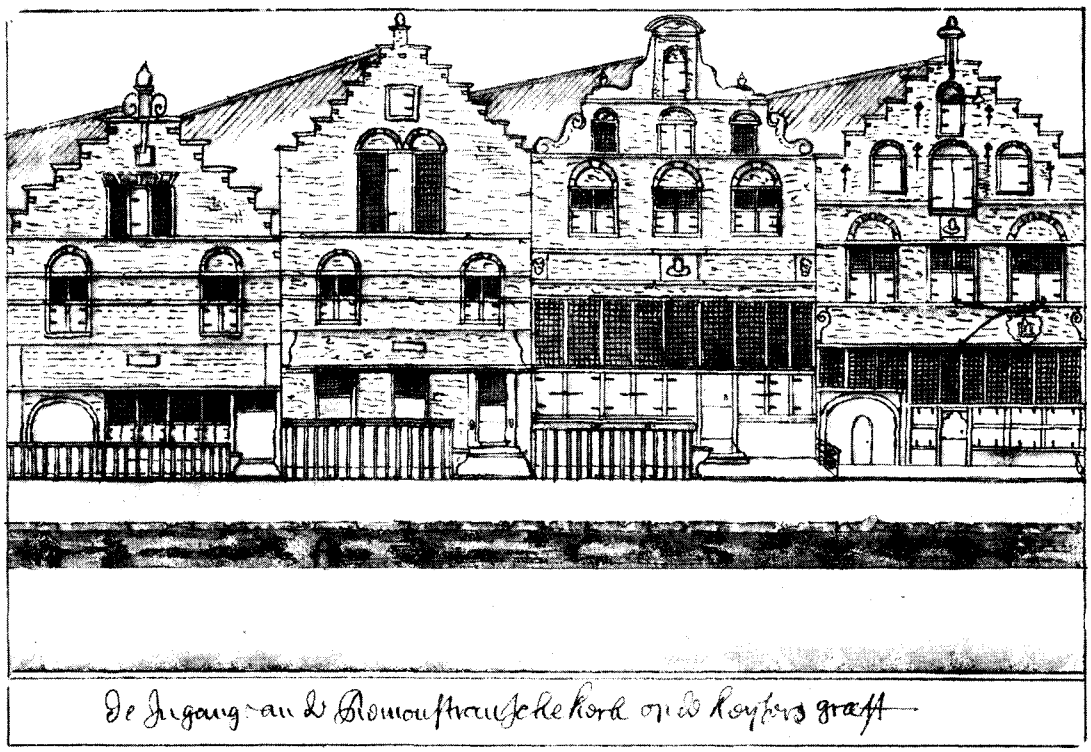


FIGURE 6: Keizersgracht 102–108: the row of houses in front of Vrijburg. Pen drawing by A. Schoemaker, circa 1630. Access to the church was via the two doors with rounded arches, which opened onto passageways leading back. Courtesy of Gemeentearchief Amsterdam.

Grand or humble, what all *schuilkerken* had in common was invisibility: they could not be identified as churches from any public thoroughfare. Their outsides lacked all the symbolic markers of a church: crosses, bells, icons, tower, splendor. The degree of difference between a *schuilkerk* and a proper church varied by denomination, depending on its attachment to such symbols: for Baroque Catholicism it could not have been greater, while at the other extreme Mennonites preferred very simple, plain structures. But *schuilkerken* not only lacked public presence as churches, they hid behind the façade (literally) of a different sort of structure. They did the same legally as well, appearing in deeds and mortgages as houses or barns or warehouses, and remaining the property of a private individual, usually an eminent member of the congregation.[36] The congregation did not exist as a legal entity, nor did the larger ecclesiastic organization to which it belonged. Its physical disguise, though, not its legal one, was the most essential mark of a *schuilkerk* and the key to its functional success. It avoided causing "offense" or "scandal" by not signaling its presence through visual and auditory symbols. Dutch

[36] Ownership of some *schuilkerken* (more in the eighteenth than the seventeenth century) was in the hands of their pastors, but this could lead to disputes and heavy estate taxes due when the latter died. Some, like the Hart, were owned for a time by persons of a different religion. Unlike urban churches, many rural ones were owned corporately, for example by a board of churchwardens. I. H. van Eeghen, "De eigendom van katholieke kerken in Amsterdam ten tijde van de Republiek," *Bijdragen voor de geschiedenis van het Bisdom Haarlem* 64 (1957): 222–28.

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authorities who informally authorized *schuilkerken* always insisted on such self-effacement. A committee of Amsterdam regents was unusually specific when in 1691 it set conditions under which one of the city's Catholic congregations could abandon its old *schuilkerk* for a newly built one. The former had grown so dilapidated that it threatened to collapse under the weight of the crowds squeezing into it.[37] Fearing disaster, the regents approved the move on condition that the pastor of the congregation, the Franciscan friar Egidius de Glabbais, agree to eleven points, including:

> (4) To avoid giving any offense, [Glabbais] promises that the entrance to the new permitted assembly place shall no longer be on the Joodebreestraat but behind, on the Burgwal, where it is less offensive
> (5) [Glabbais] [p]romises not to tolerate any sleds being parked in front of the assembly place
> (6) [Glabbais is] [t]o see to it that at the end of services no one stands around in front of the assembly place waiting for another person, nor shall [he] in any manner tolerate any poor people waiting around for alms in front of the assembly place
> (7) The undersigned shall take great care that his services begin and end at such times that no offense will be given by [Catholics and Reformed Protestants] meeting each other when coming from and going to church
> (8) The undersigned shall see to it that Catholics not pass through the street in a troop, nor with rosary, church book, or other offensive objects apparent, when going to or coming from the permitted assembly place.[38]

All these stipulations were directed toward stripping the church of any presence *as church* in the public sphere.

Such invisibility was never more than superficial, however. In a society that exalted and demanded intimate relations between neighbors, unusual comings and goings could scarcely escape notice, no matter how hard one tried to conceal them. And many congregations felt secure enough that they did not try too hard; at times, passers-by in the street even could hear music emanating from services indoors.[39] When compiling information for their many remonstrances to secular authorities, Calvinist ministers never had difficulty ascertaining the precise location of the *schuilkerken* in their community. And their remonstrances offered no surprises to authorities. In fact, everyone either knew where they were or could find out easily enough. Guidebooks, such as Philip von Zesen's *Amsterdam* (1664), even indicated

[37] In 1690, a *schuilkerk* in the Hague did actually collapse during a service, with loss of life, a fact the regents had in mind when approving the move. The ad hoc architecture made some *schuilkerken* positively dangerous. One in London collapsed in 1623. See Dalmatius van Heel and Bonfilius Knipping, *Van schuilkerk tot zuilkerk: De geschiedenis van de Mozes- en Aäronkerk te Amsterdam* (Amsterdam, 1941), 117–19; Alexandra Walsham, "'The Fatall Vesper': Providentialism and Anti-Popery in Late Jacobean London," *Past and Present*, no. 144 (1994): 36–87.

[38] Gemeentearchief Amsterdam, 5024, inv. nr. 2: Resolutiën van Burgemeesters 1649–1698, fol. 279 r–v (1691). See Heel and Knipping, *Van schuilkerk tot zuilkerk*, 109–19, 336–38. A similar contract was drafted in 1694 for a *schuilkerk* on the Nieuwezijds Achterburgwal; Eeghen, "De eigendom van katholieke kerken in Amsterdam," esp. 217, 235.

[39] See, for example, the complaint of Amsterdam's Calvinist consistory in July 1676 about the Jesuit station on the Raamgracht, where music was made "met open deuren," that is, with the hoist-doors in the front façade open: H. Zantkuyl, "De schuilkerk der Jezuieten op de Raamgracht," *Amstelodamum* 46 (1959): 29–33, 33. In 1656, the consistory complained of the Catholic *schuilkerken* generally that "one can hear from outside, on the street, and from neighboring houses [the] organs, viols, and other instruments" played in them; Eeghen, "De eigendom van katholieke kerken in Amsterdam," 269.

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their locations for the benefit of tourists, on whose itinerary they regularly figured. Jan Wagenaar gave a complete rundown of them in his 1765 description of the city.[40] Nevertheless, the pretense of privacy and domesticity embodied in the *schuilkerk* offered a working solution to the dilemma posed by religious diversity. Keeping dissent out of sight and stripping it of any symbolic presence preserved the monopoly of the Reformed Church over public religious life. It thus maintained a semblance, or fiction, of religious unity.

The arrangement did subject dissenters to burdens and harassments. They still had to pay "recognition fees" to local law enforcement officials, the price the latter charged for going along with the fiction. It also did not spare them from having their services raided by zealous, anxious, or extortionate officials. Particularly when the war against Spain went poorly, fears rose of a fifth column of Catholic traitors, prompting officials to crack down on Catholic worship. After the conclusion in 1609 of the Twelve Years' Truce, though, such crackdowns became less frequent, and after the Peace of Westphalia ended the long conflict in 1648, they were rare indeed. As a mechanism for the practice of religious tolerance—not the only, but the most important, such mechanism in the republic—the *schuilkerk* worked.

WHILE THE *schuilkerk* IS A WELL-KNOWN DUTCH PHENOMENON, few scholars have paid attention to its many counterparts elsewhere in Europe. Regardless of the religious groups involved, the formula for tolerance it embodied proved capable of application wherever local communities struggled to reconcile an official orthodoxy with religious diversity. Catholic majorities might tolerate Protestant minorities through this formula just as easily as the reverse. In Catholic Cologne, for example, Lutherans worshiped from the late sixteenth century onward in a "secret, oppressed house-church," as did Reformed Protestants.[41] The latter, in fact, had two and sometimes three congregations—for German, Dutch, and French speakers. The existence of these groups was an open secret. When the writer P. de Blainville, visiting Cologne in 1705, attended a service, he "was completely amazed to see such a crowd of people there, for the hall was entirely full, above and below—as many people there as was room for, their number reaching at least five to six hundred."[42] Yet discretion remained crucial: riots broke out in 1708 when Brandenburg's ambassador sent written invitations to Protestants to attend services in his home. They broke out again in 1787, when the city council gave permission for Protestants to build a big new "prayer and school house."[43] Elsewhere in the empire,

[40] Christian Gellinek, ed., *Europas erster Baedeker: Filip von Zesens Amsterdam 1664* (New York, 1988), 180, 191–95, 293–95, 359–61; Wagenaar, *Amsterdam*, vol. 3, book 3; see likewise *Wegwijzer door Amsterdam* (Amsterdam, 1713). Von Zesen included synagogues and Protestant *schuilkerken* but not Catholic ones.

[41] Leo Schwering, "Die religiöse und wirtschaftliche Entwicklung des Protestantismus in Köln während des 17. Jahrhunderts: Ein Versuch," *Annalen des historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein* 85 (1908): 14.

[42] Looz-Corswarem, "Köln und Mülheim," 548. Blainville was probably a pseudonym.

[43] Looz-Corswarem, "Köln und Mülheim," 562; Al. Meister, "Der preußische Residentenstreit in Köln, ein Versuch zur Einführung des reformierten Gottesdienstes," *Annalen des historischen Vereins für den Niederrhein* 70 (1901): 1–30; E. Heinen, "Der Kölner Toleranzstreit (1787–1789)," *Jahrbuch des kölnischen Geschichtsvereins* 44 (1973): 67–86.

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clandestine churches accommodated groups other than the three recognized confessions. Remonstrants in Glückstadt received official permission in 1624 "to exercise and practice their religion . . . behind closed doors." Mennonites in Königsberg were told in 1722 by the Prussian government they "could hold their gatherings for their worship in a private house, but only in complete quiet, without [causing] rumor."[44]

Perhaps the most extraordinary case of reliance on clandestine churches was Ireland, where the religion of the majority of the population was illegal. Except in the 1640s and 1650s, when persecution peaked, Irish Catholics were widely able to operate semi-secret chapels that the English called "mass houses." In the countryside, these were mostly cottages, barns, or sheds, built of mud, thatch-roofed, and often still used for their original purpose. In cities, they were more commodious. The interior of the Jesuit chapel that operated in Dublin in the 1620s made a grand impression on visiting Englishman Sir William Brereton:

> the pulpit in this church was richly adorned with pictures, and so was the high altar, which was advanced with steps, and railed out like cathedrals; upon either side thereof was there erected places for confession; no fastened seats were in the middle or body hereof, nor was there any chancel; but that it might be more capacious, there was a gallery erected on both sides and at the lower end.[45]

Such galleries, making the most of a restricted space, were a feature common to urban *schuilkerken* across Europe. The eighteenth century witnessed a proliferation of Irish mass houses and general improvement in their quality, yet care was still taken to keep them unobtrusive. Most of those in Dublin were converted stables or warehouses located on narrow lanes behind other buildings.[46] In County Cork, the magistrates of Cloyne and Charleville blocked the erection of mass houses "within view of the churches in those towns." A Kildare rector had a mass house torn down because it stood "in the direct road to my church, and not far from it."[47] Like the 1691 Amsterdam instructions, these actions demonstrate that location as well as appearance determined how public or private a clandestine place of worship was

[44] Walter Grossmann, "Städtisches Wachstum und religiöse Toleranzpolitik am Beispiel Neuwied," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 62/63 (1980–81): 221; Erich Randt, *Die Mennoniten in Ostpreussen und Litauen bis zum Jahre 1772* (Königsberg, 1912), 18.

[45] C. Litton Falkiner, *Illustrations of Irish History and Topography, Mainly of the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1904), 382.

[46] "Report on the State of Popery, Ireland 1731," *Archivium Hibernicum* 1–4 (1912): 10–27, 108–56, 124–59, 131–77; John Brady and Patrick J. Corish, *The Church under the Penal Code* (Dublin, 1971), 58–69; Patrick J. Corish, *The Catholic Community in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Walkinstown, Dublin, 1981), 29; S. J. Connolly, *Religion, Law, and Power: The Making of Protestant Ireland, 1660–1760* (Oxford, 1992), 151, 289; Michael A. Mullett, *Catholics in Britain and Ireland, 1558–1829* (New York, 1998), 65. On Dublin's mass houses, see Patrick Fagan, *The Second City: Portrait of Dublin, 1700–1760* (Dublin, 1986), 109–33; Nuala Burke, "A Hidden Church? The Structure of Catholic Dublin in the Mid-Eighteenth Century," *Archivium Hibernicum* 32 (1974): 85. Current "revisionist" historiography paints less black a picture of conditions for Catholics in eighteenth-century Ireland than did earlier writings; it emphasizes that the penal laws were directed against Catholic wealth and power far more than against Catholic worship. See David George Boyce and Alan O'Day, *The Making of Modern Irish History: Revisionism and the Revisionist Controversy* (London, 1996). The new consensus is captured by the title (and contents) of T. P. Power and Kevin Whelan, eds., *Endurance and Emergence: Catholics in Ireland in the Eighteenth Century* (Blackrock, County Dublin, 1990). In Ulster, however, open-air services remained the rule well into the eighteenth century.

[47] "Report on the State of Popery," 2 (1913): 127; and 4 (1915): 159. See Connolly, *Religion, Law, and Power*, 289.

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perceived to be. They highlight again, though, the special power of the visual: even disguised, a mass house in plain sight of a church was viewed as a challenge.

In addition to close parallels like the mass house, three variants on the *schuilkerk* also emerged outside the Netherlands. All three were obscured by an architectural façade, located within residential space, and built on a foundation of domestic devotional practices. At the same time, they differed from ordinary *schuilkerken* as the domiciles in which they were situated differed from the homes of ordinary burghers and peasants.

One was the manorial chapel. Well before the Reformation, Europe's landed elites had developed a tradition of domestic worship. Medieval custom and canon law had permitted them, and with them their households, to worship at home on condition that they attend their parish church on major festivals.[48] After the Reformation, some elites extended this seigneurial privilege in an unprecedented way, using it as a vehicle for dissident devotions. In England and Scotland, "recusant" gentry and peers established Catholic chapels in their manor houses. These illegal chapels were served by missionary priests who resided on the manor semi-permanently. As of 1701, Bishop Leyburn counted 219 peers and gentry who kept such resident chaplains.[49] The latter provided pastoral care first and foremost to the manor's household, usually a larger unit than non-elite households, but recusant elites commonly invited tenants and other dependants to attend their services as well. These were the only Catholic services conducted in some regions, especially in the rural south of both countries. Carved out of residential rooms, the chapels themselves tended to grow larger and less hidden over time. In the early seventeenth century, they were usually sheltered in some cramped attic. By 1700, the norm was for a suite of commodious second-floor rooms to serve as chapel, sacristy, and lodgings for the priest. By 1750, the chapel had completed its descent to ground level.[50]

As John Bossy has shown, reliance on manorial chapels had far-reaching consequences for the social character of English Catholicism. Among others, it left priests captive to the needs and desires of the gentry, on whom they depended for lodgings, funds, protection, and places to conduct services. In this way, it shifted fundamentally the balance of power between clergy and laity. By the same token, it gave female members of the gentry—the women who ran such recusant households—an unusual leadership role within the Catholic community, at least until the 1620s. Other scholars have noted a similar empowerment of women in the early phases of Scottish and Irish recusancy. In the Dutch Republic, it took a few decades

[48] J. C. H. Aveling, *The Handle and the Axe: The Catholic Recusants in England from Reformation to Emancipation* (London, 1976), 41–42.

[49] John Miller, *Popery and Politics in England, 1660–1688* (Cambridge, 1973), 34.

[50] Roderick O'Donnell, "The Architectural Setting of Challoner's Episcopate," in *Challoner and His Church: A Catholic Bishop in Georgian England*, Eamon Duffy, ed. (London, 1981), 55–70; Aveling, *Handle and the Axe*, esp. 121, 141–43, 228; John Bossy, *The English Catholic Community, 1570–1850* (New York, 1976), chaps. 2, 3, 6, 7, 10; John Bossy, "English Catholics after 1688," in *From Persecution to Toleration: The Glorious Revolution and Religion in England*, Ole Peter Grell, Jonathan I. Israel, and Nicholas Tyacke, eds. (Oxford, 1991), 369–87, 375; Bryan Little, *Catholic Churches since 1623: A Study of Roman Catholic Churches in England and Wales from Penal Times to the Present Decade* (London, 1966), 21–44. On Scotland, see esp. Peter F. Anson, *Underground Catholicism in Scotland, 1622–1878* (Montrose, 1970); Mullett, *Catholics in Britain and Ireland*, 40, 104, 113–17.

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for the Catholic Church hierarchy to establish effective control over *schuilkerk* congregations, and priests always remained dependent on the financial and practical assistance of *kloppen*. Such shifts in power away from the usual wielders of religious authority tended, however, to be reversed or at least mitigated over time.[51]

Unlike British recusants, the Calvinist nobility of France had a legal right to their chapels, known as *églises de fief*. Compared to those in Britain, these chapels played only a secondary role in sustaining religious dissent, for outside regions like the Cévennes French Calvinism was primarily an urban movement. Until its revocation in 1685, the Edict of Nantes, like earlier toleration edicts, permitted Huguenots to have public places of worship in the suburbs of certain cities. The edict underlined the public quality of worship in them by specifying that "the people may be summoned [to services], even by the ringing of bells." The edict also extended to Huguenot nobles the right "to have in . . . their houses . . . the exercise of the said [Reformed] religion as long as they are resident there, and in their absence, their wives or families."[52] Nobles with powers of high justice could invite as many people as they wished to these domestic services. Nobles without such powers were limited in theory to a maximum of thirty guests, but in practice they often ignored the restriction, welcoming tenants, clients, friends, and others.[53]

In the Middle Ages, Europe's nobles had modeled their chapels after those of their rulers. In the early modern era, most rulers still had court chapels, and in those exceptional lands where their religion differed from the official one, these too became protected centers of religious dissent. They constituted a second variant on the *schuilkerk*. In England, it was not kings, strictly speaking, but their consorts who had the first such private chapels. Queen Henrietta Maria, wife of Charles I, had two, both designed by Inigo Jones: Somerset House Chapel and, at St. James's Palace, Marlborough House Chapel.[54] In the Holy Roman Empire, the Peace of Westphalia allowed a Lutheran ruler of a Reformed territory, and vice-versa, "to have court preachers of his confession . . . with him and in his residence."[55] When in 1697 Friedrich August I of Saxony converted to Catholicism, he extended this provision to the Protestant-Catholic divide, arranging for Catholic services in his

[51] Bossy, *English Catholic Community*, 49–59, 110–21, 149–81; Alasdair F. B. Roberts, "The Role of Women in Scottish Catholic Survival," *Scottish Historical Review* 70 (1991): 129–50; Mullett, *Catholics in Britain and Ireland*, 117–19; Ute Lotz-Heumann, *Die doppelte Konfessionalisierung in Irland: Konflikt und Koexistenz im 16. und in der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen, 2000), 296–300; Monteiro, *Geestelijke maagden*, 75–121. Compare Rona Johnston Gordon, "Patronage and Parish: The Nobility and the Recatholicization of Lower Austria," in *The Reformation in Eastern and Central Europe*, Karin Maag, ed. (Aldershot, 1997), 223; Liliane Crété, *Les Camisards* (Paris, 1992), 46–48; Renee Levine Melammed, *Heretics or Daughters of Israel? The Crypto-Jewish Women of Castile* (New York, 1999).

[52] English translation in Roland Mousnier, *The Assassination of Henry IV: The Tyrannicide Problem and the Consolidation of the French Absolute Monarchy in the Early Seventeenth Century* (London, 1973), 353, 362, 320, 321.

[53] For examples, see Janine Garrisson, *Les Protestants au XVI^e siècle* (Paris, 1988), 39; P. Roberts, "Most Crucial Battle," 307–08. On the role of these manorial chapels, see Jean Quéniart, *La révocation de l'Edit de Nantes: Protestants et catholiques en France de 1598 à 1685* (Paris, 1985), 30–31, 103, 123; Louis Pérouas, *Le diocèse de La Rochelle de 1648 à 1724: Sociologie et pastorale* (Paris, 1964), 304, 312–13.

[54] Aveling, *Handle and the Axe*, 223–30; Horton Davies, *Worship and Theology in England* (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1996), 58; Little, *Catholic Churches since 1623*, 21–23; Miller, *Popery and Politics*, 25.

[55] Konrad Müller, ed., *Instrumenta pacis Westphalicae—Die Westfälischen Friedensverträge: Vollst. lateinischer Text mit Übers. der wichtigsten Teile und Regesten* (Bern, 1975), Latin text 47, German 133.

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various residences. Prince Karl Alexander of Württemberg did likewise, establishing private Catholic chapels in Stuttgart and Ludwigsburg when in 1733 he succeeded to the Lutheran duchy. Württemberg's estates, which paid for construction of the two chapels, stipulated that Catholic services be held nowhere else and that no "symbols and activities associated with public worship" accompany them.[56]

Embassy chapels constituted a third variant on the *schuilkerk*. In the wake of the Reformation, a new rule of diplomacy emerged allowing ambassadors serving in lands whose religion differed from their own to maintain within their residence a chapel for their family's use. Because ambassadorial residences, following the early modern norm, served both as lodgings and workplace, such chapels came to be called embassy chapels. Their legitimacy, though, remained rooted in the domestic: in theory, they and their chaplains could serve only the ambassador and his household. Fuss was rarely made if compatriots of the ambassador—merchants abroad on business, for example—also attended services. Whether foreigners from other countries might do the same was a more sensitive point. But by far the most contentious issue was whether native dissidents could attend embassy services, and whether such services could be conducted in the local language by native clerics. In London, this issue provoked repeated clashes, some of them violent, in the streets surrounding the Spanish, French, and Venetian embassies. In several of these incidents, local officials tried to arrest natives emerging at the end of services, setting off diplomatic protests and embarrassing the royal government. Yet despite occasional skirmishes and a more constant tension, London's embassy chapels functioned effectively as places of worship and points of protection for English Catholics (Figure 7).[57] So it went on the continent as well. The Dutch alone sponsored embassy chapels in twelve different capitals, while for Emperor Leopold I, the whole point of maintaining ambassadors in various Protestant cities was "that Catholic services might be held to comfort the Catholics of that area, and to promote the further growth of this religion."[58]

In the eighteenth century, there emerged a new legal principle, "extraterritoriality," that legitimized embassy chapels. It stipulated that one was to "assume or pretend that the ambassador and the precincts of his embassy stood as if on the soil of his homeland, subject only to its laws." By this principle, an embassy chapel did not violate the religious laws of its host country because it did not stand on the host

[56] As paraphrased in Paul Friedrich Stälin, "Das Rechtsverhältnis der religiösen Gemeinschaften und der fremden Religionsverwandten in Württemberg nach seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung," *Württembergische Jahrbücher für Statistik und Landeskunde* (1868), 160. On Saxony, see Eduard Hegel, "Zum Verhältnis der Konfessionen in Deutschland am Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts," in *Zwischen Polemik und Irenik: Untersuchungen zum Verhältnis der Konfessionen im späten 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhundert*, Georg Schwaiger, ed. (Göttingen, 1977), 13–14.

[57] O'Donnell, "Architectural Setting," 65–69; Gordon Rupp, *Religion in England, 1688–1791* (Oxford, 1986), 191–92; T. G. Holt, "The Embassy Chapels in Eighteenth Century London," *The London Recusant* 2 (1972): 19–37; William Raleigh Trimble, "The Embassy Chapel Question, 1625–1660," *Journal of Modern History* 18 (1946): 97–107; Alfred van der Essen, "Les Catholiques Londinienes et l'Ambassade d'Espagne, 1633–37," *Scrinium Lovaniense*, series 4, 24 (1961): 475–85; John Bossy, *Giordano Bruno and the Embassy Affair* (New Haven, Conn., 1991); Albert J. Loomie, "London's Spanish Chapel before and after the Civil War," *Recusant History* 18 (1987): 402–10.

[58] Whaley, *Hamburg*, 54; O. Schutte, *Repertorium der nederlandse vertegenwoordigers residerende in het buitenland 1584–1810* ('s-Gravenhage, 1976), 47–57, 82–84, 121–22, 148–49, 157–58, 201, 257–58, 278–80, 296–99, 315–18, 336–41, 354, 403–05, 432–33, 461–62.

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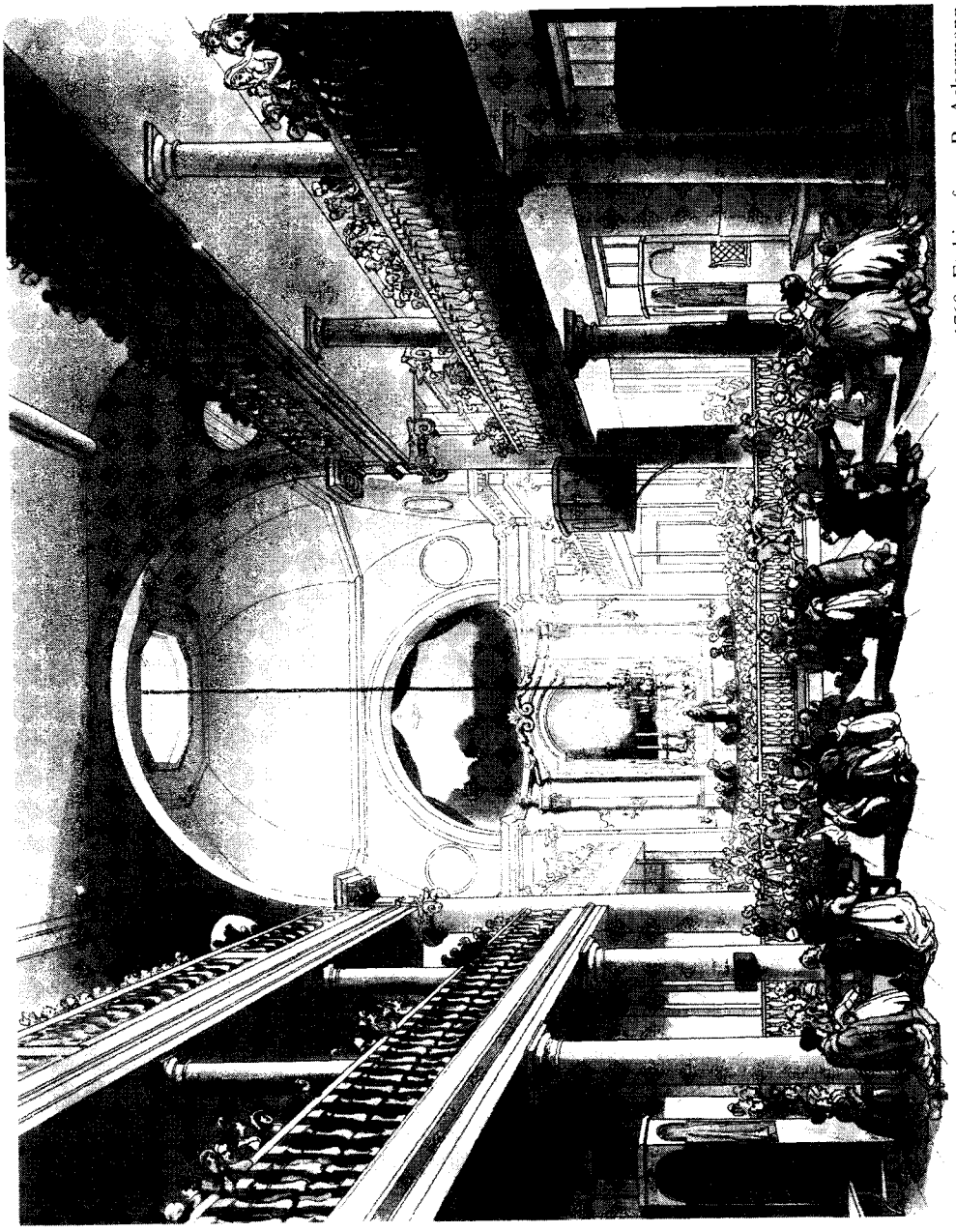


FIGURE 7: The Sardinian Embassy Chapel, in Lincoln's Inn Fields, London. Designed by Jean Baptist Jacque, 1760. Etching from R. Ackermann, *The Microcosm of London*, vol. 1 (London, 1808). Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

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country's territory. But, as the legal historian Edward Adair has shown, neither court rulings nor treaty stipulations nor established legal principles lent protection to embassy chapels at the time of their proliferation. Extraterritoriality was an ex post facto justification, developed in no small part to rationalize the already established practice of tolerating embassy chapels. Indeed, the embassy chapel question was "the largest single factor in preparing men's minds to accept this extraordinary fiction."[59]

The *schuilkerk* formula proved applicable to Jews as well as dissenting Christians. Operating under the cover of domesticity, scores of clandestine synagogues functioned in Alsace from the late seventeenth century. These synagogues consisted initially of rooms in private homes. Often upstairs, the rooms were usually richly appointed, with separate spaces for men and women. A rare survival, the remains of one dating from 1723 can still be seen in Traenheim (Figure 8). The private character of these "oratories" was underlined in 1701 by the intendant of Alsace, Le Pelletier de la Houssaye. Investigating a complaint made by an abbé that the Jews of Reichshoffen were practicing their religion publicly, the intendant found precisely the opposite: "The worship which the Jews established in Reichshoffen perform is not as public as one would have you believe. There is no synagogue per se, only, by a custom long established in this province, when there are seven Jewish families in one locale, those who compose them assemble, without scandal, in a house of their sect for readings and prayers."[60]

As the Jewish population rose, oratories multiplied and a certain number of houses were renovated internally to function as community centers, incorporating a synagogue and school. However, they continued to look externally like the houses in their neighborhood.[61] As elsewhere, though, so in Alsace the line between public and private was more a matter of perception and negotiation than of bricks and timber. A conflict erupted in 1725 when the Jews of three villages, Biesheim, Wintzenheim, and Hagenthal, were accused of building illegal new synagogues. They claimed in response to have merely enlarged or "moved" their existing places of prayer. In the end, the Conseil Souverain of Alsace ordered that the structures be demolished.[62]

In Hamburg, negotiations between Christians and Jews involved threats of violence as well as appeals to authority.[63] Worshiping initially in private homes, Hamburg's Sephardic community dated to the 1580s. In 1650, it received permission to hold prayer gatherings of up to fifteen families, although, in order to avoid notice, only four or five families were to enter or leave at a time. This license emboldened the community, which began to consider building a larger, more formal

[59] Garrett Mattingly, *Renaissance Diplomacy* (Boston, 1971), 272, 280–81; E. A. Adair, *The Exterritoriality of Ambassadors in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (New York, 1929).

[60] Freddy Raphaël and Robert Weyl, *Juifs en Alsace: Culture, société, histoire* (Toulouse, 1977), 134.

[61] Michel Rothé and Max Warschawski, *Les synagogues d'Alsace et leur histoire* (Jerusalem, 1992); Jonathan I. Israel, *European Jewry in the Age of Mercantilism 1550–1750* (Oxford, 1989), 102–03, 169, 237.

[62] Raphaël and Weyl, *Juifs en Alsace*, 135–37.

[63] This paragraph and the following one draw heavily on Whaley, *Hamburg*, esp. 75–79, 91–92, 99–103. See also Natalie Zemon Davis, *Women on the Margins: Three Seventeenth-Century Lives* (Cambridge, Mass., 1995), 9–11.

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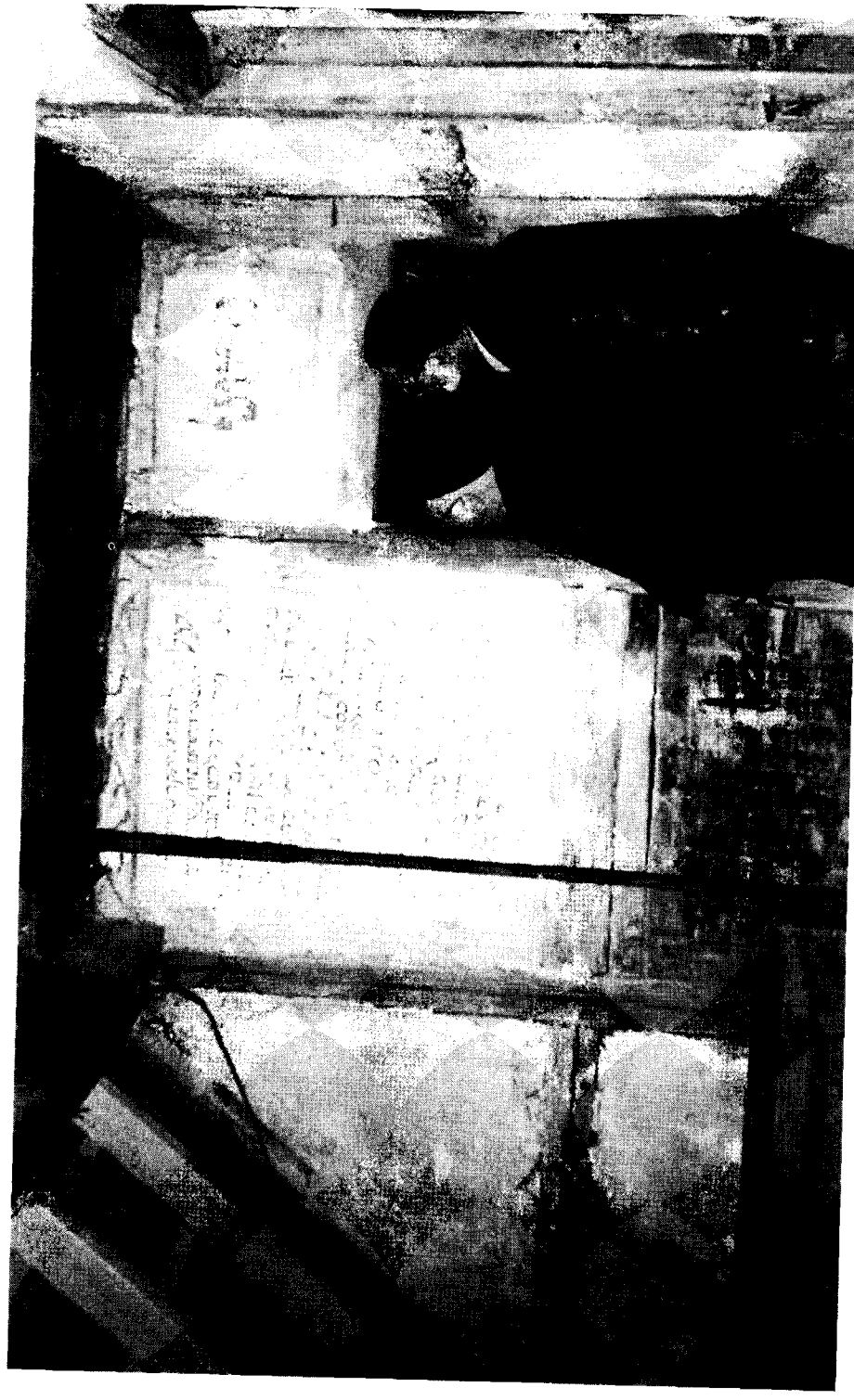


FIGURE 8: *Attic synagogue in Traenheim, Alsace, interior view. Size 5.5 by 4.5 meters. The space was adapted to serve as synagogue in 1723 despite the vociferous objections of the local pastor. Modern photograph, courtesy of Bernard Keller.*

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place of worship. Its intentions evoked howls of protest from Hamburg's Lutheran clergy, who stirred up popular sentiment with anti-Semitic sermons. In 1672, the community went ahead anyway with plans to enlarge an existing prayer house. Immediately, riots threatened to break out, and the captains of the city's militia warned the government that their men could not be counted on to suppress them. Taking preemptive action, the senate soon closed the synagogue, forcing the Sephardim to content themselves once again with small unofficial prayer houses.

A similar drama unfolded in the eighteenth century with the city's Ashkenazic community. A *Judenreglement* issued by the senate in 1710 forbade the Ashkenazim to have any "public buildings" but permitted them to worship privately "as long as they refrained from ostentatiously provoking their neighbours by using ceremonial horns or trumpets [a reference to the shofar] or by publicly displaying liturgical lanterns."[64] This almost transparent cloak sufficed to keep the peace, and by 1732 the growing community had fourteen clandestine synagogues. In 1746, however, the building of a large new synagogue provoked disturbances. Hamburg's senate had tacitly approved the construction, and a strategically unobtrusive site had been chosen in a narrow alley on the periphery of town. Inevitably, though, the work of construction attracted attention. When formal remonstrances by the citizenry failed to sway the senate, an angry crowd gathered around the half-completed building, threatening to demolish it. Cowed, the senate ordered its dismantling.

By giving Jews permission to build a larger clandestine synagogue, Hamburg's senate was colluding with a religious minority to redraw the line between private and public worship. By mobilizing and threatening violence, Hamburg's Lutheran crowds restored the line to its earlier position. As was typical, the negotiation involved not just religious dissidents and local authorities but also orthodox citizens and clergy. In rural areas and less autonomous cities, such negotiations involved other actors as well: princes, estates, nobles. Such popular mobilization as occurred in Hamburg, though, marked a failure of official policy. Rulers generally sought to preempt it and the challenge it entailed to their authority by regulating carefully the activity of dissenting religious congregations. Silently gauging what the orthodox of their community might, if only grudgingly, assent to, they set boundaries to the private sphere within which those congregations operated. For example, Amsterdam's regents sought to ensure that Glabbais's Catholic congregation would "avoid giving any offense" to Calvinists; Prussia's government stipulated that Mennonite worship had to be conducted "in complete quiet, without [causing] rumor"; in approving Jewish worship, the Alsatian intendant noted that it caused no "scandal." This vocabulary reveals the sensitivity of officials to popular opinion. It signals a negotiation conducted, in the usual course of events, discursively rather than physically.

The points in dispute in these negotiations indicate the criteria early modern Europeans applied to distinguish public from private worship: how many people attended the services, what sort of people attended, when services were held, the

[64] Whaley, *Hamburg*, 92.

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size of the chapel, its location and appearance, the presence of beggars or parked vehicles outside it, the number of people entering or leaving at a time and how they conducted themselves, whether bells rang or invitations were sent to announce services. Some of these criteria have the same valence in modern Western culture as they did in early modern, but others do not. Invitations are today deemed markers of a private, not public, function, and hundreds of people attending does not make it any more public. Similarly, churches today look like churches, synagogues like synagogues, and mosques like mosques, yet they remain private organizations. They are considered private above all because of their status as non-governmental, voluntary associations, a status they share with business corporations and similar bodies.

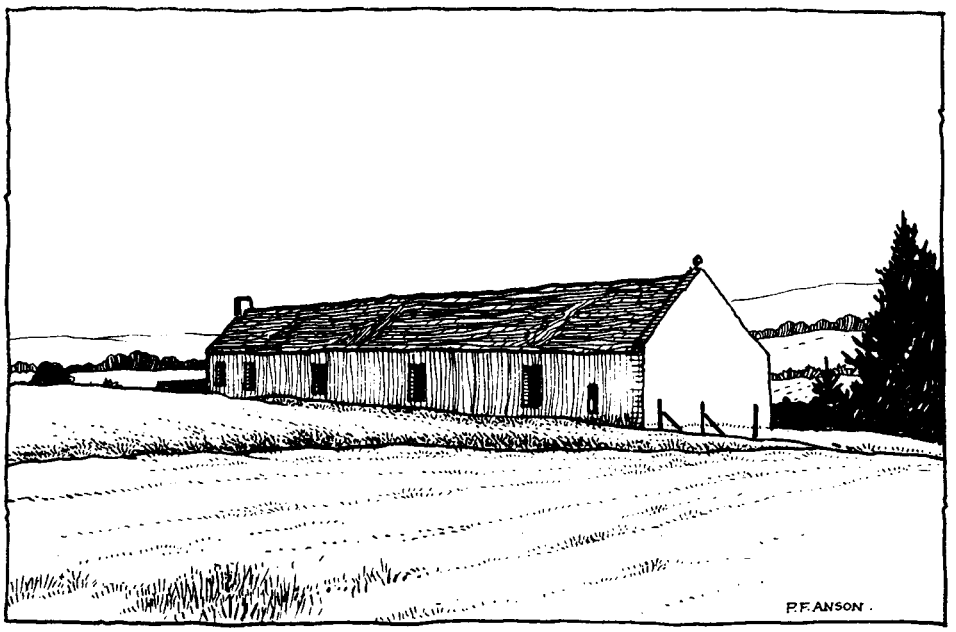
Some intellectuals formulated such a definition of privacy as early as the seventeenth century. Among the first, Roger Williams argued in 1644 that a church or any other "company of worshippers" was "like unto a body or college of physicians in a city; like unto a corporation, society or company of East India or Turkey merchants, or any other society or company . . . The essence or being of the City, and so the well-being and peace thereof, is essentially distinct from these particular societies."[65] John Locke similarly emphasized the voluntary, associative nature of churches. Yet even most Enlightenment philosophes saw a need for some sort of religious establishment, civil if not Christian. Eighteenth-century practice, more even than theory, shows the continued functioning of an older definition of private worship, based on symbols and other sensory signals, especially visual ones. Throughout that century, *schuilkerken* and their equivalents continued to function, new ones to be built, and contests to occur over the boundaries of the private sphere they constituted.

Britain formed a partial exception. In the wake of the Glorious Revolution, Protestant dissenters there enjoyed increasing social acceptance, and the Toleration Act of 1689 offered licenses for their meeting houses, which formerly had remained clandestine. Some of their new places of worship, with imposing façades and central locations, made bold public statements.[66] For British Catholics, by contrast, change occurred only within parameters set long before: their places of worship grew grander and less secret, too, but they retained the essential quality of a *schuilkerk*, invisibility. The impact of Catholic emancipation at the end of the eighteenth century was correspondingly dramatic, as a Scottish comparison reveals (Figure 9). Constructed in the 1750s, St. Ninian's Chapel, Tynet, was "a small little house wher a poor woman had lived for some time, to which Tynet proposed making an additione as a cot for his sheep, but in effect for our use." St. Gregory's, Preshome,

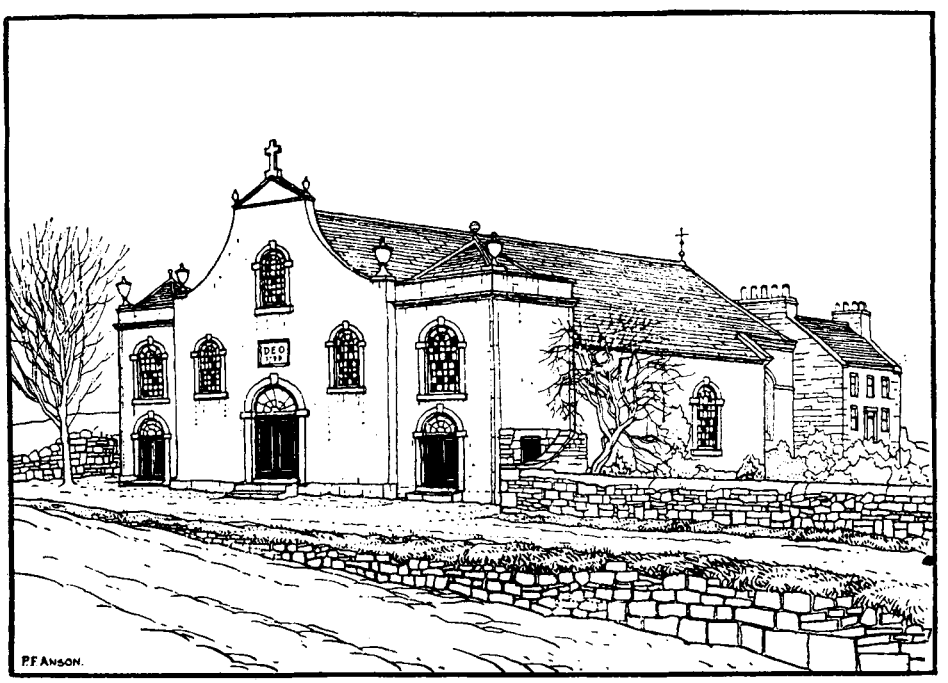
[65] Roger Williams, *The Bloody Tenent of Persecution for the Cause of Conscience Discussed* (1644), quoted in Christopher Hill, *Society and Puritanism in Prerevolutionary England* (New York, 1997), 417.

[66] Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England, *An Inventory of Nonconformist Chapels and Meeting-houses in Central England* (1986–); Martin S. Briggs, *Puritan Architecture and Its Future* (London, 1946), 11–37; H. Lismer Short, "The Architecture of the Old Meeting Houses," *Transactions of the Unitarian Historical Society* 8 (1944): 109–12; Davies, *Worship and Theology*, 2: 60–67. For a description of London's Dissenting chapels, see Geoffrey S. Holmes, *The Trial of Doctor Sacheverell* (London, 1973), 161–74.

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St Ninian's, Tynet (1755).



St Gregory's, Preshome (1788).

FIGURE 9: Clandestine church versus public church: St. Ninian's, Tynet, and St. Gregory's, Preshome, in Scotland. Modern drawings by Peter F. Anson. Courtesy of Dom Donald McGlynn, Sancta Maria Abbey—Nunraw, Haddington, Scotland.

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built on the eve of emancipation, had a western façade in the Italian Baroque style that proclaimed its identity as Catholic church. Its pedimented gable, complete with urn finials, was inscribed "DEO 1788."[67]

Exceptions can be found outside Britain as well, but what is striking overall is the continued vigor of the *schuilkerk* tradition. In the short run, at least, Enlightenment influence produced a broadening of toleration within that tradition more often than its repudiation. Emperor Joseph II's Patent of Toleration (1781), hailed as a milestone in the rise of tolerance, offers a telling example. The freedom it granted Austrian Protestants was to have "private religious exercise" (*exercitium religionis privatum*). This differed from "public" religious exercise, the edict specified, in the appearance of the building where it was conducted. Protestant churches were to have "no chimes, no bells, towers or any public entrance from the street as might signify a church."[68] However revolutionary it was in granting full citizenship to religious dissenters, the edict remained conservative with regard to the spatial accommodation of their worship. It allowed Vienna's Protestants, the largest group in the land, merely to trade one *schuilkerk* for another—or three, to be precise, for two. Protestant worship had been thriving in the capital for well over half a century under the auspices of the Danish, Swedish, and Dutch embassies.[69] Upon issuance of the edict, the two Lutheran congregations merged and, together with the Reformed, purchased an abandoned convent belonging formerly to the Poor Clares. The complex had to be modified extensively to meet the terms of the edict. An aerial view shows the results (Figure 10): the convent church, used by the Lutherans, is hidden from street view by a new row of two-story houses; access to it is from a courtyard reached via the entrance to a house to the right of the church. The Reformed "Bethaus" is just further to the right. Only in the 1880s did either *Bethaus* take on the external appearance of a church.[70]

Exercitium religionis privatum: Joseph II's government borrowed the term from a document that predated the Enlightenment by half a century, the Treaty of Osnabrück (1648), part of the Peace of Westphalia. There it stands as one of three recognized types of religious worship. One is called "domestic devotion" (*devotio domestica*): Lutheran subjects of Catholic princes, and vice-versa, "are to be

[67] George Hay, *The Architecture of Scottish Post-Reformation Churches, 1560–1843* (Oxford, 1957), 154–55, quotation on 154; Anson, *Underground Catholicism*, 158, 203–04. Even after emancipation, Catholic chapels in Britain were forbidden to have towers or bells. Some continued to be of the *schuilkerk* variety, for instance in Monmouth, Wales; Mullett, *Catholics in Britain and Ireland*, 163.

[68] Peter F. Barton, ed., "'Das' Toleranzpatent von 1781: Edition der wichtigsten Fassungen," in *Im Zeichen der Toleranz: Aufsätze zur Toleranzgesetzgebung des 18. Jahrhunderts in den Reichen Joseph II., ihren Voraussetzungen und ihren Folgen; Eine Festschrift*, Peter F. Barton, ed. (Vienna, 1981), 165, also 168, 170.

[69] Karl von Otto, "Evangelischer Gottesdienst in Wien vor der Toleranzzeit," *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für die Geschichte des Protestantismus in Österreich* 7 (1886): 120–31; Gustav Reingrabner, "Eine evangelische Predigt aus der Zeit vor dem Toleranzpatent, gehalten in der dänischen Gesandtschaftskapelle in Wien," *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für die Geschichte des Protestantismus in Österreich* 95 (1979): 49–52; Christian Stubbe, "Vom dänischen Gesandtschaftsprediger Burchardi in Wien: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des evangelischen Gottesdienstes in Wien vor dem Toleranzpatent," *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für die Geschichte des Protestantismus in Österreich* 53 (1932): 52–60.

[70] Permanently, that is; in 1815, a street entrance was added for Archduchess Henriette von Nassau-Weilburg, removed in 1830 upon her death. Note also that by special permission of Joseph II the Lutheran church retained two of its original three towers. Mecenseffy and Rassl, *Die evangelischen Kirchen Wiens*, 54–67.

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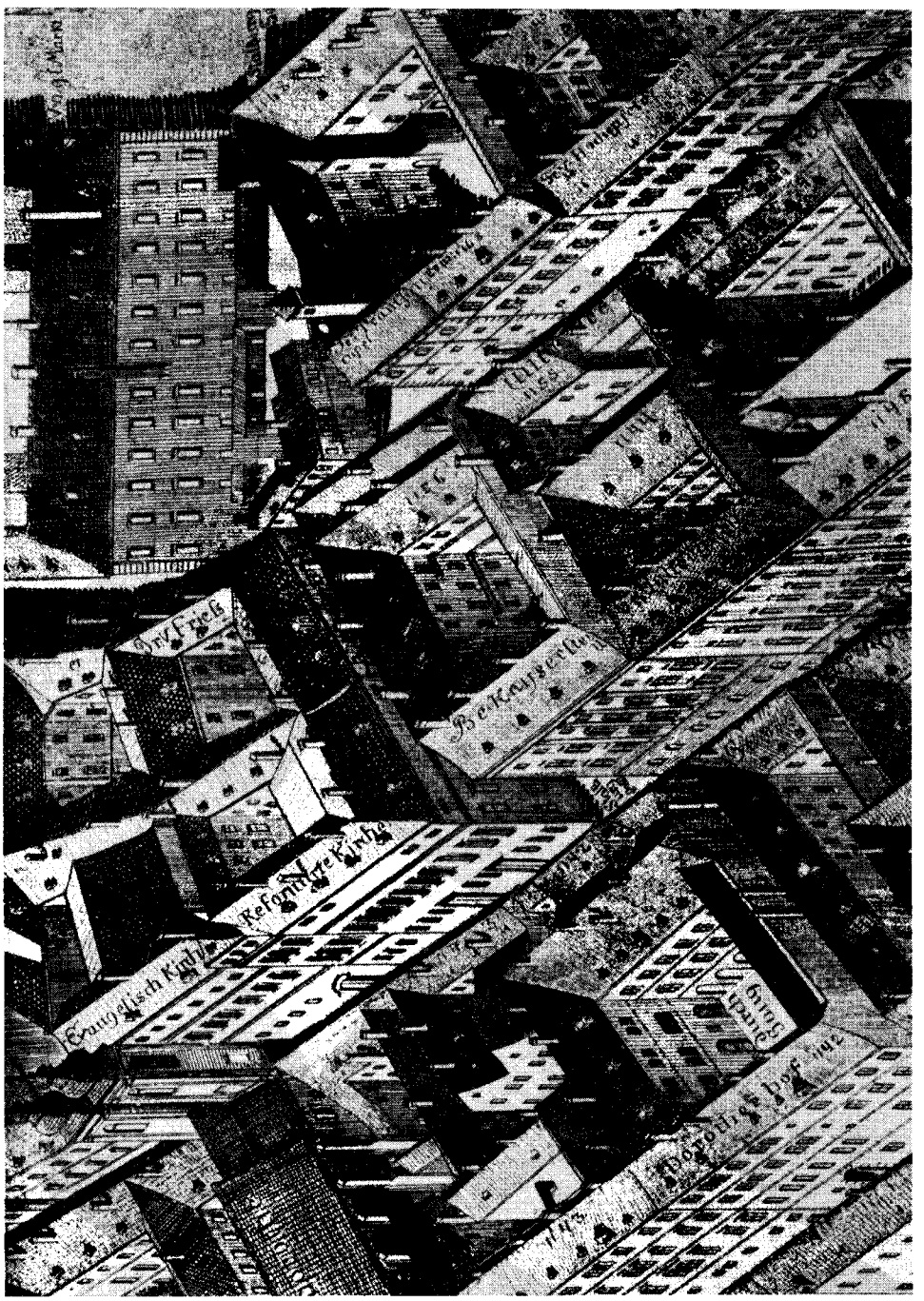


FIGURE 10: Aerial view of the Evangelical Lutheran and Reformed churches on the Dorotheergasse, Vienna, constructed in the 1780s. Detail from engraving by Joseph Daniel Huber, 1785. Courtesy of Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien.

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patiently endured and not hindered from applying themselves to their devotions with a free conscience privately at home, without investigation or disturbance."[71] The treaty also permits the three major confessions to operate proper churches wherever they were doing so in 1624—to have what it calls *exercitium religionis publicum*. But it also recognizes an intermediate category of worship that people could likewise continue (or resume), *exercitium religionis privatum*, which it describes as led by clergy and practiced not "in churches at set hours" but rather "in their [the worshipers'] own houses or in other houses designated for the purpose."[72] In other words, *exercitium privatum* was worship in a *schuilkerk*.

With this tripartite distinction, the diplomats in Westphalia acknowledged that much more than family prayers went on in private "houses." Joseph's government was even more explicit, describing "churches" that lacked the external signs of a church. How paradoxical: an institution whose sole value lies in its invisibility is acknowledged in epochal documents and written into the very constitution of the empire. The paradox, though, reflects two crucial truths about the *schuilkerk*: first, that its physical, not legal, invisibility was chiefly responsible for its effectiveness; and, second, that the pretense to privacy and domesticity it embodied was a very thin one. Indeed, the distinction in early modern Europe between public and private worship was as much cultural fiction as it was social reality. It was a story that enabled Europeans to accommodate dissent without confronting it directly, to tolerate knowingly what they could not bring themselves to accept fully. It preserved a public semblance of religious unity and thus contained the threat of religious conflict. It allowed people to go on living as if civic and sacral community were still one and the same. This was patently a fiction, and was recognized as such. The Dutch spoke of "looking through the fingers"; the metaphor captures the self-imposed character of the blindness as well as its incompleteness. "Turning a blind eye" to dissent carried a similar sense. Even more common was the term "connivance," used from Ireland to Prussia.[73] This language captures a tolerance that was grudging and partial but self-conscious. For their part, dissenters participated in the fiction by refraining from challenging the monopoly over public religious life enjoyed by the official church of their community. Their assertiveness usually took a different form: expanding the private space within which they worshiped.

The distinction between public and private worship that emerged in early modern Europe was not an isolated phenomenon. It formed part of a broader distinction between public and private spheres that has received much scholarly attention of late. Some of this attention flowed out of an interest in the history of *mentalité*; some of it was inspired by Jürgen Habermas in *The Structural Transfor-*

[71] Müller, *Instrumenta pacis Westphalicae*, German text 125, Latin 37.

[72] The original is "in aedibus propriis aut alienis ei rei destinatis," Müller, *Instrumenta pacis Westphalicae*, Latin text 18, German 107. The distinction between *devotio domestica qualificata* and *inqualificata* developed later; see J. B. Sägmüller, "Der Begriff des exercitium religionis publicum, exercitium religionis privatum und der devotio domestica im Westfälischen Frieden," *Theologische Quartalschrift* 90 (1908): 255–79, which goes so far, erroneously, as to equate religious tolerance solely with *exercitium religionis privatum*.

[73] Fagan, *Second City*, 112; Heinrich Pigge, *Die religiöse Toleranz Friedrichs des Grossen nach ihrer theoretischen und praktischen Seite* (Mainz, 1899), 318–19.

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mation of the Public Sphere, which offered historians a thought-provoking paradigm for the rise of modern political culture.[74] Within and among these historiographic strands, general agreement exists that the centuries between Reformation and French Revolution saw the sundering of a once-undifferentiated communal sphere into separate public and private spheres.[75] There is agreement too that religious developments contributed to this fundamental remapping of social space. The *schuilkerk* reveals one specific way in which they did. Europe's new religious divisions threatened to destroy the cohesion of communities; distinguishing public from private worship was a way to save it. By redefining freedom of conscience to mean freedom of devotion for families within their homes, Europeans designated the family home as something it had never previously been, a space safe for practices otherwise forbidden. The *schuilkerk* then simply exploited the potential of the space. The line separating private sphere from public received reinforcement every time the orthodox turned a blind eye to *schuilkerk* services.

Scholars offer different descriptions of the new private sphere. Reinhart Koselleck, on whose ideas Habermas drew, sees the repressive forces of absolutist government restricting severely its size. He equates it with the realm of conscience, the mental world of the individual where people enjoy full autonomy and privacy.[76] An alternate definition equates the private sphere with the family home, which scholars portray as an effective refuge, at least by the eighteenth century, from the demands of society and a hothouse of emotional intimacy. Yet another definition sees individuals carving out "private" lives outside the home, in the activities and friends they freely embraced. These three definitions jostle against one another inconsistently in the third, early modern volume of Philippe Ariès' *History of Private Life*.[77] Europe's *schuilkerken* testify to the widespread operation, beginning as early as the sixteenth century, of the second definition. Although other structures served also as disguises, most *schuilkerken* were tolerated by pretending they were family homes. The Edict of Nantes, Peace of Westphalia, and other official documents spoke of them explicitly as located inside houses. Several of the terms used to denote them—house church, prayer house, meeting house, mass house, house chapel—emphasized likewise their domestic character.

Schuilkerken also shed light on the nature of the public sphere. Habermas saw emerging in the eighteenth century a new, "authentic, bourgeois" public sphere, in which individuals engaged in rational discussion and debate, first about literary

[74] English transl., Cambridge, 1989; original German edition, 1962.

[75] Some of this vast literature is reviewed in Dena Goodman, "Public Sphere and Private Life: Toward a Synthesis of Current Historiographical Approaches to the Old Regime," *History and Theory* 31 (1992): 1–20.

[76] Reinhart Koselleck, *Critique and Crisis: Enlightenment and the Pathogenesis of Modern Society* (Oxford, 1988), esp. 11, 17–22. On this point, Olivier Christin follows Koselleck, as does a recent study of Leiden by Christine Kooi. Christin, *La paix de religion*, 209; Kooi, *Liberty and Religion: Church and State in Leiden's Reformation, 1572–1620* (Leiden, 2000), 162, 167, 194. While most historians today emphasize the limitations on the power of absolutist rulers, Koselleck conflates the reality of absolutist government with its most radical, Hobbesian theory.

[77] Eng. transl., Cambridge, Mass., 1989, French edition, 1986. The second definition was classically formulated in Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500–1800* (New York, 1977); the third is artfully developed in Jonathan Dewald, *Aristocratic Experience and the Origins of Modern Culture: France, 1570–1715* (Berkeley, Calif., 1993).

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matters, then politics. Did *schuilkerken* help give birth to such a sphere? On first consideration, the hypothesis seems plausible. James Van Horn Melton has found "structural similarities" between Pietist conventicles and the salons, coffee houses, and other social forums in which Habermas sees the new sphere crystallizing.[78] *Schuilkerken* bear some resemblance to those conventicles. Other historians, most notably Dale Van Kley, have made a compelling case for the role of religious controversy in stimulating public debate and appeals to "public opinion" of the kind Habermas describes.[79] Obviously, *schuilkerken* were forums for the expression of religious dissent. Yet there are good reasons not to conflate the *schuilkerk* or religious dissent generally with the phenomenon that concerned Habermas. *Schuilkerk* congregations may indeed be regarded as components of a civil society separate from the state, but, with members of widely different social status and degrees of education, they did not form a unitary, enlightened public. Affiliated with every Christian denomination and both branches of European Jewry, they shared no common set of beliefs or practices. Some engaged in "rational-critical debate"; others gathered principally to enact rituals. Some allowed women and lay men to play leadership roles, but over time clerical authority tended to rise, not fall. Nor were such congregations hosted only in "bourgeois" homes.

Habermas contrasted his modern public sphere to an earlier one characterized by "representative publicness." In the latter, self-display and self-representation to others were what gave a person or thing its public quality. Such publicness, he argues, was achieved through the use of insignia, clothing, demeanor, rhetoric, festivities, and other symbolic vocabularies. It was in itself an assertion of status and power.[80] Although brief and merely suggestive, Habermas's description of "representative publicness" does seem to capture the difference between public and private worship in early modern Europe. Symbolic self-representation to an external audience was precisely what distinguished an ordinary parish, or cathedral, or monastic church from a *schuilkerk*, and the publicness of the former was indeed an assertion of the status and power that distinguished a community's official faith from that of dissenters. Contrary, though, to Habermas's claim that this sort of publicness yielded to a new, modern one in the eighteenth century, the continued operation of *schuilkerken* suggests that "representative publicness" survived to the

[78] James Van Horn Melton, "Pietism, Politics, and the Public Sphere in Germany," in *Religion and Politics in Enlightenment Europe*, James E. Bradley and Dale K. Van Kley, eds. (Notre Dame, Ind., 2001), 294–333.

[79] Dale K. Van Kley, *The Damiens Affair and the Unraveling of the Ancien Régime, 1750–1770* (Princeton, N.J., 1984); Van Kley, *The Religious Origins of the French Revolution: From Calvin to the Civil Constitution, 1560–1791* (New Haven, Conn., 1996), 191–248; David A. Bell, *Lawyers and Citizens: The Making of a Political Elite in Old Regime France* (Oxford, 1994); D. Carrol Joynes, "The *Gazette de Leyde*: The Opposition Press and French Politics, 1750–1757," in *Press and Politics in Pre-Revolutionary France*, Jack R. Censer and Jeremy D. Popkin, eds. (Berkeley, Calif., 1987), 133–69; Arlette Farge, *Subversive Words: Public Opinion in Eighteenth-Century France*, Rosemary Morris, trans. (University Park, Pa., 1995), chap. 2; Peter R. Campbell, *Power and Politics in Old Regime France, 1720–1745* (London, 1996). Focusing on France, these scholars locate the origins of a "politics of contestation" not in inter-confessional debate but rather in the Jansenist controversy.

[80] Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, Thomas Berger, trans. (Cambridge, 1989), 5–14. The contrast between the two types of public sphere is usefully emphasized by Harold Mah, "Phantasies of the Public Sphere: Rethinking the Habermas of Historians," *Journal of Modern History* 72 (2000): 153–82.

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very end of the old regime and, fragmentarily, even beyond. While the trend was for them to grow in size and lose their concern about secrecy, *schuilkerken* always maintained at least a superficial invisibility. Their privacy, in the final analysis, was a widely acknowledged fiction, and an increasingly thin one at that. Yet as late as the 1780s, that fiction was still being maintained. As a concession to popular opinion—the prejudice of the orthodox—it bears a striking resemblance to the "don't ask, don't tell" policy that President Bill Clinton introduced for gays and lesbians in the U.S. military. Such pieces of social hypocrisy belie both the rationality and openness that Habermas attributed to the "authentic" public sphere. At the same time, they reveal how "unstable and elusive," in Melton's words, the boundaries between public and private really were, and still are.[81]

[81] James Van Horn Melton, *The Rise of the Public in Enlightenment Europe* (Cambridge, 2001), 15; see likewise Goodman, "Public Sphere and Private Life." Habermas himself presented his modern public sphere ambiguously as both normative ideal and social reality, as Keith Baker and Geoff Eley, among others, have pointed out; see their contributions to *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, Craig Calhoun, ed. (Cambridge, Mass., 1992).

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Conversion, Sex, and Segregation: Jews and Christians in Medieval Spain

DAVID NIRENBERG

> Universal history is the history of a few metaphors.
> Jorge Luís Borges

SEX HAS BECOME AN INCREASINGLY POPULAR TOPIC among historians. Whether because of changing methodologies (social history, the anthropological and the postcolonial turns, gender and queer theory) or the shifting desires of popular audiences, scholars are finding more meaning in the sexual interaction of their subjects than ever before. Some interactions, of course, are more interesting than others. Above all, historians seek sex that destabilizes categories and violates taboos. There is no doubt that the approach has been fruitful. The historiographies of colonial Latin America, of British, French, and German imperialism, and especially of race relations in the United States have all been enriched by studies too numerous to footnote, studies that explore sexual fears in order to understand how societies imagine their boundaries.

But sex has its dangers as well. The first of these is its universality, and the near universality of the many prohibitions that attend it. It is perhaps because so many societies have defined themselves through such similar strictures on sexuality that anthropologists and not historians were the first to explore their mysteries. Insofar as the sexual metaphors and rules through which societies describe themselves are widely dispersed in space and time, they seem a clumsy barometer for the transformations with which historians are often occupied. A second danger is closely related: we moderns tend to project backward our world-weary certainties, making sex pregnant with anachronism. Thus, for example, our experience of sex as the site at which nature and culture meet to produce "race" is often elevated to a general rule.[1] Rarely do we let ourselves be moved to wonder by the scandals of a distant age.

Like every article long in the making, this one has been shaped by the comments of many readers and audiences. Though unnamed, it is to them that my greatest thanks are due. Thanks, too, to the anonymous readers for the *AHR*, who put much obscurity to flight. A fellowship from the National Endowment for the Humanities supported the beginnings of this article, and a Mellon fellowship at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences hastened its conclusion. Traces of Sara Lipton's many readings and generous intelligence (as well as her published work) are everywhere upon it. Finally, this article should be considered one half of a conversation with Jane Dailey, who works on similar issues an ocean and half a millennium away.

[1] See Homi Bhabha, "Difference, Discrimination and the Discourse of Colonialism," in Bhabha, *The Politics of Theory* (Colchester, 1983), 194: "the body is always simultaneously inscribed in both the economy of pleasure and desire and the economy of discourse, domination and power . . . It follows that the epithets racial or sexual come to be seen as modes of differentiation." Compare Judith Butler, *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex"* (New York, 1993), 167–68; and Ronald Hyam, *Empire and Sexuality: The British Experience* (Manchester, 1990), 203, "sex is at the very heart of racism."

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The pages that follow confront these dangers. They explore the power of ancient and enduring sexual metaphors across a period of rapid change in the way Christians living in the medieval Iberian Peninsula thought about religious classification. From the late eleventh century to the end of the fifteenth, significant populations of Jews and Muslims lived under Christian domination in the lands we now call Spain. Their coexistence was not easy, for each of the three religious communities felt at risk, both physically and spiritually, from the others. That coexistence can best be described as a punctuated equilibrium: long periods of constant but functional conflict separated by episodes of widespread violence. Sex was one of the primary languages through which that conflict was articulated, and we will follow its inflection from the late thirteenth century, through the massacres and mass conversions of tens of thousands of Jews that took place across the Iberian Peninsula in 1391 and into the fifteenth century. Our fulcrum, 1391, is an important date in Jewish and Spanish history. From a Jewish point of view, it was a cataclysmic year that witnessed the greatest loss of Jewish souls in the Middle Ages and (in retrospect) marked the beginning of the end for Spanish Jewry. It would become a cataclysm of a different sort for Christians as well, the origins of a crisis of classification ("Who is a Jew?") that has seemed to many Spanish historians a "principal cause of the decadence of the Peninsula."[2] The crisis will be less familiar to most readers than those that accompanied, for example, the emancipation of African Americans in the U.S. South, the emancipation of Jews in modern Europe, or colonialism's (de)stabilization of racial categories. It was, however, every bit as sharp and every bit as productive. In fact, one of its products, according to some historians, was the birth of racism itself, specifically of racial anti-Semitism.[3] But we will not begin with that position. Let us instead approach the subject of sex with an adolescent innocence, in the hope that we might yet be surprised by the past.

WE WILL START WITH THE UNIVERSAL. Medieval people, like their predecessors and successors, had a number of common metaphors to hand with which to imagine themselves as a sexual community. Probably the most familiar is the image of society as a human (generally male) body, as in St. Paul's "body of Christ" (1 Corinthians 12) or John of Salisbury's "body politic."[4] But this corporatist image, so

[2] The quote is from Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, *Historia de los heterodoxos Españoles*, 3 vols. (1882; rpt. edn., Mexico City, 1982), 1: 410.

[3] See most recently George M. Fredrickson, *Racism: A Short History* (Princeton, N.J., 2002), chap. 1. The argument has a long bibliography, on which see David Nirenberg, "El concepto de la raza en la España medieval," *Edad Media: Revista de historia* 3 (Spring 2000): 39–60.

[4] For an early fifteenth-century example of such a metaphor from Iberia, see St. Vincent Ferrer, *Sermons*, José Sanchis Sivera and Gret Schib, eds., 6 vols. (Barcelona, 1932–88), 1: 140: "The head is Jesus Christ. The locks of hair that fly above it are the secular lords, who fly above poor people and above towns and cities by virtue of the lordship that they have; the ears are the confessors . . . the nose that smells are the devout Christians who smell the virtues of Jesus Christ . . . the mouth that eats the meat are the rich people . . . the feet that sustain the body are the laborers, for they sustain us and from their [labor] live the rich and the lords and all others." For a later (1449), richer, and more systematic use of the metaphor, see Alonso de Cartagena, *Defensorium unitatis christianae*, P. Manuel Alonso, ed. (Madrid, 1943), for example, at 150–51. The most recent commentary on the *Defensorium* is that of Bruce Rosenstock, "Alonso de Cartagena: Nation, Miscegenation, and the Jew in Late-Medieval Castile," *Exemplaria* 12 (2000): 185–204.

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important in medieval politics and theology, was seldom sexualized for the purpose of delineating religious difference. Perhaps this is because the logic of the imagery (organic diversity as a functional aspect of vitality) militated against the automatic exclusion of groups like Jews and Muslims that played recognizable roles in the social order. Or perhaps it is because the image was autonomous, lacking an "other" body capable of producing sexual danger.[5] Whatever the reason, a second corporal image for the Christian community was more widespread in Christian thought and art, and more central to the sexual imagination of society. This was *Ecclesia*, that is, the church personified as a woman. The image provided a strong foundation for a discourse of anxiety about interfaith sex, and this for two reasons. First, unlike the more political corporatism described above, the non-Christian was firmly excluded from *Ecclesia*. A long tradition of artistic and textual production presented *Ecclesia* as the positive antipode to *Synagoga*, the personification of Judaism.[6] Second, *Ecclesia* was understood in sexualized terms as the bride of Christ. In this sense as in so many others, she was the heir of Jerusalem/Israel, whom the prophets had so often characterized as God's beloved spouse. Sentimental readers will think immediately of the Song of Songs, whose erotic imagery has been commented on by Jew and Christian alike. The more puritanical might recall Hosea, commanded by God to marry a harlot so that he might better empathize with God's wrath over the infidelity of Israel, His chosen bride. Both the bitter and the sweet make amply clear the power of sexual and marital metaphors to describe the exclusive relationship that a monotheistic God expected to have with his people. Monotheism was best imagined as monogamy, idolatry as promiscuity.[7]

But *Ecclesia* was a collective representation. Her erotic charge needed to be fragmented if it was to compel fidelity at the level of the individual. That fragmentation was achieved early. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians, for example, urged every (male) Christian to care for his wife's body, and to guard her purity, just as Jesus guarded his own wife Ecclesia.[8] It was an analogy well suited to sustaining the vast interpretive edifice necessary for the linking of collective religious identities to the sexual body of the individual. Perhaps for this reason, the many medieval Iberian texts concerning sex between Christian and non-Christian rarely invoked the collective corporatist metaphors. Instead, they took as their point of departure the (much less studied) individualized analogies. As in Ephesians, these analogies treated the patriarchal family, not the body, as the foundational metaphor

[5] The organic imagery may also have attenuated the negative valence of sexuality by presenting it as a necessary function of the natural body. Thus prostitutes, when they are explicitly included in such imagery, are assigned a vital role as "drains" of excess male lust. See Jacques Rossiaud, *Medieval Prostitution* (Oxford, 1988), 81, 103; Francesc Eiximenis, *Lo Crestià*, Albert Hauf, ed. (Barcelona, 1983), chap. 574, p. 155 and following.

[6] See most recently Sara Lipton, "The Temple Is My Body: Gender, Carnality, and *Synagoga* in the Bible Moralisée," in *Imaging the Self, Imaging the Other: Representations of Jews in Medieval Visual Culture*, Eva Frojmovic, ed. (Leiden, 2002), and the bibliography contained therein.

[7] Although this article was written without its benefit, I have since discovered the delightful analysis of Moshe Halbertal and Avishai Margalit, *Idolatry* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992), chap. 1. The bibliography on the erotic imagery of the Song of Songs is enormous. See, for example, E. Ann Matter, "Il matrimonio mistico," in *Donne e fede: Santità e vita religiosa in Italia*, Lucetta Scaraffia and Gabriella Zarri, eds. (Bari, 1994), 43–60; Judith S. Neaman, "The Harlot Bride: From Biblical Code to Mystical Topos," *Vox benedictina* 4, no. 4 (1987): 277–306; Gerson Cohen, "The Song of Songs and the Jewish Religious Mentality," in *The Samuel Friedland Lectures, 1960–1966* (New York, 1966), 1–21.

[8] Epistle to the Ephesians 5.25–33.

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for Christian community. The metaphors were common throughout the Christian Middle Ages, but I will restrict myself to a few Iberian examples. King Alfonso the Wise of Castile put it this way: "Since Christians who commit adultery with married women deserve death, how much more so do Jews who lie with Christian women, for these are spiritually espoused to Our Lord Jesus Christ by virtue of the faith and baptism they received in His name."[9] Every Christian woman, wed or unwed, was the bride of Christ through baptism. God had a sexual interest in all Christian women. As His wives, their bodies represented the extension of His authority and community, the point at which His honor as Father and husband was at risk. Because of this, women's bodies could become the site of fears concerning God's honor and that of His church.

Christian women were not just God's wives. They were also His daughters. Imagine—St. Vincent exhorted Christians in a sermon against prostitution—that the king had a daughter. Even if she consents with pleasure to have sex with you, do you not betray the king in lying with her? Would you not deserve to be drawn and quartered? The king is Jesus Christ: are prostitutes not His daughters? "Yes, surely, for he has engendered them in baptism, just as he has engendered you and all other [Christians]."[10] God's "engendering" of the Christian family was of course central to the metaphor, and it too was understood in explicitly sexual terms. "Jesus every day impregnates the Church, and the womb is the baptismal font, and he sends there his semen from heaven." It is therefore the obligation of every Christian woman to honor father and mother, Jesus Christ and Holy Mother Church.[11] It is also their spousal duty to honor Him as husband, a duty all the greater because of the immense disparity of status between divine groom and human bride. "If a king takes the daughter of a poor laborer as wife, and she leaves him and goes off with villains, she would be considered a great whore."[12]

In all of these analogies, the emphasis is on a sexualized God. Occasionally, this sexuality is gendered feminine.[13] Much more often, however, God is a paterfamilias, whether as husband or as father, with rights over His "family." The violation of those rights diminishes His honor, and constitutes an insult both to Him and to his "household," that is, to the entire Christian community. Of course, God's rights and His honor extend far beyond the sexual, and St. Vincent, like many other medieval preachers, talked frequently of the obligation to honor God in every action.[14] Judging from the space allotted to it in his sermons, however, sex played as large a role in the divine economy of honor as it did in the human one.

[9] *Siete partidas* 7.24.9. The translation is Dwayne E. Carpenter's, *Alfonso X and the Jews: An Edition and Commentary on Siete Partidas 7.24 "De los judíos"* (Berkeley, Calif., 1986), 35. For the punishment of Muslims, see *Siete partidas* 7.25.10, briefly discussed in Carpenter's "Minorities in Medieval Spain: The Legal Status of Jews and Muslims in the *Siete Partidas*," *Romance Quarterly* 33 (1986): 283.

[10] Vincent, *Sermons*, 1: 190–91, Feria V; 2: 18, In die sancti Iohannis.

[11] Vincent, *Sermons*, 1: 121, Feria VI. In 3: 263, Sabbato [post dominicam XIV post Trinitatem], he uses the same image to explain why Jews and Muslims, who are not baptized, are not children of God.

[12] Vincent, *Sermons*, 2: 231–32. A similar analogy is used in 2: 153.

[13] Vincent, *Sermons*, 3: 179, urges all Christians to be attracted by God's beauty and to seek to lie with Him, just as they would seek to lie with a beautiful woman.

[14] See, for example, his sermon on "In omnibus honorificetur Deus," in Vincent, *Sermons*, 1: 111–22.

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These metaphors of marriage and reproduction defined the Christian community in a number of related ways. They represent the Christian community as a family of brothers and sisters tied to God through overlapping bonds of marriage and paternity. The limits of the community are marked by strict endogamy. Muslims and Jews are not God's children, since they have not undergone God's engendering baptism.[15] They are explicitly excluded from the kin group, and should therefore (as Alfonso put it) have no sexual contact with it, lest such contact establish a kinship in the flesh that dishonored the more vital kinship in the spirit.

The analogy of sexual honor had an additional virtue, for it described the Christian community's claims to privilege and allegiance in the same terms that individual Christians used to describe the claims of their own families.[16] In this sense, the analogy served to bridge the gap between the individual and the collective.[17] In sociological terms (I am adapting Georg Simmel), the discourse of honor functioned to stabilize "the cohesion, standing, regularity, and furtherance of the life processes" of a social group, and to isolate it from other groups or classes. It did so by appealing to the individual's "conviction that the maintenance of his honor constitutes his most intrinsic, most profound and most personal self-interest." This is what made honor, according to Simmel, "one of the most marvelous, instinctively developed expediencies for the maintenance of group existence."[18]

There were a number of other ways in which the theology of Christian sexual honor reinforced the Christian community's sense of a coherent and cohesive identity. One of these was as object of collective punishment. Within the economy of honor in which God and medieval Christians functioned, insult required vengeance. A late fourteenth-century altar painting (retable) from Santa María de Sixena reminded worshipers that this vengeance could be aimed at the individual transgressor. It depicted a woman kneeling at Communion, her throat gushing blood where the Eucharist had slit it. In the neighboring panel, we see the reason for the wafer's aggression: the communicant had just taken leave of her Muslim lover.[19]

Much more often, however, punishment was aimed not merely at the sinner but at the totality of the collective that was dishonored and corrupted by the sin. The instruments of God's discipline were plague, famine, civil war, and other horrors.[20]

[15] Vincent, *Sermons*, 3: 263.

[16] The literature on honor, gender, and family structure is vast. See, for example, the recent contribution by Petrus Cornelis Spierenburg, "Masculinity, Violence, and Honor: An Introduction," in *Men and Violence: Gender, Honor, and Rituals in Modern Europe and America*, Spierenburg, ed. (Columbus, Ohio, 1998). For an Iberian example, see Mark Meyerson's ongoing work in Valencia, for instance, "'Assaulting the House': Interpreting Christian, Muslim, and Jewish Violence in Late Medieval Iberia," in *Children of Abraham: Judaism, Christianity, and Islam in the Middle Ages*, Aminadav Dykman and M. Taccioni, eds. (University Park, Pa., forthcoming).

[17] There were other analogies available that were less "sexualized" than the family analogy, but these too were generally implicated in the same logic of honor. Consider, for example, the analogy of baptism as an oath of fealty, requiring the Christian's loyalty and willingness to uphold the honor of his lord (Vincent, *Sermons*, 3: 111).

[18] Ute Frevert, *Men of Honor: A Social and Cultural History of the Duel* (Cambridge, Mass., 1995), 47; Georg Simmel, *Soziologie*, 5th edn. (Berlin, 1968), 403–06.

[19] Museo de Arte de Catalunya, inv. no. 15916, attributed to Jaume Serra. See José Gudiol and Santiago Alcolea i Blanch, *Pintura gótica catalana* (Barcelona, 1986), 51, no. 110 (illustration on p. 224).

[20] Hence the municipal governments of Valencia worried, in 1335, about the public health

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Again, St. Vincent was a systematic exponent of this logic. In a number of his sermons, he listed six particularly dishonorable sins that provoke God's punishing anger: reliance on witches and fortune-tellers; blasphemy; ignoring God's feasts (Sundays and holidays); failing to bring gamblers, usurers, and other thieves of God's goods to justice. The fifth sin (and the one that often received the most space) was negligence in the repression of prostitution. If the populace wished to avoid divine punishment, it must locate any brothel outside the town. It must allow no concubines or public women in its midst, for if even just one man should have a concubine, "it is something very dangerous for the community." Had not St. Paul explained that, on account of one concubine alone, an entire "city was corrupted, and suffered great plagues"? "Do you not know that a little leaven corrupts the entire dough?" "Therefore, eject the prostitute into the street, for on her account so many plagues have come upon you."[21] Finally, the sixth point: segregate Jews and Muslims, and have nothing to do with them. Do not even light their fires, for it was in just such a seemingly innocent transaction that "a young Christian girl was raped by a Jew." Proper attention to these six issues, according to St. Vincent, would guarantee the health of the city and allow its inhabitants to say: "In the holy dwelling I ministered before Him."[22]

It is not so much the content of this catalog of vice that concerns us here as the images that were called upon in this and other sermons in order to express the dangers that sexual sins posed to the community. A little yeast in a large mass of dough, one sick sheep infecting the flock, a spoiled apple rotting the entire bin: all these analogies supported models of corruption and contagion that raised the consequences of individual sin to the level of the community. In this sense, anxieties about sexual honor helped to define the Christian community as a collective with "natural" boundaries whose integrity needed to be maintained if disease was to be avoided. Here, too, then, the language of sexual honor worked "to express both the exclusive nature of the allegiance and the confused social experience."[23]

implications of sins taking place within their jurisdiction, "for which sins, so enormous and grave . . . our lord God . . . gives great whippings, even canings." See Archivo Histórico Municipal, Valencia (hereafter, AMV), Lletres Missives (Ll.M.), g^3-1, fol. 51v (November 1335).

[21] Vincent, *Sermons*, 3: 111–13. The Pauline citation is from 1 Cor. 5. Elsewhere, St. Vincent draws on different analogies from the world of fermentation: "Corruption of the populace: for if there is a woman, concubine, or [sexual] friend of someone in the town, the entire town is corrupted . . . , and one such person can corrupt more than all the others can cure." He goes on: "If you have 1,000 apples in a bin, and one is rotten, all the others will rot . . . thus one bad person corrupts the good ones." Such corruption angers God, so that he sends us plague (*Sermons*, 2: 217–19). Similarly, *Sermons*, 3: 140: one bad apple can corrupt the whole container, and even all the good apples together cannot cure the one that is rotten.

[22] "In habitacione sancta coram ipso ministravi." The reference is to Ecclesiasticus 24.10–11: "In the holy tent I ministered before Him/ and thus became established in Zion. In the beloved city he has given me rest,/ and in Jerusalem I wield my authority."

[23] The quote is from Mary Douglas, *Natural Symbols: Explorations in Cosmology* (1973; New York, 1982), viii. Her work is of obvious relevance here, although I believe it is quite significant that the metaphors I have described are not those preferred by her theory, of Christian society as a body. Rather, the emphasis in my sources is on society as an aggregate of individual units bound together by the intimately related forces of kinship, common honor, and a shared vulnerability to each other's disease. See also Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (Boston, 1966), 122–28; and her more recent "Rightness of Categories," in *How Classification Works: Nelson Goodman among the Social Sciences*, Douglas and David L. Hull, eds. (Edinburgh, 1992), 239–71.

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In other words, the sexualized boundaries inscribed on the bodies of women in order to demarcate familial honor could be generalized to heighten the cohesion of larger units of society. This resulted in something of a hierarchy of sexual sins. Moral reformers like St. Vincent seldom ranked systematically the sins they preached against, but they clearly feared some adulteries more than others. For example, because priests touched Christ's Eucharistic body in the Mass, the clerical concubines whose bodies corrupted those hands dishonored Christ doubly: "You, woman, who grant your body to a cleric . . . commit a greater sin by lying just once with him than if you granted it to all the other men in Aragon *in specie*."[24] And of course, forms of sexual activity that might normally be tolerated could be perceived as dangerous at specific times, such as during plagues or Lent. But the type of sexual sin that elicited by far the most sustained and extensive concern, and that was considered to be the greatest "dishonor to God and to the Catholic faith," is the one that concerns us here: intercourse between God's friends and His enemies, that is, in this case, between Christians and Muslims or Jews.

It was largely (but not exclusively) to prevent such intercourse that throughout the Middle Ages Christian theologians (as well as Muslim jurists and Jewish rabbis) emphasized the importance of maintaining sexual boundaries between the three religious groups. These boundaries might be said to constitute the "skin" of the sexualized body social. But it is important to remember that, unlike skin, these boundaries did not have a fixed location, meaning, or function in society. Rather, they were dynamic, displaceable, and highly responsive to the changing needs of the societies that produced them.

At some level, ancient and medieval legislators, whether Christian or Jew, were well aware of this. The Babylonian Talmud wrestles with the fact that the biblical passage on which Jewish restrictions on intermarriage were based applied explicitly only to intermarriage with people from seven nations that had ceased to exist shortly after the conquest by the Israelites of the Holy Land, more than a thousand years before.[25] The Talmudic passage treats the evolution of sexual boundaries in historical time and shows a full awareness that the sexual boundary can be extended to all kinds of nonsexual interaction. The passage even articulates the logic by which such movement occurs. Because sex and marriage can be positioned along a continuum of social and cultural relations and types of exchange, prohibitions on sex and marriage can be moved along that continuum as well: private association may lead to sex, hence association is forbidden. And of course, all these sexual boundaries were related to the more fundamental religious one: "With all the things against which they decreed the purpose was to safeguard against idolatry . . . [They made a decree] against their bread and oil on account of their wine; against their wine on account of their daughters; against their daughters on account of

[24] Vincent, *Sermons*, 1: 190–91, Feria V.

[25] Babylonian Talmud, 'Avoda Zahra 36b, Soncino translation: "The biblical ordinance [against intermarriage] is restricted to the seven nations [of Canaan] and does not include other heathen peoples; and [the schools of Hillel and Shamai] came and decreed against these also . . . Perhaps the biblical ordinance refers to an Israelite woman in intercourse with a heathen since she would be drawn after him, but not against an Israelite man having intercourse with a heathen woman, and they [court of the Hasmoneans] came and decreed even against the latter . . . The decree of the Hasmoneans was against intercourse but not against private association, so they came and decreed even against this."

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another matter."[26] The medieval Jewish scholar Maimonides put it more bluntly when he wrote that prohibitions on exchange and social interaction between Jews and non-Jews were established as a "precaution, lest such [social] intercourse should lead to intermarriage." The logic is strikingly similar to that of a formulation famous in anthropology: "A continuous transition exists from war to exchange, and from exchange to intermarriage, and the exchange of brides is merely the conclusion to an uninterrupted process of reciprocal gifts, which effects the transition from hostility to alliance, from anxiety to confidence, and from fear to friendship."[27]

Medieval Christians read little Talmud and less anthropology, but they would have recognized this logic as their own. They, too, shared the sense that seemingly innocent forms of exchange might lead to the effacement of difference, and thereby to more dangerous exchanges. The canon lawyer Johannes Teutonicus made the point quite wittily when asked: why are Christians allowed to talk to Jews but forbidden to eat with them? The reply: talking is one thing, but eating? Who knows what can happen between courses.[28] And they, too, used anxiety about the integrity of sexual boundaries to underwrite any number of practices of discrimination and identification.[29] When, for example, the "Jewish badge" was imposed at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, the distinction was justified as necessary in order that easy identification might prevent sexual intercourse across religious lines. The same logic was repeated later in the century by King Alfonso, and is frequent in Iberian legislation:

> Many errors and offensive acts occur between Christian men and Jewish women and between Christian women and Jewish men as a consequence of their living together in cities and dressing alike. In order to obviate the errors and evils that might result from this situation, we consider it proper and decree that all Jewish men and women living in our kingdom wear some sort of mark upon their heads so that all may clearly discern who is a Jew or a Jewess.[30]

[26] Babylonian Talmud, 'Avoda Zahra 36b. Compare *Sifrei on Numbers*, sec. 131, where the Israelite descent into the worship of Ba'al begins with the search for bargains in Gentiles' shops, through a shared cup of wine during negotiation, to sex with the young shopwoman.

[27] Moses Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah*, Sefer Kedushah XII.2. Claude Lévi-Strauss, *The Elementary Structures of Kinship*, Rodney Needham, ed., James Harle Bell, John Richard von Sturmer, and R. Needham, trans. (Boston, 1969), 67–68.

[28] See Johannes's gloss to Gratian's *Decretum*, C.28 q.1 c.14 (Omnes deinceps clerici), s.v. Iudeorum: "Sed quare loquimur cum eis cum nec comedamus cum eis? Sed de hoc redditur ratio: quia maior familiaritas est in cibo sumendo quam in colloquio, et facilius quis decipitur inter epulas, ut xxii. q.iiii. Unusquisque (C.22 q.4 c.8)." My thanks to Ken Pennington for help with this reference. There are a number of studies on the status of non-Christians in canon law pertaining to marriage. See most recently Paul Mikat, *Die Judengesetzgebung der merowingisch-fränkischen Konzilien* (Opladen, 1995); James A. Brundage, "Intermarriage between Christians and Jews in Medieval Canon Law," *Jewish History* 3 (1988): 25–40; Walter Pakter, *Medieval Canon Law and the Jews* (Ebelsbach am Main, 1988), 263–91.

[29] The frequency of miscegenation between Christian and Jew would be cited, for example, to justify the expulsion of Jews from Anjou and Maine in 1289 and from the French royal domains in 1308 and 1322. See William C. Jordan, *The French Monarchy and the Jews: From Philip Augustus to the Last Capetians* (Philadelphia, 1989), 182; David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, N.J., 1996), 53.

[30] *Siete partidas* 7.24.11; Carpenter, *Alfonso X*, 36.

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In short, many medieval Christians believed, as so many other societies have done, that the transition from "other" to "self" (in this case, from infidel and alien to Christian and kin) would culminate in sexual union. Because of this, the entire process of spiritual identification and integration could be most powerfully represented in terms of the sexual act, a process bluntly described by St. Paul: "You surely know that anyone who links himself with a harlot becomes physically one with her (for Scripture says, 'the pair shall become one flesh'); but he who links himself with Christ is one with Him, spiritually."[31] This is why medieval Christian anxieties about identification and, ultimately, about the integrity of the self were so often expressed in sexual terms. It is also why, for Christian, Jew, and Muslim alike, the question was always where to draw the line to best interrupt this continuum. No matter where these boundaries were drawn, they were sexual in the sense that they justified themselves as safeguards against sexual danger. But they could be constructed in all kinds of places, and the place chosen could have a tremendous effect on intergroup relations. If, as in the Talmudic example, any and all associations were thought to lead to sex, then total segregation was necessary: if only wine drinking were dangerous, then anxiety could focus there.

THUS FAR, I HAVE BEEN OUTLINING the common logics and enduring metaphors of sex that medieval Christian (as well as Jewish and Muslim) communities used to help define and identify themselves as a collective, and to heighten the barriers of honor with which that collective surrounded itself. But the specific outcome of these logics within a given society was highly variable, always dependent on the peculiar shape and physiological needs of that social body. So let us now focus on the sexual vanities and vulnerabilities of Christian Spain in concrete time, namely before 1391 and after. Where did our subjects imagine their society to be sexually most at risk? How did they seek to defend that society from the sexual dangers that assailed it? It is through such questions that the sexual will become historical, capable of revealing the passions of a particular time and place.

So where, in the century before 1391, did Christians fear that their religion was sexually most at risk? Anxiety over the integrity of sexual boundaries can alight in many different places: on children, wives, slaves, widows, even (as in the case of the Spanish Civil War) on nuns. The particular form the anxiety takes depends not so much on the quantitative reality of sexual interaction (anxieties need not correspond to the real) but on far more complicated cultural logics, whose outcomes can be quite surprising. For example, the previous section described how the metaphor of marriage facilitated the convergence of familial and communal honor upon

[31] 1 Cor. 6: 16–17. The relationship between sexual and spiritual kinship could be explored further through the literature on consanguinity. See the material collected by James Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society in Medieval Europe* (Chicago, 1987), 356 nn. 155–56; "Marriage and Sexuality in the Decretals of Pope Alexander III," in *Miscellanea Rolando Bandinelli Papa Alessandro III*, Filippo Liotta and Roberto Tofanini, eds. (Sienna, 1986), 71. Compare, for example, Gratian's ambiguity on whether a prostitute can marry a former client (James Brundage, "Prostitution in the Medieval Canon Law," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 1 [Summer 1976]: 844) to Thomas Aquinas's ruling that a Christian who sponsored a non-Christian for baptism was barred on grounds of consanguinity from marriage with the convert. Thomas Aquinas, *Quaestiones quodlibetales* 6.3.2, Raimondo Spiazzi, ed., 8th edn. (Rome, 1949), 120–21. My thanks to Mark Jordan for this last reference.

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female sexuality in the theological and social imagination of medieval Christians. Given this convergence, we might expect a good deal of concern about the possibility that married or marriageable women might engage in interfaith adultery. In fact, such concern is almost entirely absent from the archival or the literary record. In the few court cases involving such accusations that I have found, the charges end up being dismissed.[32] Acquittal is the theme, as well, in Alfonso the Wise's *Cantigas de Santa María*, where the Virgin intervenes to save a young wife falsely accused by her mother-in-law of intercourse with her Muslim slave: a rare literary example of such concern in a culture where, it should be remembered, the presence of male Muslim slaves in Christian households was common.[33]

Those few texts that do focus on the desire of married Christian women for non-Christians tend to do so playfully, in the context of "frontier adventures." An Aragonese chronicle, for example, tells about one Count Don Rodrigo, who was engaged in a border skirmish with a Muslim king. Before turning his horse to flee, the king dropped his trousers and showed the count his penis: "What do you think of this," he boasted, and disappeared. Hearing the story from her husband at the dinner table, the count's wife conceived a desire for the Muslim and determined to join him, setting in motion an elaborate plot. The tale narrates the count's many travails, which included being locked in a chest by his wife, who had intercourse upon it with the Muslim and then presented it to him as a post-coital present. In the end, the count avenges himself, and the highly literary trickster narrative concludes on a didactic note: not with a moral about the dangers of miscegenation but with the text of certain prayers the count had found useful in his tribulations.[34] This sense of the sexual fluidity of the frontier is typical of a number of literary sources. "Mi padre era de Ronda y mi madre de Antequera," one poem begins. That is, my father is from a Christian town and my mother from a Muslim one. Romances like "Moriana y el moro Galván" remind us a bit less explicitly that the reverse could also be true. But the possibility of this type of sexual interaction seems to have provoked little anxiety. Even Alfonso the Wise, the author of the law cited above

[32] For example, when the Muslim Çalema Abinhumen was accused of sexual relations with Arnaldona, the wife of Ramon d'Aguilar, of Lleida, Ramon denied any knowledge or suspicion of the deed, and the charges were dismissed. Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Cancillería (Barcelona) (hereafter, ACA: C), 876: 60v–62r (April 2, 1344), cited by Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol, *Els sarraïns de la corona catalano-aragonesa en el segle XIV: Segregació i discriminació* (Barcelona, 1987), 31; published by Josefa Mutgé Vives, *L'aljama sarraïna de Lleida a l'edtat mitjana: Aproximació a la seva història* (Barcelona, 1992), 298–302. Of course, the motives for such denials need have little to do with innocence or guilt. The Jew who struggled with a naked Gentile he found hiding under his wife's bed chose to believe his wife's story that the man had given her his pants and shirt to repair, since if he doubted her she would be forbidden him by Jewish law. Solomon ben Adret (RaShbA), *She'elot u-Teshuvot* 1: no. 1187, cited by Yom Tov Assis, "Sexual Behavior in Mediaeval Hispano-Jewish Society," in *Jewish History: Essays in Honour of Chimen Abramsky*, Ada Rapoport-Albert and Steven J. Zipperstein, eds. (London, 1988), 47. There are exceptions. Samuel Bon Aloor, a Jew of Tafailla in Navarre, was killed by the Christian Pere Xemeniz in 1376 when he found the Jew in bed with his wife. See Béatrice Leroy, "Les difficultés de la communauté juive navarraise, observées par les officiers du royaume, au XIV^{e} siècle," in *Exile and Diaspora: Studies of the Jewish People Presented to Professor Haim Beinart*, Aaron Mirsky, *et al.*, eds. (Jerusalem and Madrid, 1991), 54. Leroy calls the case "unique."

[33] *Cantigas de Santa María, de Don Alfonso el Sabio*, Real Academia Española, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1889), 2: 262–64.

[34] Biblioteca de Catalunya (Barcelona), ms. 353, fols. 29v–32r. The manuscript is from the fifteenth century, and has been noted (for very different purposes) only by Martín de Riquer, "Una versión aragonesa de la leyenda de la enterrada viva," *Revista de Bibliografía Nacional* 6 (1945): 241–48.

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forbidding Christian women from having sex with non-Christians, could be relaxed enough to write a poem about a Christian woman who fights sexual duels with a Muslim knight on the frontier. She exhausts and defeats the brave Muslim but not before he wounds her with his "little lance."[35]

None of this is meant to suggest that Christian society approved of such intercourse. To the contrary, we know that it could be savagely repressed, and the legal punishment for it was death.[36] The point is only that, regardless of its quantitative reality, such intercourse did not form an important focus of public concern or anchor a rhetoric of anxiety about sexual boundaries between religious communities. Another sexual boundary does, however, emerge as particularly fraught in the medieval Iberian sources before 1391, and that is the one between Christian prostitutes and non-Christian men.

I have written elsewhere at length about the role of prostitutes in regulating relations between Muslims, Christians, and Jews in fourteenth-century Spain, and will therefore state the point baldly here.[37] Within this discourse of honor built on analogies of marriage and the family, concern focused on women who were outside the bounds of both those institutions. The archives are full of accusations charging Jewish and Muslim men with breaking the law against sexual intercourse with Christian prostitutes. In essence, prostitutes became the focal point for anxiety about sexual frontiers, the site at which dishonor threatened the Christian community. Prostitutes were the only Christian women routinely burned or strangled for the crime of sexual intercourse across religious boundaries, and they themselves knew that, if accused, they faced the flames unless they could exculpate themselves by proving that the non-Christian appeared Christian. Because markers of identity were for them a matter of life and death, prostitutes came to play the role of specialists in the recognition (and ideally, the rejection) of religious difference.

The story of Alicsend de Tolba and Aytola the Sarracen is a good example of this role. Alicsend was a Christian prostitute who visited a shepherds' camp in 1304. After some time, Lorenç the Shepherd ("Lorenç Pastor") went to the Muslim called Aytola the Sarracen ("Aytola Sarray") and asked him if he wouldn't like to have intercourse with Alicsend. Aytola objected that he was a Muslim and that he had no money, but Lorenç offered to loan Aytola the money and "told the said moor to say

[35] For examples of such romances (which are admittedly fifteenth-century), see *Romancero viejo (antología)*, María Cruz García de Enterría, ed. (Madrid, 1987), nos. 41, 54, 56. There is much recent work on the literary image of the Muslim. For a panoramic view, María Soledad Carrasco Urgoiti, *El moro de Granada en la literatura (del siglo XV al XX)* (Madrid, 1956), remains useful. For Alfonso's poem, *Cantigas d'Escarnho e de mal dezir dos cancioneiros medievais galego-portugueses*, Manuel Rodrigues Lapa, ed., 3d edn. (Lisbon, 1995), 36, no. 25. See also David Ashurst, "Masculine Postures and Poetic Gambits: The Treatment of the Soldadeira in the *Cantigas d'Escarnho e de mal dezir*," *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 74 (1997): 1–6.

[36] The risks were more theoretical than real in that, apart from prostitutes, virtually no Christian women were executed for the crime. I know of only one case, involving a nun and a Jew in Mallorca. Nevertheless, the punishments were feared. In 1311, Prima Garsón fled her home in Daroca when rumors implicated her in an affair with a Muslim named Ali, burned at the stake in her absence. After her capture, a medical exam proved her virginity and therefore her innocence (as well as the unfortunate Ali's), none of which had served to assuage her initial terror. See ACA: C, 239: 32v, 95r, 125r, 205v; ACA: C, 241: 117r.

[37] The next two pages summarize material from my *Communities of Violence*, chap. 5, to which the reader is referred for references.

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that his name was Johan, to speak in [*illegible*], and to say that he was from the port." The deception ended when Alicsend "recognized that he was a moor in his member" and screamed for help. Aytola fled, and Alicsend denounced both him and Lorenç for falsity and deviousness "in dishonor of God and of the Catholic faith."[38] In this case, it is Aytola's expulsion from Alicsend that identifies him as alien, an "otherness," which not coincidentally is somatized and recognized in his sexual member by the prostitute in her role as protector of God's honor.

This emphasis on the prostitute as incarnation of the sexual boundary between religions is perhaps the most distinctive feature of pre-1391 sexual moral economy. Insofar as this "social system" focused responsibility for maintaining the sexual integrity of religious boundaries on the prostitute, it construed sexual danger as narrowly as possible, and thereby freed a relatively large proportion of public and private space for interaction and exchange across religious boundaries. Before 1391, in other words, the prostitute's discipline (and the disciplining of prostitutes) sufficed to guarantee Christian confidence in the security of sexual frontiers. So long as the prostitute did her job, Christian and non-Christian could work together, gamble and drink together, even sleep in the same house, without triggering sexual panics.

Remaining within this "functionalist mode" for a moment, what is most striking about this system is its stability, or, rather, its ability to respond adequately to social change. I proposed earlier that the discourse of collective sexual honor functioned to stabilize "the cohesion, standing, regularity, and furtherance of the life processes" of the Christian community. We should therefore expect that heightened instability or incoherence in that cohesion would induce, one, a heightening of the language of sexual honor and a sharpening of the sexual boundaries through which that language inscribes itself in social life, and two, a more insistent demarcation of religious difference. This expectation is not disappointed. Consider, for example, the reactions of Iberian Christians to the murderous advent of the bubonic plague in 1348, and to its remorseless return decade after decade over the centuries that followed. Plague was believed to be (among other things) the result of disorder in Christian society, expressed in terms of insufficient attention to the honor of God and of His privileged people.[39] It is therefore not surprising that outbreaks of plague were often greeted with a host of moral reforms, including the heightened seclusion of prostitutes and increased concern with the dangers of interfaith sexuality.[40] At an extreme, Christians' attempts to augment the distance between Christian and non-Christian as a means of assuaging God's anger could lead to

[38] ACA: C, Procesos, new numeration 12/14 (1304), fol. 2v, testimony of Pedro, "fil d'en Enegot Saragoça." Unfortunately, the advice as to how Aytola should speak is illegible. For another case of a Muslim using the name "John" to pass as a Christian, see ACA: C, 528: 285r–v, February 28, 1334. The formula about dishonor of God is used often in cases of blasphemy or interfaith sexuality.

[39] For more extended discussion, see the epilogue to Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*. Compare René Girard's claim that in primitive societies "contagious disease is not clearly distinguished from acute internal discord," in "Generative Scapegoating," in *Violent Origins: Ritual Killing and Cultural Formations*, Robert G. Hamerton-Kelly, ed. (Stanford, Calif., 1987), 84, 90.

[40] Rafael Narbona Vizcaíno has shown that prohibitions on such intercourse were almost invariably reissued during times of famine and plague. See *Pueblo, poder y sexo: Valencia medieval (1306–1420)* (Valencia, 1992), 75. Contemporaries were quite explicit about the association. For example, the bishop of Valencia wrote to the town council in 1351 condemning the presence of Christians in the Muslim and Jewish neighborhoods of the city lest "by their sins, our lord God all-powerful might wish to send

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outbreaks of extensive violence against the Jews: the massacres of Jews in 1348 are a notorious example. More commonly, Christians might demarcate what they believed to be "proper boundaries" through more stylized violence. Hence the Jews complained in 1354 that "without any reason they injure, harass, stone, and even kill the Jews living in the said kingdoms and lands, the said Christians declaring that because of the sins of the Jews there come mortalities and famines, and committing the said harms against the Jews so that the said pestilences might cease."[41]

This logic quickly lost its violent force as the plague became familiar, another of a number of routine calamities. But the link between crisis and heightened concerns with interfaith sexuality did not disappear. We see it, for example, during the civil war that consumed Castile in the 1360s and culminated in the murder of King Peter "the Cruel" by his half-brother Henry of Trastamara. According to the propagandists of his rivals, Peter was a "cuckoo," a Jewish baby snuck into the royal cradle by the queen, who had supposedly given birth to a girl and feared being dismissed for failure to produce an heir. This explained Peter's cruelty and his bad government. For complex reasons, such "hybridity" stories tended to collect around nodes of violent resistance to monarchy.[42] But the point here is a simpler one. This was a society in which complaints about disorder, the subversion of hierarchy, or the erosion of privilege were often written in the shorthand of interfaith sex. It is in such crises of status, and not in the furtive meetings of star-crossed lovers, that we should locate the occasional outbursts of moral indignation (such as Seville's complaint in 1371 that the law of witness made it virtually impossible to convict Jews caught in adultery with Christians, or the plea of the cities assembled in parliament in 1385 about the proper protection of Christian women) that punctuate the century before 1391.[43]

Despite these crises, what is most characteristic of the system is its equilibrium. Heightened fears about pollution and the coherence of the body social might

pestilences about the land." AMV, Manuals de Consells, A-10, fol. 25 (October 7, 1351). Such arguments are frequent in the documentation.

[41] See the texts mentioned in Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence*, 239 n. 29. Add to those Real Biblioteca de El Escorial ms. ç.III.18, fol. 35r–v, where Prince Pere of Ribagorça writes to the pope in 1354 that "whenever God's omnipotent hand afflicts the people with some pestilence, mortality, famine, or poor harvest, many of the country folk hold the ignorant opinion that this happens because of the sins of the Jews," and indiscreet men exploit this belief in order to foment riots against the Jews, "deducing what is infamous, that once the Jews are banished, these pestilences, deaths, famines, and poverty will cease."

[42] On Peter, see Maurice Kriegel, "Histoire sociale et ragots: Sur l' 'ascendance juive' de Ferdinand le Catholique," in *Movimientos migratorios y expulsiones en la diáspora occidental*, Fermín Miranda García, ed. (Pamplona, 2000), 95–100. The partisans of Prince Charles used similar charges against his half-brother, the future "most Catholic king" Ferdinand, during the civil war in mid-fifteenth-century Aragon. And long before Peter, in Castile, Alfonso VIII's nobles were said to have saved king and kingdom by murdering his lover, a Jewess who had gained a dangerous ascendancy over him. See among other sources the *Crónica de 1344*, Biblioteca Nacional (Madrid), ms. 10,815, fol. 145r–v.

[43] In 1371, the municipal council of Seville complained of a law that they claimed allowed a Jew to be convicted of adultery with a Christian woman only if a Jew witnessed the crime, and stipulated that the accusing husband be executed if he could not thus prove his accusation. The king responded by granting that Jews could be convicted of adultery on the basis of only Christian witnesses, if those witnesses were unimpeachable. See Isabel Montes Romero-Camacho, "El antijudaismo o antisemitismo sevillano . . . ," in *Los caminos del exilio*, Juan Carrasco, ed. (Tudela, 1996), 106. For the Cortes of Valladolid in 1385, see *Cortes de los antiguos reinos de León y de Castilla*, Manuel Danvila y Collado, ed., 5 vols. (Madrid, 1863), 2: 322, law 3, against Christian women who live with Jews and Muslims.

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momentarily sharpen attention to possible lapses in the enforcement of sexual boundaries, or result in changes like that of 1371 in Seville, which altered the laws concerning the witnessing of interfaith adultery. But such episodes did not cause Christian society to question its basic confidence in the integrity of those sexual boundaries or to propose their dramatic reconstruction. The massacres and mass conversions of 1391 did.

THROUGHOUT THAT YEAR, Christian rioters attacked Jews in town after town across the Iberian Peninsula.[44] Thousands of Jews were killed, many thousands more converted to Christianity. Their conversion seemed at first miraculous to Spanish Christians. In the city of Valencia, for example, so many Jews sought baptism that the clergy feared running out of chrism. But the priests returned from supper to find vessels that they had left empty now overflowing. "Consider for yourself," the town council wrote the king, "whether these things can have a natural cause. We believe that they cannot, but can only be the work of the Almighty."[45] This sense of wonder was eventually replaced by a very different reaction. By the late fifteenth century, many Christians considered the conversions a disaster that threatened the spiritual health of the entire Christian community. The converts and their descendents were now seen as insincere Christians, as clandestine Jews, or even as hybrid monsters, neither Jew nor Christian. They converted merely to gain power over Christians, to degrade, even poison, Christian men and to have sex with Christian women. Some went so far as to see this insincerity as a product of nature. Baptism could not alter the fact that the Jews' blood was corrupted by millennia of mixture and debasement, indelibly saturated with a hatred of everything Christian. Hence purity of blood laws were needed to bar the descendents of converts from any position of power or privilege, and "natural Christians" were encouraged not to intermarry with them. Further, the danger of secret Judaizing warranted the establishment of institutions (such as the Inquisition) to identify, reform, or extirpate those at risk, and eventually justified the expulsion of the Jews in 1492.[46]

[44] The massacres and mass conversions still await their monograph. Among the many articles on the subject, see, for Castile, Emilio Mitre Fernández, *Los judíos de Castilla en tiempo de Enrique III: El pogrom de 1391* (Valladolid, 1994); and for the Crown of Aragon, the articles of Jaume Riera i Sans: "Los tumultos contra las juderias de la corona de aragon en 1391," *Cuadernos de historia* 8 (1977): 213–25; "Estrangers Participants als Avalots contra les jueries de la Corona d'Aragó el 1391," *Anuario de estudios medievales* 10 (1980): 577–83; "Els avalots de 1391 a Girona," in *Jornades d'història dels jueus a Catalunya* (Girona, 1987), 95–159. On Jewish reaction to the massacres, see most recently Ram Ben Shalom, "Sanctification of the Name and Jewish Martyrology in Aragon and Castile in 1391: Between Spain and Ashkenaz" [Hebrew], *Tarbiz* 70 (2001): 227–82.

[45] See the list of miracles in AMV, Ll.M., g^3-5, fols. 20v–22v, dated July 14, 1391, published in José Hinojosa Montalvo, *The Jews of the Kingdom of Valencia* (Jerusalem, 1993), 332–34, no. 11. The letter presents to the king the exculpatory claim that the massacres were a "misteri divinal" accompanied by many miracles and wonders.

[46] Many of these claims were first put forth explicitly in the polemics surrounding a revolt in Toledo in 1449. See Eloy Benito Ruano, "El memorial contra los conversos del bachiller Marcos García de Mora (Marquillos de Mazarambroz)," *Sefarad* 17 (1957): 314–51; and "La Sentencia-Estatuto de Pero Sarmiento contra los conversos toledanos," *Revista de la Universidad de Madrid*, 4th series, 6 (1957): 277–306. For a slightly later example of such claims, see the treatise known as the "Alborayque": *Tratado del Alborayque*, Biblioteca Nacional (Madrid), ms. 17,567; and Moshe Lazar, "Anti-Jewish and Anti-*converso* Propaganda: Confutatio libri Talmud and Alboraique," in *The Jews of Spain and the*

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Beneath the setting sun of Iberian Jewry, these later events cast a long backward shadow. Historians of medieval Iberia have therefore tended, like students of so many other "failed emancipations," to take continuities of hatred for granted. In their writings, new discriminations arise refurbished from the ashes of the old, rendered immortal either by the unchanging character of the persecutor (the anti-Semite remains at heart an anti-Semite) or of the persecuted (the convert remains at heart a Jew).[47] I do not propose to confront the full force of that historiography here but to chip away at its foundations with a series of blunt questions. First, how did the generation of Christians that came of age in 1391 and the quarter century following imagine the consequences of the massacres and conversions they had wrought? Why, as it turns out, were they so unconcerned with convert religiosity and so concerned about sex with Jews? Were their sexual concerns the same as those of their ancestors and descendents? If not, what can such differences teach us about, specifically, the emergence of Old Christian enmity toward converts and, more generally, about the function of sexual boundaries in systems of discrimination and classification?

The mass conversions of 1391 did provoke an important Christian "identity crisis," one that would sharply constrict the space available for religious diversity in the Peninsula. But this was a very different crisis from the later ones that would transform Iberia into a land of inquisitors and pure blood statutes. The concern of Christians in the years after 1391 was not that religious identity was unchanging but rather the opposite, that the disappearance of the Jews and the emergence of the *conversos* would undermine the distinctive value and meaning of Christian identity. Correspondingly, their attention was not focused on the religious practices of the converts or on establishing differences between Old Christian and New but on reinforcing the still more fundamental boundary between Christian and Jew.

Listen, for example, to King Joan I of Aragon in 1393. Writing to a number of his most important cities, he informed them that it had become impossible for "natural Christians," that is, not the converts, to tell who was a convert to Christianity and who was still a Jew. Henceforth, converts were to be forbidden to live, dine, or have conversation with Jews. The Jews were to be made to wear more conspicuous badges and Jewish hats, so "that they appear to be Jews." The king ended the letter with his most emphatic point: "And we order and desire that if any of these said Jews are found with a Christian woman in a suspicious place, in order

Expulsion of 1492, Lazar and Stephen Haliczer, eds. (Lancaster, Calif., 1997), 153–236. Lazar provides an edition of the text based on the Bibliothèque Nationale de France ms. Esp. 356. For an example of the literature that arose on how to deal with the "heretics," see Andrés de Miranda's treatise addressed to the Catholic monarchs on the need for an Inquisition: Escorial ms. Cast. a.IV.15.

[47] For an example of the first position, see Benzion Netanyahu, *The Origins of the Inquisition* (New York, 1996). For the second (far more common), see Jaume Riera i Sans, "Judíos y conversos en los reinos de la Corona de Aragón durante el siglo XV," in *La Expulsión de los judíos de España: Conferencias pronunciadas en el II Curso de Cultura Hispano-Judía y Sefardí de la Universidad de Castilla–La Mancha*, Ricardo Izquierdo Benito, ed. (Toledo, 1993), 82–83: "Está claro, para cualquiera que sea sensato, que los judíos bautizados masivamente en 1391 no podían sentirse integrados en la sociedad cristiana."

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to have carnal copulation with her, let them both be burned without mercy."[48] Similar admonitions would be continually repeated in the decade that followed.

The letters were probably triggered by the case of Saltell Gracià, a Jew of Barcelona who was that week being tried for "promenading in Christian dress and under guise of that dress having sex with many Christian women."[49] The case resonated, however, with preexisting concerns, which helps to explain the quite extraordinary fact that, from this particular, the king and his advisers hurried to articulate a general collapse of the normal processes of identification and classification in the wake of the mass conversions. The king stipulated a number of solutions to the problem, and their differential reception is interesting. First, he ordered that the social and physical distance between convert and Jew be increased through segregation. The order was roundly ignored. (In fact, the clearest attempt to increase residential segregation at this time, by the archbishop of Zaragoza, actually predates the king's letters and was strongly opposed by the monarchy.)[50] Second, the king demanded that the Jews be marked even more visibly. Authorities took to this option with gusto, "hypermarking" the remaining Jews by forcing them to dress in more distinctive clothes and increasing the size of the badge they were obliged to wear. Within a month of the king's letter, the queen had to issue another, ordering that no additional distinctions be imposed on the Jews of Valencia, since they were already "sufficiently marked," and additional clothing regulations would lead them to abandon the city.[51] Finally, the more fundamental point from which the others drew their power: the king demanded greater vigilance toward and punishment of sex between Christian women and Jewish men.

Such letters make clear that concern with sexual boundaries rose to the forefront of Christian consciousness in the very first moments of mass conversion. But the practical implications of that concern, and the political uses to which it could be put in ordering society, were very much open to negotiation. The problem of segregation provides a good example. Since the Fourth Lateran Council, if not earlier, church and (less frequently) secular authorities had preached and legislated the ideal of complete residential segregation of Christians and Jews, often invoking the danger of sexual mixing as justification. But throughout this period, the ideal, though frequently invoked, remained unimplemented.[52] As the example of Zara-

[48] ACA: C, 1964: 108v–109v, August 18, 1393, addressed to Tortosa, published in Fritz Baer, *Die Juden im Christlichen Spanien*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1929–36), 1: 716–18, no. 456. The Tortosa letter should be viewed together with those to Barcelona (see José-María Madurell Marimón, "La cofradía de la Santa Trinidad, de los conversos de Barcelona," *Sefarad* 18 [1958]: 72–77) and Girona (unedited, ACA: C, 1960: 120v–121v). A similar letter to Morvedre is dated April 4, 1396 (ACA: C, 1911: 46r–v, 2d numeration). See also Riera, "Judíos y conversos," 83.

[49] ACA: C, 2030: 80r–v (August 23, 1393): "quod ambulans in habitu christianorum et sub ipsis habitus velamine habuit rem carnalem cum pluribus mulieribus christianis."

[50] In early 1393, the archbishop of Zaragoza claimed that Christians could not "be well" near Jews, and he began excommunicating those who lived (as they always had) near the streets of the Jewish quarter. His position was not popular and threatened to foment a riot, or at least such was the pretext with which the queen ordered him to desist. See ACA: C, 2030: 47r–v (March 14, 1393).

[51] ACA: C, 2030: 136v–137r (September 3, 1393): "prou son senyalats," published in Hinojosa, *Jews of the Kingdom of Valencia*, 440, no. 191, see also nos. 218, 231, 235. In 1397, the tables would be turned, with King Martí revoking Queen María's severe statutes concerning Jewish dress: ACA: C, 2190: 30r–31v (July 10, 1397).

[52] For Castile, the best evidence for this comes from complaints in Cortes. See José María Monsalvo Antón, "Cortes de Castilla y León y minorías," in *Las Cortes de Castilla y León en la Edad*

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goza and other cities suggests, the necessity of sharp spatial or residential segregation did not become more obvious to most Christians in the generation after 1391, despite heightened concerns about sex.[53] In 1403, the town council of Lleida (Lérida) even revoked its statute banning converts from the Jewish quarter, claiming that it had been issued at the request of the Jews in order to inconvenience Christians.[54]

This still relatively permeable religious topography was transformed by the preaching of St. Vincent. He was the most important evangelist of the day and the impresario of the massive effort undertaken by papacy and monarchy in the early fifteenth century to reform Christian spirituality and to achieve the conversion of all the Jews of the Peninsula. His sermons were heard by hundreds of thousands, Christian and infidel alike, and thousands of Jews converted at his exhortation.[55] His motivations were multiple, ranging from apocalypticism to the politics of papal schism, and do not concern us here. For our purposes, it is enough to note that in and through his preaching the logic of segregation was transformed from a marginal and often contested strategy into the central metaphor of a well-ordered Christian polity. Beginning with his first preaching campaign in Murcia, St. Vincent urged the separation of Jews and Muslims from Christians so as to avoid the deadly sin of "conversation," by which he generally meant sexual intercourse. The Murcian council issued statutes to implement his plans (although they later exempted the Muslims from their prohibitions), and these were approved by King Ferdinand as

Media: Actas de la primera etapa del Congreso Científico sobre la Historia de las Cortes de Castilla y León, 2 vols. (Burgos, 1988), 2: 145–91; Pilar León Tello, "Legislación sobre judíos en las Cortes de los antiguos reinos de León y Castilla," in *Fourth World Congress of Jewish Studies* (Jerusalem, 1968), 2: 55–63. For the Crown of Aragon, the archives allow us to witness the negotiation in much closer detail. Compare, for example, King Alfonso's edicts stipulating the need to create separate Jewish neighborhoods in Cervera (for instance, ACA: C, 519: 98v–99r [May 9, 1328], 475: 116v [June 21, 1328]) with his issuing of licenses to Jews allowing them to live in Christian neighborhoods (see ACA: C, 433: 24r–v [October 14, 1328], 462: 201r–v [June 9, 1333]).

[53] In Mallorca, for example, converts were allowed to choose whether to remain living in their old homes in the Jewish quarter among Jews or to rent them out and move into traditionally Christian neighborhoods. A notary recorded the choices immediately after the mass conversions. See José María Quadrado, "La judería de la ciudad de Mallorca en 1391," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 9 (1886): 294–312. A short time later, the city received a letter from King Joan, urging that *conversos* not cohabit with Jews, "car lur conversació a present no poria esser sens perill e gran dampnatge." ACA: C, 1994: 186v–187r, cited in Riera, "Judíos y conversos," 83.

[54] Arxiu Municipal de Lleida, Llibre d'Actes no. 404 (1402–03), fol. 91r. In Castile, the lull in segregatory legislation between 1391 and 1405 has often been noted. The 1405 ordinances of Valladolid reiterated the demand from the Cortes of Palencia (1313), Toro (1371), and elsewhere that Jews wear badges, complaining that Jews "wear clothes and go about as Christians." See Emilio Mitre Fernández, "Notas en torno a las disposiciones anti-judías de las Cortes de Valladolid de 1405," *Proceedings of the Seventh World Congress of Jewish Studies*, 4 vols. (Jerusalem, 1981), 4: 115–22.

[55] The bibliography on St. Vincent is vast. On the specific topic of his mission to the Jews, see Vicente Beltrán de Heredia, "San Vicente Ferrer, predicador de las sinagogas," in *Miscelánea Beltrán de Heredia* (Salamanca, 1972), 225–33; Antonio C. Floriano, "San Vicente Ferrer y las aljamas turolenses," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 84 (1924): 558–80; Juan Torres Fontes, "Moros, judíos y conversos en la regencia de Don Fernando de Antequera," *Cuadernos de Historia de España* 31–32 (1960): 60–97; Francisca Vendrell de Millás, "La actividad proselitista de San Vicente Ferrer durante el reinado de Fernando I de Aragón," *Sefarad* 13 (1953): 87–104; Francisca Vendrell de Millás, "La política proselitista del Rey D. Fernando I," *Sefarad* 10 (1950): 349–66; José María Millás Vallicrosa, "En torno a la predicación judaica de San Vicente Ferrer," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 147 (1958): 189–98; and especially Pedro M. Cátedra, *Sermón, sociedad y literatura en la Edad Media: San Vicente Ferrer en Castilla (1411–1412)* (Salamanca, 1994).

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a way of eliminating the "many pimpings and adulteries between Christians and Jews."[56]

It is a symptom of the sway later events hold over our imagination that we have not been struck by the highly specific contours of the concerns expressed by St. Vincent's sermons. Like King Joan's letters of twenty years earlier, they focus not so much on the beliefs or religious identity of the converts but on the physical and social proximity of Jew to Christian, a proximity that threatens the very process of religious identification and classification. Moreover, the perils of that proximity are not expressed in terms of sincerity of belief or confessional allegiance but in terms of dangerous social and sexual intimacy. Unlike the later period, the solution proposed here has little to do with the policing of *converso* orthodoxy. What is advocated is a prophylactic heightening, through marking and segregation, of the physical distance between Christian and Jew.

Like Kings Joan and Martí, St. Vincent was clearly concerned that the converts were not being properly educated as Christians, but such an explicit focus on the religiosity of the converts was as rare in his sermons as it was elsewhere during this period.[57] Much more often, he stressed not the integration of the convert but the segregation of the Jew, and this in explicitly sexual terms. Of course, St. Vincent was very much concerned with sexual offenses of any kind, and he was convinced that sexual appetites were becoming increasingly deviant in his day. Nowadays, he complained, Christian men "want to taste everything: Muslims and Jews, animals, men with men; there is no limit."[58] But he was especially concerned about what he perceived to be an explosion of sex between Christians and Jews. In 1415, he told a Zaragozan audience that "many Christian men believe their wife's children to be their own, when they are actually by Muslim and Jewish [fathers]." If the citizens did not put a stop to such interfaith adultery, he warned, God would do so through plague. His sermon provoked a sexual panic. Christian patrols searched the streets, on the lookout for predatory Jews or Muslims in search of Christian women. One Muslim was seized, found with "iron tools for . . . forcing open doors" in order to obtain Christian women for Muslim men. Another was arrested after witnesses claimed to have seen him fleeing a Christian woman's room by the flat rooftops one night. So many charges were brought that the responsible judicial official was accused of fomenting a riot against the Muslims and the Jews.[59]

[56] The widely imitated Murcian statutes were issued on March 24, 1411: "Friar Vincent . . . has opened our eyes to the errors in which we live, and especially to the dealings and gatherings [*congregaciones*] that we . . . make with the Jews and the Moors, through which we sinned mortally each day against God." The second clause of the ordinance bars Christian women from Muslim and Jewish neighborhoods. Royal confirmation of the ordinance stressed the danger posed by the presence of Christian women in Jewish neighborhoods. See Torres Fontes, "Moros, judíos y conversos," 95–96. On Vincent's preaching in Murcia, see Julián Zarco Cuevas, "Sermón predicado en Murcia por S. Vicente Ferrer," *La Ciudad de Dios* 148 (1927): 122–47.

[57] For one example, see AMV, Manuals de Consells, A-25, fol. 79r, published in Hinojosa, *Jews of the Kingdom of Valencia*, 487–88, no. 288 (April 12, 1413). There, St. Vincent exhorts the town council to force the dispersal of the many *conversos* whose homes were clustered in the old Jewish quarter and resettle them in Old Christian neighborhoods, so that they might learn proper conduct from Old Christians. The councilors do adopt the plan, but the extent of its implementation is unclear. Note that there were no Jews living in Valencia, so that the difference between Christian and Jew could not be heightened merely through the Jews' more stringent segregation.

[58] Vincent, *Sermons*, 1: 224, "Sabbato [post pentecostes]."

[59] ACA: C, cr. Fernando I, box 22, no. 2764: "That he knew for certain that Jewish and Muslim men

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According to St. Vincent, the problem was one of ambiguous identities. Jews and Muslims were living among Christians, dressing like Christians, even adopting Christian names, so that "by their appearance they are taken and reputed by many to be Christians."[60] The solution he advocated was one of heightened marking and segregation. So powerful was his reasoning that it convinced the pope, the kings of Castile and of Aragon, and innumerable town councils and municipal officers to attempt the most extensive efforts at segregation in the Middle Ages. We have already encountered the example of Murcia, where sexual danger was used to justify the segregation of Jew from Christian. Within six months, the strategy had spread across the Peninsula. In Castile, late in 1411:

> the queen [regent] . . . reached Valladolid with the king her son, and found there Friar Vincent, who preached every day his marvelous sermons, and criticized frequently the living of Muslims and Jew among Christians, saying that they should be separated, both from conversation with Christians, and from their dwellings, because this was said to be the cause of very great and very ugly sins. And the queen, taking this upon her conscience, issued a proclamation throughout her province, that wherever they were, [Jews and Muslims] should be given places apart.[61]

Similar actions were taken in the Crown of Aragon, where King Ferdinand I implemented measures virtually identical to those of Queen Catherine in Castile.

The architects of these measures expressed themselves in traditional terms. King Ferdinand, for example, stipulated that respectable Christian women found in the Jewish quarter would be fined. Christian prostitutes, on the other hand, would be whipped: 100 lashes, the rough equivalent in Iberian jurisprudence of the death penalty.[62] But although the form was traditional, its intent and effect were revolutionary. No matter how heavily she was whipped, the prostitute no longer sufficed as a boundary between Christian and Jew: total segregation was necessary. The ideal was to prohibit all exchange:

were having relations with Christian women, to such an extent that many Christian men thought that they had sons by their wives who were theirs, when [in fact] they were by Moors and by Jews." Dated the last day of April [1415?], by Nicholau Burgès, procurator and syndic of Zaragoza. We have the text of a similar sermon given in Castile in 1412: "And first, there is no conversing with them in their homes, for Christians and infidels should not dwell in the same house, for luxury is an infectious evil, and many think they are sons of Jews but are [sons] of Christians, and vice versa. And just as Jews and Muslims are different from Christians in their law, so they should be different in their habitations." Colegio del Corpus Christi de Valencia, ms. 139, fol. 113, cited in Cátedra, "Fray Vicente Ferrer y la predicación antijudaica en la campaña castellana (1411–1412)," in *"Qu'un sang impur . . .": Les Conversos et le pouvoir en Espagne à la fin du moyen âge; Actes du 2ème colloque d'Aix-en-Provence* (Aix-en-Provence, 1997), 30–31.

[60] The original: "por su aspecto son havidos e reputados por muytos seyer cristianos, senyaladament entre qui no son conoscidos." From a letter written by the sworn men of Zaragoza after hearing a sermon by St. Vincent, dated January 28, 1415. ACA: C, cr. Fernando I, box 8, no. 919.

[61] *Crónica de Juan II*, ms. of the Biblioteca Colombina (Seville), 85-5-14, fol. 176r. See also P. Cátedra, *Sermón, sociedad y literatura*, 134–35.

[62] ACA: C, 2416: 60v–63v (March 20, 1413). The fine for married women was 50 florins, for single women the loss of their clothes. I have found relatively few instances of Muslims and Jews involved with Christian prostitutes in the fifteenth century. One case involved a Muslim from Zaragoza (1451), another a Jew from the same city (1484) who apparently quoted St. Jerome when apprehended. Both are reported in María del Carmen García Herrero, "Prostitución y amancebamiento en Zaragoza a fines de la Edad Media," *En la España Medieval* 12 (1989): 311–12.

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Jews and Muslims should be separate, not among Christians. Do not tolerate infidel doctors, do not buy victuals from them, let them be walled up and enclosed, for we have no greater enemies. Christian women may not be their wet nurses, nor should [you] eat with them. If they send you bread, throw it to the dogs. If they send you live meat, accept it, but not dead, for Holy Scripture says of these sins: "Do you not know that a little leaven corrupts the entire dough?" (I Cor. V). And say of the whore of Corinth . . .[63]

Note again how here the powers of corruption and plague that St. Paul attributed to the whore of Corinth are used to represent the dangers of all forms of exchange with infidels. If authorities fail in preventing such exchange, St. Vincent warned, the wrath of God would fall upon them and their cities.

In the interest of separating Christian from non-Christian, Jews were to be moved to segregated neighborhoods and severely restricted in their market and economic activities.[64] Trade between Jew and Christian was forbidden: in some towns, Christians even refused to sell Jews food. Because few Jewish neighborhoods were completely segregated, entire communities were evicted from their homes, "with boys and girls dying from exposure to the cold and the snow." A later Jewish chronicler called the discriminations of 1412–1416 "the greatest persecution that had ever occurred." And as in 1391, one of the consequences of this persecution was the mass conversion of tens of thousands of Jews to Christianity.[65]

MY EMPHASIS IN THE PRECEDING NARRATIVE is highly selective. I have stressed, for example, sexual sensibilities, while ignoring millenarian impulses, papal politics, the spiritual inclinations of kings, and many other topics of tremendous importance in structuring Jewish-Christian relations in the period 1391–1416. But the goal of my narrative is not to provide an adequate causal explanation of the period's events. I am not arguing, for example, that sexual concerns were the "primary reason" for the campaigns of segregation and evangelization. I seek only to demonstrate two much simpler points: that St. Vincent and his contemporaries chose to express in sexual terms their sense that they were living through a crisis of religious identification, and that their choice is meaningful. The language of sexual danger was invoked both as a symptom of the crisis and as a potent cure for it, simultaneously and somewhat paradoxically fortifying boundaries (through, for example, segregation)

[63] Vincent, *Sermons*, 3: 13–14.

[64] Although some have sought to minimize the impact of these policies by claiming that they were rarely implemented, the ACA preserves plenty of evidence of their implementation vis-à-vis the Jews, and of the violence and dislocation that this implementation caused. Muslims, on the other hand, though often named in the edicts, were apparently often exempted, sometimes formally (as in the case of Murcia), sometimes informally. The evidence for Castile, as in all things having to do with governance in this period, is much sparser than that of Aragon, but what there is suggests that the decrees were enforced. See, for example, the document from the Archivo Municipal de Alba de Tormes published by Carlos Carrete Parrondo in *Fontes Iudaeorum Regni Castellae*, 6 vols. (Salamanca and Granada, 1981–), 1: 30–31.

[65] Solomon Alami, *Iggeret Musar*, Adolf Jellinek, ed. (Vienna, 1872), 10b; Abraham Zacuto, *Sefer Yuhasim ha-Shalem*, Herschell Filipowski, ed. (London, 1857), 225b; Heinrich Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, 11 vols. (Leipzig, 1890), 8: 111 n. 2. For a Christian (*converso*) chronicler's report of hardship and conversions by both Muslims and Jews, see Alvar García de Santa María, *Crónica de Juan II*, cited above in n. 61 (see also the edition in the Colección de Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de España, vols. 99–100).

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and marking them as breached. But even though sex may have been both symptom and cure of the crisis, it was not its cause. The new anxieties were not the result of any increase in the amount of sexual contact between Christians and Jews. Accusations of sexual intercourse involving Christians and Jews were actually much more rare in the period 1391–1416 than they were during the two decades preceding the massacres. Apart from that of Saltell Gracià, the only significant case I know involved a convert who put his wife to work as a prostitute in the Jewish brothel of Zaragoza.[66] An interesting story but not sufficient stimulus for interfaith sexual panic.

What, then, provoked this sense of sexual crisis? Modern commentators have tended to ignore this question, assuming either that the language of crisis and of sex was a pretext for discriminatory pressure intended to further evangelization or (more frequently), that if there was a real crisis, *converso* Judaizing was its cause. St. Vincent and his sponsors certainly hoped and anticipated that their program of sexually justified segregation would result in the conversion of many Jews and Muslims to Christianity.[67] But treating such a powerful aspect of a culture's imagination as merely strategic teaches us little about how it gains its power or how it functions within society. As for the second and more important point, what is most striking about the generation of 1391 is its relative disinterest in *converso* orthodoxy and orthopraxis, the very issues that would come to characterize the later period. Certainly, officials did patrol the boundaries of faith. In Morvedre, for example, royal officials entered the Jewish quarter during Passover, 1393, and fined the (few) converts they found participating in "Jewish Easter" with their relatives.[68] But from 1391 to 1410, their chief concern seems to have been the prevention of *converso* emigration to non-Christian lands where they might return to Judaism.[69] In other words, officials were more concerned with open apostasy than with what we might understand as Judaizing, and did not equate the two. To the extent that there was concern about Judaizing, it tended to be projected on the Jews themselves, not on the converts. The Jew Jacob Façan, for example, was accused of encouraging his *converso* son to emigrate to North Africa, and of delivering *matzah* to converts in Sogorb. The converts who allegedly received the *matzah*, on the other hand, were not charged.[70] Christian authorities did worry that converts lingered in their old

[66] ACA: C, 2237: 39r–v (July 6, 1408). The king complained that this not only dishonored God but was also against nature, for even animals protect their mates from the sexual advances of others. ACA: C, 2312: 113v–114r (July 14, 1408), apparently concerns a number of Jews of Calatayud who had been imprisoned for having sexual intercourse with this woman.

[67] For a rare recognition of the strategic function of the legislation against Jews and Muslims, see the words of the child-king Juan II in 1411, "The goal for which these penalties were imposed is reached when the said infidels convert to the holy faith." Baer, *Die Juden*, 2: no. 277. See also Riera, "Judíos y conversos," 72.

[68] "Pascha judahica," that is, Passover. See ACA: Mestre Racional, 393: 36v, 38r–v.

[69] The concern here was partly with apostasy, partly with the fact that the converts took their wealth with them. There is a great deal of documentation concerning such emigration. On emigration to North Africa, see Haim Zeev Hirschberg, *A History of the Jews of North Africa*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 1974, 1981), 1: 384–88. For emigration to the Holy Land, Ben Zion Dinur, "A Wave of Emigration from Spain to the Land of Israel after the Persecutions of 1391" [Hebrew], *Zion* 32 (1967): 161–74; Joseph Hacker, "Links between Spanish Jewry and Palestine, 1391–1492," in *Vision and Conflict in the Holy Land*, Richard I. Cohen, ed. (New York, 1985), 114–25.

[70] ACA: C, 1906: 64r–66r (May 10, 1393). Published by Baer, *Die Juden*, 1: 705–11, no. 451; Hinojosa, *Jews of the Kingdom of Valencia*, 423–25, no. 164. See also Mark Meyerson, "The Jewish

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sensibilities, but voiced those worries rarely.[71] This is in striking contrast with the litany of complaints about Judaizing that would arise in the 1440s, especially when we consider the fact that in the 1390s the thousands of converts who had entered Christianity by force and without catechism almost certainly had little sense of how to practice their new religion.

The perception of crisis was provoked not by the converts' "Jewish" practices but by a much more complex phenomenon: the mass conversion's destabilization of an oppositional process of identification by which generations of Christians had defined themselves theologically and sociologically against Jews and Judaism. It is well known that Christianity had since its earliest days used the Jew to represent the anti-Christian, mapping polarized dualities, such as spiritual-material, allegorical-literal, sighted-blind, redemptive-damning, godly-satanic, good-evil, onto the pairing Christian-Jew.[72] As Rosemary Ruether, one of the most mordant historians of this process, described it: "It was virtually impossible for the Christian preacher or exegete to teach scripturally at all without alluding to the anti-Judaic theses. Christian scriptural teaching and preaching per se is based on a method in which anti-Judaic polemic exists as the left hand of its christological hermeneutic."[73] Ruether was primarily concerned with the first, formative centuries of Pauline Christianity, but her observation holds true for later periods as well. Indeed, in the Middle Ages, the phenomenon is so pervasive as to pass almost unperceived. The polarized pair Christian-Jew provided medieval theologians and their audiences a powerful hermeneutic through which to comprehend and classify their constantly changing world, with phenomena perceived as dangerous mapped onto the negative pole of the opposition. Issues as diverse as the rise of universities, the shift from parchment to paper, the increasing emphasis on the apostolic poverty of clergy, a perceived increase in simony, reliance on lawyers: these "innovations" and many more were characterized as "Judaizing." Perhaps the most fateful (and well known) of these characterizations were economic. Theologians reacted to what they perceived to be dangerous aspects of the new profit economy by labeling them as materialist and "Jewish." In Sara Lipton's words, "Moneylending . . . is not condemned because it is exclusively or even primarily a 'Jewish' activity; rather, because moneylending is condemned, it becomes in the sign system . . . a 'Jewish' activity."[74]

Again, St. Vincent provides us with examples. He "Judaized" those who sought

Community of Murviedro (1391–1492)," in Lazar and Haliczer, *Jews of Spain and the Expulsion of 1492*, 132–33. In a related case, however, Joan did order his subjects to cooperate with the inquisitor Barthomeu Gaçó, who was inquiring against necromancers and "malicious converts who hold the erroneous sect in their depraved hearts." ACA: C, 1927: 101r–v (November 7, 1393), published by Johannes Vincke, *Zur Vorgeschichte der Spanischen Inquisition* (Bonn, 1941), no. 144.

[71] In 1398, King Martí expressed concern that converts met with Jews to observe the Sabbath, and that "many frequently Judaize [*judaytzant*]." He ordered all officials to aid the inquisitors "to extirpate the aforesaid errors." ACA: C, 2229: 60r (February 4, 1398). In 1400, he decreed that *converso* observance of any Jewish holiday would be punishable by a fine of 100 sous, and encouraged the inquisitors in their search for such practices. ACA: C, 2173: 115r (August 12, 1400).

[72] For an example from St. Vincent, see *Sermons*, 3: 311.

[73] Rosemary Ruether, *Faith and Fratricide: The Theological Roots of Anti-Semitism* (New York, 1974), 121.

[74] Sara Lipton, *Images of Intolerance: The Representation of Jews and Judaism in the Bible Moralisée* (Berkeley, Calif., 1999), 45.

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secular learning, who "for the sake of a little knowledge want to be called Rabbis."[75] He translated Christian spiritual dangers into Jewish idioms in order to sharpen the point for his audiences, as here, on the perils of infrequent confession: "just as the Jews took great care to wash the vessels (taques), so you also take great care to wash the vessels before you drink, but often you take no care to wash the soul and the conscience through confession. And therefore in this way you are similar to the Jews."[76] And he stressed the "Jewishness" of usury and avarice in order simultaneously to reinforce the carnal materialism of the Jews and to criticize Christians who lend at interest as "Judaizers":[77] "today, nearly everything is avarice, for almost everyone commits usury, which used not to be done except by Jews. But today Christians do it too, as if they were Jews."[78]

Ruether argued that the projection of all carnality onto the Jews made Christianity blind to its own "bodiliness." "Christian spiritualization becomes false consciousness about its own reality, fantasizing its own perfection and unable to cope with its own hypocrisy."[79] As we have just seen, the opposite is also true. The negative pole of "Judaism" provided a powerful diagnostic tool for Christians to identify and condemn "carnal tendencies" within their society and themselves. It thereby threatened to "Judaize" any Christian who, for example, practiced usury, confessed infrequently, or enjoyed secular learning.[80] Nevertheless, it is certainly the case that the projection of carnality on the Jews facilitated the repression (to echo Ruether's psychologizing language) of Christian anxiety about a great deal of "materialism" and "carnality" in their own beliefs and practices.[81] It is thanks to the power of such projection, for example, that neither St. Vincent nor his audience was confused when in one breath he derided what he described as the Jews' "carnal" belief that proper piety brings reward in the form of health and good harvests and in the next threatened Christians with famine and plague if they did not enforce segregation.[82] Of course, these projections had little to do with "real Jews" or "real Judaism," and the hermeneutic they were part of did not require the presence of living Jews to function (of this, late medieval England and France are proof). But the existence of living Jews gave foreign flesh to these negations of the Christian and thereby heightened Christian society's sense of its own coherent identity.

In the Iberian Peninsula more than in many other regions of Europe, medieval Christians defined themselves sociologically, as well as theologically, against the

[75] Vincent, *Sermons*, 6: 104.

[76] Vincent, *Sermons*, 5: 221.

[77] This particular projection flourished into modernity. It is only "since Auschwitz," to quote Dan Diner, that "common linguistic usages such as the description of phenomena from the sphere of circulation as Jewish have forfeited their dubious claim to reality." (The claim may prove unduly optimistic.) See his "Reason and the 'Other': Horkheimer's Reflections on Anti-Semitism and Mass Annihilation," in *On Max Horkheimer: New Perspectives*, Seyla Benhabib, *et al.*, eds. (Cambridge, Mass., 1993), 337.

[78] Vincent, *Sermons*, 5: 147.

[79] Ruether, *Faith and Fratricide*, 160.

[80] "[To] call someone a Jew amounts to an instigation to work him over until he resembles the image." Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno, *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (New York, 1972), 186.

[81] Compare Horkheimer and Adorno, *Dialectic of Enlightenment*, 187: "What is pathological about anti-Semitism is not projective behavior as such, but the absence of reflection in it."

[82] As he did in a sermon from 1414, Biblioteca de Catalunya, ms. 476, fols. 136v–153v, in Josep Perarnau i Espelt, ed., "Els quatre sermons catalans de sant Vicent Ferrer en el manuscrit 476 de la Biblioteca de Catalunya," *Arxiu de Textos Catalans Antics* 15 (1996): 109–340.

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Jews. Individually and collectively, they asserted their honor as members of God's privileged people by contrasting themselves to the dishonored Jew.[83] Theologically, as St. Augustine had put it, the Jews' abjection in comparison with Christians was witness to the truth of the latter's faith.[84] But the performance of this contrast also became fundamental to the representation of Christian political and social privilege. The logic of sexual privilege and sexual boundaries discussed above provides a particularly important example of such sociological differentiation.[85] There were, however, countless others. At a political level, for example, community privilege could be asserted through juxtaposition with Jews. When King Peter the Ceremonious attempted to raise funds for his expedition to Sardinia and Sicily in 1378, the town council of Valencia replied that the imposition of arbitrary taxation "is nothing other than to make a jewry out of each of his municipalities . . . , and we will not give way to such a demand, for we would rather die than be made similar to Jews."[86] And just as the erosion of corporate privilege could threaten to turn a municipality into a Jewry, so the erosion of honor could Judaize the individual Christian. St. Vincent himself frequently complained of Christians who believed that failure to avenge an injury "would be a dishonor to me, for they would say of me: 'Oh, the madman! Oh, the Jew!' "[87] To withdraw from the economy of violence was tantamount to withdrawing from the fraternity of honorable Christian males. It was, in other words, to become "Jewish."

Christian identity and Christian privilege were defined by insisting on their distance from the Jew (and the Muslim). The performance of that distance could take place in countless venues: in the taking of vengeance or the paying of taxes, in the choice of foods or sexual partners, in law (as in the preferential treatment of Christian witnesses) and in ritual (as in the enclosure and stoning of Jews during Holy Week), to list but a few.[88] It is through the repeated performance of this essential distance that the symbolic capital of Christian honor and privilege was amassed.

The mass conversions of 1391 threatened the performance of Christian identity because they raised the possibility of a world without Jews. Many in the generation after 1391 worked to make that world a reality: a few by urging the slaughter of the

[83] The Muslim played an important role in this process as well, but that is a subject for a different article.

[84] The literature on the point is vast, but see most recently the chapter on Augustine in Jeremy Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law: Ideas of the Jew in Medieval Christianity* (Berkeley, Calif., 1999).

[85] Particularly important in that so many other distinctions were mapped onto the sexual one. For a formulation of the point derived from Lévi-Strauss, see Stanley Tambiah, "Animals Are Good to Think and Good to Prohibit," in Tambiah, *Culture, Thought, and Social Action: An Anthropological Perspective* (Cambridge, 1985), 169–70.

[86] The original reads: "no és als sinó fer juheria de cascuna de ses universitats . . . a aytal demanda no darem loch, car més amam morir que ésser semblants a juheus." AMV, LI.M., g^3-4, 108v (October 26, 1378), cited in Dolors Bramon, *Contra moros y judíos* (Barcelona, 1986), 67.

[87] Vincent, *Sermons*, 1: 42: "It would be a dishonor to me, for they would say of me: 'Oh, the madman! Oh, the Jew! He isn't up to avenging the death of his father!' "; 1: 93: "You aren't up to avenging yourself, for you have the heart of a Jew"; 1: 155: "Oo, they will say that you are a Jew!"; 3: 16: " 'Why didn't he kill him?' They will say: 'because he has the heart of a Jew!' "; 5: 190: "Oo, the Jew!" "Oo, the others will insult me."

[88] For an extended treatment of the Holy Week example, see my *Communities of Violence*, chap. 7, and "Les juifs, la violence, et le sacré," *Annales: Histoire, sciences sociales* 50 (1995): 109–31.

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unconverted;[89] others, such as the citizens of Barcelona and Valencia, by banning Jews from their cities in perpetuity; still others, like St. Vincent and his supporters, by mounting a program of evangelization intended to achieve the full conversion of the infidels.[90] These were exhilarating times for a Christian society trained to see the advent of the Messiah in the conversion of the Jews.[91] But they were also unsettling, destabilizing Christian identity in two important ways. First, the messianic "disappearance of the Jews" promised to eliminate the living representatives of a negative pole vital to the coherence of Christian self-understanding. Second, the emergence of the converts as an intermediate class produced a rapid narrowing of the social space that had previously separated Christian from Jew, and a consequent perception of the erosion of Christian privilege.

When the converts of 1391 emerged from the baptismal waters, they immediately occupied a good deal of the cultural "no man's land" that had hitherto divided Christian and Jew. On the one hand, they enjoyed all the privileges of the Christian. The convert Francesc de Sant Jordi put it a bit hyperbolically in a letter to the Jew Shaltiel Bonafos: "Those who have emerged from the waters of baptism, from the fountains of salvation, are firmly established upon golden pedestals. They are all personages. In their courts and in their palaces there are ivories and monkeys and peacocks and dwarves; they divested themselves of their soiled attire . . . and donned the garments of salvation."[92] Of course, we know that the vast majority of converts remained poor, without peacock or dwarf. But their status had improved in the sense that even the lowliest could now throw rocks at Jews during Holy Week, have sex with Christian prostitutes, or marry Christian women, and many of them did. In the early sixteenth century, after the forced conversion of many Muslims to Christianity, the town council of Valencia complained that the Christian brothel was so crowded with Moriscos seeking to exercise their new sexual privileges that Old Christians could not get in the door. We have no such official record from the Jewish conversions a century before, but we do have plenty of complaints from individuals such as the Valencian Jaume Roig, who wrote a poem denouncing his former concubine for allowing herself to be penetrated by the "hatless rod" of his *converso* rival.[93]

[89] See, for example, the charges made circa 1393 against Antoni Rieri of Lleida, who was accused, among other things, of preaching that the prophesied time had arrived "in which all the Jews should be killed, so that henceforth no Jew should remain in the world." Jaume De Puig i Oliver, "La *Incantatio studii ilerdensis* de Nicolau Eimeric, O.P.," *Arxiu de Textos Catalans Antics* 15 (1996): 47. Lleida was the scene of anti-Jewish violence just a few years later, perpetrated by "some children of iniquity seeking the destruction of the Jewry of that city, which . . . we have just established." ACA: C, 2232: 95v–96r (October 25, 1400).

[90] Vincent's messianic inspiration is well known. On apocalyptic currents in the Peninsula, see José Guadalajara Medina, *Las profecías del anticristo en la Edad Media* (Madrid, 1996), 232–47; José María Pou y Martí, *Visionarios, beguinos, y fraticelos catalanes (siglos XIII–XV)*, with an introduction by Juana María Arcelus Ulibarrena (Madrid, 1991).

[91] See most recently Robert E. Lerner, *The Feast of Saint Abraham: Medieval Millenarians and the Jews* (Philadelphia, 2001), especially chap. 7, on 1391 and Francesc Eiximenis's millenarian ideas.

[92] Hebrew text in Frank Talmage, "The Francesc de Sant Jordi-Solomon Bonafed Letters," in *Studies in Medieval Jewish History and Literature*, Isadore Twersky, ed. (Cambridge, Mass., 1979), 345. The biblical allusion is to 1 Kings 10: 22. The translation is from Eleazar Gutwirth, "Habitat and Ideology: The Organization of Private Space in Late Medieval *Juderías*," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 9, no. 2 (1994): 208.

[93] I know of the complaint about Moriscos through conversation with L. P. Harvey. For Jaume

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Yet at the same time that converts enjoyed the privileges of the Christian, many of them still lived in close social, cultural, and physical proximity to their former coreligionists. The converts often occupied, as they had before their conversion, houses in or near the Jewish quarter. For many years (and certainly throughout the period that concerns us here), their financial affairs remained hopelessly entangled with those of their earlier communities of faith. And of course, they had Jewish relatives with whom they might need to communicate for any number of reasons. Some even had Jewish spouses to whom they remained legally married.[94] Such proximity undercut the radical distinction between the two groups and thereby destabilized the foundations of Christian privilege and identity. It was this destabilization, this narrowing of the gap between Christian and Jew, that Old Christians were reacting to when they complained that it was now impossible to distinguish Christian from Jew. Many converts perceived the problem as well. When a handful of Zaragozan *conversos* living in a Jewish neighborhood evoked the orders of segregation in the hope of having their much more numerous Jewish neighbors evicted, they were seeking to heighten the distance on which their new privileges depended.[95] The same logic motivated their invasion, together with other Christians, of the Jewish quarter. When, in the course of that invasion, the son of Jerónimo de Santa Fe stabbed a Jew, he was not merely acting out the excessive zeal of a convert. He was performing his claims to Christian honor and privilege in the idioms of his new religion.[96]

Once again, the point was most succinctly articulated by St. Vincent himself: "For he will never be a good Christian who is a neighbor of a Jew." Such "neighborliness," he went on to say, dishonored God and put Christian society at risk of famine, plague, and other manifestations of divine displeasure.[97] St. Vincent and his sponsors sought to reinstate the necessary distance between Christian and Jew in three ways. One focused on the religiosity of the *conversos*, seeking to integrate them as fully as possible into "Old Christian" society and thereby distance them from "Jewishness." A second strategy was to sharpen the boundaries between all Christians and Jews through a massive program of segregation. The third possibility was that of eliminating the Jewish antithesis to Christianity altogether, by

Roig's lament ("[V]os calà lo seu pern descapolat"), see Joan Roís de Corella, *Obres completes*, Vol. 1: *Obra profana*, Jordi Carbonell, ed. (Valencia, 1973), 57. The poem is also cited in Bramon, *Contra moros y judíos*, 167. The poet is admittedly of a later generation than the one that concerns us here.

[94] For examples of these and other ambiguities of status, see David Nirenberg, "Mass Conversion and Genealogical Mentalities: Jews and Christians in Fifteenth-Century Spain," *Past and Present*, no. 174 (February 2002): 1–39.

[95] The case is discussed in Francisca Vendrell de Millás, "En torno a la confirmación real, en Aragón, de la pragmática de Benedicto XIII," *Sefarad* 20 (1960): 1–33. Less dramatic but equally meaningful are the "distancing" actions of converts like Gil Roiz Najarí, who successfully petitioned to have an entrance to the Jewish quarter of Teruel moved so that he would have no contact with Jews. See ACA: C, 2391: 102r–v (March 16, 1416).

[96] ACA: C, 2389: 111r–v (November 20, 1415): "We have just heard with displeasure how a few days ago, entering into one of the Jewries of the city of Zaragoza, called Barrio Nuevo, Master Gerónimo de Sancta Fe and some other converts and Christians . . . provoked in the said Jewry great rumor and scandal, causing riot and scandal against the Jews of the said *aljama*, and a son of the said Master Gerónimo stabbed a Jew." Compare ACA: C, 2389: 110r–v, 112r–v (November 20, 1415).

[97] The original is: "car nunqua será bon christià, lo qui és vehí de juheu." Biblioteca de Catalunya, ms. 476, fols. 136v–153v, in Perarnau i Espelt, "Els quatre sermons," 231–32.

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achieving the conversion of all remaining Jews to Christianity. The least important of these, if the surviving evidence is any guide, is the first. It is not with the *conversos* but with the segregation of Jews, and with their elimination through evangelization, that the generation after 1391 was most concerned. Both these responses, segregation and evangelization, were nourished by the fertile imagination of a society confronted for the first time by the possibility that the differences by which it defined itself might actually disappear. The evangelizing millenarianism of the age is a vital symptom of this imagination, and its study can teach us a great deal about the crisis of identification that I have been describing. But the period's sexually charged segregationism is equally vital and equally instructive.

THESE "SEXUALIZED" ATTEMPTS TO STABILIZE CHRISTIAN IDENTITY completely reversed one of the fundamental attributes of the pre-1391 interfaith sexual economy. Instead of narrowing the region of sexual risk in the interest of freeing space for other forms of interaction, they generalized that risk in order to achieve segregation. But in light of the future, there is an important negative observation to be made. The worries of St. Vincent's generation were sexual, but they had little to do with reproduction, and even less to do with race. They do not seem to have feared that mixed intercourse would compromise the transmission of Christian identity or result in offspring that inadequately reproduced Christian values. Christian law codes, for example, clearly stipulated that children born of a mixed union were fully Christian and were to be raised as such.[98] These laws were confidently enforced. In 1401, for example, the Christian Antoni Safàbrega declared on his deathbed that he had once had an adulterous relationship with a Muslim woman named Axa, who had been married to a Muslim named Adambacaix. She was now deceased, but on the strength of Antoni's confession Christian authorities seized Adambacaix's son Mahomet and sent him away to be raised Christian.[99] A similar confidence underlay St. Vincent's reproach to Christian men for having sex with Muslim prostitutes. Under such circumstances, the father's obligation to baptize the child could not be fulfilled, and the offspring's damned soul would clamor against its Christian progenitor on Judgment Day.[100] These are not the actions of a society anxious about the biological reproduction of religious identity.

In other words, St. Vincent and his contemporaries drew on the language of sex to widen the separation between Christian and Jew. But they did not invoke it in order to sharpen the line between Old Christian and New, even though a sharp distinction between what quickly came to be called "natural" Christians and converts might have helped to render the converts' proximity to Jews less threatening. The point is worth emphasizing. In the mid-1430s, a number of people

[98] For a Castilian example, see *Fuero Real*, Book III, 8.3. For a Catalan one, *Costums de Tortosa*, VI.1, paragraphs 12, 14, 17, 18.

[99] For a description of the case, see Ferrer i Mallol, *Els sarraïns*, 27–28, citing ACA: C, 2132: 114v–115r, 121r–v, 139v–140r. For an example involving children born of a Jewish woman, see the question addressed by Yehuda ben Wakar, personal physician to the regent of Castile Don Juan Manuel, to Rabbi Asher ben Yeḥiel of Toledo circa 1320. [Responsa 18.13.] Compare Baer, *Die Juden*, 1.2: 138–39.

[100] Vincent, *Sermons*, 5: 250.

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began to articulate the view that converts and their descendents were essentially different from (that is, worse than) "natural" Christians and therefore (among many other things) unmarriageable. Such a view represented a profound shift from the anxieties about intercourse that I have been describing up to this point. This new taboo was based not on the fear that sexual proximity to "Jewishness" endangered the present by offending God but that it endangered the future by corrupting the "breeding stock."

These "reproductive strategies" for stabilizing the privileges of Old Christian identity acquired a great deal of influence in the later fifteenth century. It is therefore all the more important to point out that, in the years following the mass conversions of 1391, they were virtually unknown. We can find a few documented examples of attempts at discrimination.[101] One of the more interesting comes from a sermon St. Vincent preached in 1414, against the great sin of those Christian women who "disdain the Jewess who has become Christian, and refuse to go with her to Church . . . And there are others who do not wish to give [the converts] their daughters and sons in marriage, because they had once been Jews." He urged these women not only to associate with the converts but also to marry them, for they were "brothers in Christ."[102] These are interesting, but rare, exceptions among a mass of documentation. Such complaints would suddenly become widespread in the 1430s.[103] But they were alien to the long generation that came of age in the aftermath of the massacres of 1391.

These contrasts are significant. We have traced the development of a system of group differentiation based on a logic of displaceable sexual boundaries: a logic capable of representing the myriad distinctions that Christians (as well as Muslims and Jews) held sacred in this multi-religious society, and of responding with hydraulic power to the slightest change in pressure on these distinctions. Even across half a century of dramatic religious and social change, that sexual logic was sufficient to the task of convincing Christians that their most basic classifications remained vital and stable. From this perspective, the disappearance of that confidence in the middle of the fifteenth century suddenly requires a great deal of explanation. Why, beginning in the 1430s and 1440s, was a sexual logic replaced by a reproductive one? This is a difficult question, not least because the language of reproduction abounds in "false friends" and deceptive continuities with the language of sex. I will leave it for the future. But at least we can now see that the answer will not be found in any easy continuity. The eventual sexual segregation and "re-Judaization" of the *conversos* through an ideology of reproduction was not the result of a straightforward extrapolation of earlier sexual discriminations and identities, or of some ineluctable process by which societies always recreate their

[101] See, for example, Enrique III of Castile's exhortation to the town council and citizens of Burgos in 1392, "that you should treat [the *conversos*] like brothers, and they should partake of your privileges and liberties and good usages and customs." Mitre Fernández, *Los judíos de Castilla*, 83. The town council of Valencia claimed in 1402 that a convert's accusation against a Valencian Old Christian was not to be believed, given that the converts "retain the accustomed calumnies of their ancient infidelity, which they have not yet purged from their character." See Agustín Rubio Vela, *Epistolari de la València medieval* (Valencia, 1985), 279–80.

[102] Perarnau i Espelt, "Els quatre sermons," 257–59, lines 2380–2455.

[103] On the emergence of this logic in the 1430s and 1440s, see my "El concepto," and "Mass Conversion."

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essential "other." It was, rather, the outcome of a highly creative historical transformation. Sexual danger provided the mortar for the new barriers that this society would erect between its most vital categories, as it had for the old. But the substance, location, and meaning of these boundaries were radically different than before. Our conclusion is simple, if not particularly uplifting: the walls with which societies divide themselves need rebuilding by each generation's hands.

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Subjects into Citizens: Societies, Civil Society, and Autocracy in Tsarist Russia

JOSEPH BRADLEY

THE CONCEPTS OF CIVIL SOCIETY AND THE PUBLIC SPHERE, as well as of the voluntarily constituted organizations that comprise their institutional core, have reached a crossroads in the theoretical and historical literature.[1] For the past two decades, the influence of Jürgen Habermas, the exhaustion of Marxist categories of analysis, disillusionment with the "vision of the state as the bearer of some moral project," the claim to space in the public realm of hitherto-excluded groups, and the exhilarating "transitions from authoritarian rule" have sparked the "return of civil

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[1] Like "the state," its frequent adversary in much of the theoretical discussion, "civil society" is an abstraction. A concept used by political philosophers to explain numerous discrete phenomena, it has nonetheless proved to be very elusive. Civil society may be defined as the associations and institutions, not part of the state, that frame "ordered, nonclandestine, and collective activities." Philip Nord, "Introduction," in Nancy Bermeo and Nord, eds., *Civil Society before Democracy: Lessons from Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Lanham, Md., 2000), xiv. My understanding of theories of civil society has been informed by Charles Taylor, "Modes of Civil Society," *Public Culture* 3, no. 1 (Fall 1990): 96; John Keane, ed., *Civil Society and the State* (London, 1988); Andrew Arato and Jean Cohen, *Civil Society and Political Theory* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992); Adam B. Seligman, *The Idea of Civil Society* (Princeton, N.J., 1992); and John A. Hall, ed., *Civil Society: Theory, History, Comparison* (Cambridge, 1995). The public sphere is that communications network of civil society where interests are represented and claims are adjudicated; the discussion of Habermas below spells this out. By association, I have in mind the modern, secular, self-regulating philanthropic, educational, cultural, and learned societies, membership in which was voluntary rather than compulsory or ascribed and that offered new forms of sociability and self-definition. My understanding of associations has been informed by Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, Phillips Bradley, ed., 2 vols. (New York, 1945); Stuart Blumin, *The Emergence of the Middle Class: Social Experience in the American City* (Cambridge, 1989); Thomas Nipperdey, "Verein als soziale Struktur in Deutschland im späten 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhundert: Eine Fallstudie zur Modernisierung I," in Nipperdey, *Gesellschaft, Kultur, Theorie: Gesammelte Aufsätze zur neueren Geschichte* (Göttingen, 1976), 174–205; Margaret C. Jacob, *Living the Enlightenment: Freemasonry and Politics in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (New York, 1991); David Blackbourn and Geoff Eley, *The Peculiarities of German History: Bourgeois Society and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Germany* (Oxford, 1984); Richard van Dülmen, *The Society of the Enlightenment: The Rise of the Middle Class and Enlightenment Culture in Germany*, Anthony Williams, trans. (Cambridge, 1992); R. J. Morris, "Voluntary Societies and British Urban Elites, 1780–1850: An Analysis," *Historical Journal* 26 (1983); and Carol E. Harrison, *The Bourgeois Citizen in Nineteenth-Century France: Gender, Sociability, and the Uses of Emulation* (Oxford, 1999).

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society" and the positive correlation between the public sphere of civil society and the evolution of liberal or democratic states in scholarship as well as in politics.[2] In the 1970s and 1980s, East European intellectuals used the concepts of voluntarism and civil society as they sought ways to frame peaceful grassroots efforts to create a "parallel polis" and limit the scope of communist power. In the words of Polish scholar and politician Bronislaw Geremek, "The magic of the word 'citizen' in Poland or in Czechoslovakia came from the widespread sense that it referred less to one's subordination to the state and its laws than to one's membership in an authentic community, a community whose essence was summed up in the term 'civil society.'"[3] European and American historians have used these concepts as categories of analysis to examine the constitution of individual and group identities, the relationship between the individual and the state, reform movements, the construction of citizenship (especially by those denied it), political culture, and the realms of public and private life. For a while, it seemed that civil society was everywhere, as a "project," if not already the product, of social, political, and cultural forces.

At the same time, the concepts of civil society and the public sphere, never easy to define in the first place, have been faulted in many national histories and cultural traditions of late for their Western ethnocentricity, basis in individualism and liberalism, and claims to universality. Recent studies have noted the blurred distinction between civil society and the state, the incivility of some civil associations, and the ambiguous relationship between civil society and liberal democracy—observations reinforced by evidence of the growing pains of civil societies in Eastern Europe and the states of the former Soviet Union. Moreover, in the sociology and political theory on the subject, vexing problems of causality frequently make it unclear what is a condition, or prerequisite, for the emergence of civil society and what is a consequence of its existence. Most theories assume that legal guarantees, that is, some form of *Rechsstaat*, are necessary for the existence of civil society. But since, according to Jean Cohen and Andrew Arato, two contemporary theorists, rights "begin as claims asserted by groups and individuals in the public spaces of an emerging civil society," it is not clear what to make of the situation when rights are not guaranteed.[4] To put it slightly differently, it is difficult to determine whether

[2] The cited phrases are from Víctor M. Pérez-Díaz, *The Return of Civil Society: The Emergence of Democratic Spain* (Cambridge, Mass., 1993), 66–74; and Guillermo O'Donnell, Philippe C. Schmitter, and Laurence Whitehead, eds., *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Prospects for Democracy* (Baltimore, 1986).

[3] Bronislaw Geremek, "Civil Society and the Present Age," *The Idea of a Civil Society* (Research Triangle Park, N.C., 1992), 11–18. A former Solidarity activist, Geremek was foreign minister of the Republic of Poland from 1997 to 2000. The term "parallel polis" may be traced back to the Czech dissident Vaclav Benda. See Vaclav Havel, "The Power of the Powerless," *Open Letters: Selected Writings, 1965–1990*, Paul Wilson, ed. (New York, 1992), 192–93; and Gordon Skilling, ed., *Charter 77 and Human Rights in Czechoslovakia* (London, 1981), 75–76. The loosening of communism in Eastern Europe generated considerable civil society literature. See, for example, Zbigniew Rau, "Some Thoughts on Civil Society in Eastern Europe and the Lockean Contractarian Approach," *Political Studies* 35 (1987): 573–92; Rau, ed., *The Reemergence of Civil Society in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union* (Boulder, Colo., 1991); David A. Reidy, Jr., "Eastern Europe, Civil Society, and the Real Revolution," *Praxis International* 12, no. 2 (July 1992): 168–80; and Geremek, "Civil Society Then and Now," *Journal of Democracy* 3 (April 1992): 3–12.

[4] Cohen and Arato state, "Civil societies, whatever their form, presuppose a juridical structure, a constitution . . . [C]ivil society exists *only* where there is a juridical guarantee of the reproduction of various spheres in the form of rights." Andrew Arato and Jean Cohen, "Civil Society and Social

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any given "civil society" is becoming or established. Although this matter cannot be settled here, it does complicate for the historian the use of civil society as a category of analysis. Finally, victims of a seemingly endless cycle of illiberal regimes, failed civil societies, and failed states, many of the world's polities pose a challenge to attempts to use civil society as a category.[5]

At present, scholarly inquiry may best be served by case studies that problematize this cycle by examining the building blocks of civil society, especially in those polities where its development has been most contested. Tsarist Russia, commonly regarded as an example of a failed civil society, provides such a case study. The conventional wisdom suggests compelling reasons for the absence or, at best, exceptional weakness of civil society, an autonomous public, and the spirit of association. In the pithy but highly misleading words of Antonio Gramsci, "In Russia the state is everything and civil society is primordial and gelatinous."[6] Yet, despite the fact that autocracy was suspicious of an autonomous civil society, in the later eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Russians did create a public sphere and an associational life based on the model of the European enlightenment. Their existence unsettles some assumptions about Russian political culture and an alleged "failed" civil society. How could a civil society and public sphere, as well as thousands of associations, exist under an autocratic government? If the state permitted their existence, were associations then merely lackeys of the imperial regime? How could subjects denied participation in Russia's governing institutions manage to stake a claim to the scrutiny of public policy? If Russia never had a civil society, as has been claimed, then how do we account for the fact that in the nineteenth century the Russian government regarded it as a formidable foe? In suggesting ways to answer these questions, I propose neither to proclaim recklessly civil society's success nor to reaffirm its failure. In order to contextualize the Russian case, I shall first give a brief overview of the usage of the concepts of civil society, public sphere, and voluntarism in American and European history. I shall

Theory," *Thesis Eleven*, no. 21 (1988): 40–64, quote on 42–43 (emphasis in original). Elsewhere, Cohen and Arato partially extricate themselves from this conundrum by observing that "a civil society in formation, being molded by movements and other civic initiatives as in Eastern Europe, may for a time have to do without the settled structures of rights." See their opus, *Civil Society and Political Theory* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992), 440. The same problem exists in Habermas. See *Between Facts and Norms: Contributions to a Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy*, William Rehg, trans. (Cambridge, Mass., 1996), 368–71.

[5] Chris Hann and Elizabeth Dunn, *Civil Society: Challenging Western Models* (London, 1996); Yael Tamir, "Revisiting the Civic Sphere," in Amy Gutmann, ed., *Freedom of Association* (Princeton, N.J., 1998), 214–38; Nancy L. Rosenblum, *Membership and Morals: The Personal Uses of Pluralism in America* (Princeton, 1998); Simone Chambers, "A Critical Theory of Civil Society," in Chambers and Will Kymlicka, *Alternative Conceptions of Civil Society* (Princeton, 2002), 90–110; and Thomas Carothers, "Civil Society: Think Again," *Foreign Policy* (Winter 1999–2000): 18–29.

[6] Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell-Smith, eds. (New York, 1971), 238. See also Norberto Bobbio, "Gramsci and the Concept of Civil Society," in Keane, *Civil Society and the State*, 73–100. In other words, Russian civil society was just beginning, primitive, shapeless, and amorphous. In the view of Laura Engelstein, Gramsci was both right and wrong. See Engelstein, "The Dream of Civil Society in Tsarist Russia: Law, State, and Religion," in Bermeo and Nord, *Civil Society*, 23–41. It should be noted that the political philosopher John Gray argues that civil society may exist under many different types of government and that late tsarist Russia was a civil society on the European model. See Gray, "Totalitarianism, Reform and Civil Society," in Ellen Frankel Paul, ed., *Totalitarianism at the Crossroads* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1990), 100, 109.

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then propose that the application of these concepts in Russian history, frequently in efforts to explain the Russian Revolution and its radical outcome, gives us an incomplete understanding of late imperial society. Finally, by examining the phenomenon of voluntary association, I shall present a different perspective of the relationship between state and society, the organization of reform projects, the capacities of individual and group self-definition and initiative, and the commonalities with similar phenomena in Europe.

A STUDY OF FREE ASSOCIATIONS highlights the relationship between civil society and the state in authoritarian regimes. Discussion of this relationship has taken two trajectories. The first, influenced by the work of Jürgen Habermas, posits an adversarial relationship. The public sphere (*Öffentlichkeit*) of civil society, Habermas argued, emerged under royal absolutism in the institutions and practices of market capitalism, the emergence of the bourgeoisie, new forms of urban sociability, and a lively print culture. Its "institutional core is constituted by voluntary unions outside the realm of the state and the economy," which gave voice to social problems, articulated group interests, thematized public opinion, and attempted to influence the political process. By compelling the state to legitimate itself before public opinion, a voluntarily constituted and self-organized authority acted as a counterweight to authority based on tradition, force, and ritual and enabled modern citizens to govern themselves.[7] A bold study of the "lived enlightenment" asserts that the makings of civil society were to be found in "the new zone of voluntary associations" that "looked away from the passivity of the subject, toward the activity of the citizen, away from absolutism and oligarchy, toward more representative forms of government."[8] In France, the literary public sphere of the *ancien régime* practiced the "reciprocity of equals" based on "a model of friendship that contrasted markedly with the hierarchy of a society of orders and the absolutist state." In such a "virtual" assembly, the public could imagine that it could supervise the actions of officials, forcing the monarchy, "powerless to forbid public debate," to "explain, persuade, and seek to win approval"—in short, to be accountable. After the revolution, a statist political culture continued to supervise and regulate French associations until the end of the nineteenth century.[9] In Germany and Austria,

[7] Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, Thomas Burger, trans. (Cambridge, Mass., 1989), 23–27. Habermas responds to critics and also recognizes the importance of voluntary associations in Craig Calhoun, ed., *Habermas and the Public Sphere* (Cambridge, Mass., 1992), 454; he incorporates associations into a revised theory of civil society in *Between Facts and Norms*, 355. In his recent works, as Pérez-Díaz points out, civil society and public sphere are nearly synonymous. Víctor Pérez-Díaz, "The Possibility of Civil Society: Traditions, Character and Change," in Hall, *Civil Society*, 80–109. See also Keane, *Civil Society and the State*, 15–16, 40, 35–72, 169–70; Salvador Giner, "The Withering Away of Civil Society?" *Praxis International* 5 (October 1985): 247–67; Calhoun, *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, 7–9; and Roger Chartier, *The Cultural Origins of the French Revolution*, Lydia G. Cochrane, trans. (Durham, N.C., 1991), 17, 21, 27, 30.

[8] Jacob, *Living the Enlightenment*, 216. See also Peter Clark, *British Clubs and Societies, 1580–1800: The Origins of an Associational World* (Oxford, 2000), 5; Marvin B. Becker, *The Emergence of Civil Society in the Eighteenth Century: A Privileged Moment in the History of England, Scotland, and France* (Bloomington, Ind., 1994), 69.

[9] Chartier, *Cultural Origins*, 17, 21, 30; Dena Goodman, *The Republic of Letters: A Cultural History*

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because paternalistic authoritarian states maintained that private persons and associations possessed neither the right nor the competence to comment on public affairs, seemingly innocuous activities acquired political implications, and ostensibly apolitical organizations became politicized. By the 1840s, associations—the "institutions of civil society building"—became the training ground for civic engagement in public affairs and a substitute for popular representation in an effort to "unseat the state as the arbiter of the public good."[10]

Yet the public sphere required a certain degree of publicity regarding the "secretive and arbitrary actions of the state" in order to deliberate, as well as the freedoms of speech, press, and assembly that guarantee access to the public arena. Therefore, its existence was everywhere contested, especially outside a small number of polities in Western Europe and North America. Tutelary authoritarian regimes seemed to offer no hope for the development of civil society.[11] However, recent research focuses "less on structures than on voluntary action, on the dynamics by which democratic institutions can be made to sprout on the seemingly inhospitable ground of authoritarian rule."[12] Accordingly, the second trajectory posits an ambivalent relationship between civil society and the state and questions the degree to which the former led a frontal assault on absolutism. On the continent, monarchs enabled, if not purposefully created, civil society in order to encourage and patronize scientific, charitable, and cultural activities that could further national progress and demonstrate their "enlightened" reigns.[13] In France, civil society and the state became overlapping entities, entwined in a "double helix" of mutuality, and the nineteenth-century state tolerated the existence of myriad

of the French Enlightenment (Ithaca, N.Y., 1994), 2, 5, 34; Harrison, *Bourgeois Citizen*, 22–24, 37. See also Michael Warner, *The Letters of the Republic: Publication and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century America* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990), xiii, 61.

[10] Isabel V. Hull, *Sexuality, State, and Civil Society in Germany, 1700–1815* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1996), 207–08, 217, 221; Nipperdey, "Verein," 201; Ian F. McNeely, "The Intelligence Gazette (*Intelligenzblatt*) as a Road Map to Civil Society: Information Networks and Local Dynamism in Germany, 1770s–1840s," in Frank Trentmann, ed., *Paradoxes of Civil Society: New Perspectives on Modern German and British History* (New York, 2000), 151; Michael John, "Associational Life and the Development of Liberalism in Hanover, 1848–1866," in Konrad H. Jarausch and Larry Eugene Jones, eds., *In Search of a Liberal Germany* (New York, 1990), 161–86; David Blackbourn, *The Long Nineteenth Century: A History of Germany, 1780–1918* (New York, 1998), 125; Theodore S. Hamerow, *The Social Foundations of German Unification, 1858–1871: Ideas and Institutions* (Princeton, N.J., 1969), 339–58; Nipperdey, *Germany from Napoleon to Bismarck*, 235–36; and Klaus Tenfelde, "Civil Society and the Middle Classes in Nineteenth-Century Germany," in Bermeo and Nord, *Civil Society*, 93.

[11] The basic rights governing the public sphere are spelled out in *Structural Transformation*, 83. Habermas's critics argue that even in the "strong public sphere" polities of North America and Western Europe, access to the public sphere is not uniform for all groups. For example, see the essays by Nancy Fraser and Geoff Eley in Calhoun, *Habermas and the Public Sphere*. On the European continent, nations have joined the North Atlantic tradition "more recently and in a more fractured and discontinuous way." Pérez-Díaz, "Possibility of Civil Society," 81.

[12] Philip Nord, *The Republican Moment: Struggles for Democracy in Nineteenth-Century France* (Cambridge, Mass., 1995), 6.

[13] Alf Lüdtke, *Police and State in Prussia*, Pete Burgess, trans. (Cambridge, 1989), xv. In societies as different as France and China, civil society has been regarded as largely a creation of the state. David A. Bell, "The 'Public Sphere,' the State, and the World of Law in Eighteenth-Century France," *French Historical Studies* 17 (Fall 1992): 934, 955; Heath B. Chamberlain, "On the Search for Civil Society in China," *Modern China* 19, no. 2 (April 1993): 204, 211. See also the articles by Philip C. C. Huang, Mary Backus Rankin, Willam T. Rowe, Richard Madsen, and Frederic E. Wakeman, Jr., in this special issue of *Modern China* devoted to the public sphere.

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societies, some of which existed in a legal limbo.[14] Such was especially true in Germany, where associations as well as other components of civil society aspired to assist, complement, and advise the state in the collection of knowledge and improvement of the natural and human world for the public benefit. "Even the most determined liberals abhorred conflict between the state and civil society and sought not so much the autonomy of civil society from the state, but rather a harmonious collaboration between the two . . . Harmony between the state and civil society was considered the norm, not adversarial relations." Although associations collaborated with the state in many enterprises, "their activities pushed back the boundaries of government by expanding the competence of civil society to define and meet its own problems."[15] The best that can be said at this point is that civil society may be a necessary but not a sufficient condition for liberal democracy; in any event, many different political regimes may recognize its de facto, if not de jure, existence but never its complete autonomy.[16] Civil society and its institutions do not guarantee a future devoid of political trauma; the development of civil society in *ancien régime* France did not prevent the Terror, and in Germany it did not prevent Nazism and the Holocaust.

It is common to state now that civil society and the public sphere are gendered, and gender analysis provides a useful insight into the way in which the disenfranchised could enter public life through voluntary associations. Theorists and historians have documented the exclusion of women from the public sphere of reason, citizenship, property ownership, and autonomy, especially in revolutionary and republican France.[17] More intriguing for the study of an autocratic regime are ways by which women actually did enter the public sphere despite exclusionary laws or practices.[18] At stake in this historiography is the construction of citizenship. While acknowledging discriminatory practices and the difficulty women faced entering the public sphere, some scholars note that women "cut off from the institutions of power" found voluntary associations to be "engines of collective action." Thus disenfranchised individuals could appear in public, represent them-

[14] Goodman, *Republic*, 1–2. See also Harrison, *Bourgeois Citizen*, 22–24, 37.

[15] Daniel McMillan, "Energy, Willpower, and Harmony: On the Problematic Relationship between State and Civil Society in Nineteenth-Century Germany," in Trentmann, *Paradoxes*, 177, 184, 188; and Hull, *Sexuality*, 208. See also Nipperdey, "Verein," 177–78, 190, 196–97; Dülmen, *Society of the Enlightenment*, 66–67.

[16] Martin Whyte, "Urban China: A Civil Society in the Making?" in Arthur L. Rosenbaum, ed., *State and Society in China: Consequences of Reform* (Boulder, Colo., 1992), 77–78, 82.

[17] Carole Pateman, *The Disorder of Women: Democracy, Feminism and Political Theory* (Stanford, Calif., 1989), 4, 20; Pateman, "The Fraternal Social Contract," in Keane, *Civil Society*, 101–12. For France, see Goodman, *Republic*, 260; and Joan Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1988), 7, 57. Landes's essentialist views of the bourgeois public sphere have been challenged. See the articles by David Bell and Daniel Gordon and the response by Sarah Maza in a special forum in *French Historical Studies* (Fall 1992). For the United States, see Mary P. Ryan, "Civil Society as Democratic Practice: North American Cities during the Nineteenth Century," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 29, no. 4 (Spring 1999): 567–68; and Rosenblum, *Membership and Morals*, 34. For Britain, see Clark, *British Clubs*, 3, 84, 130, 155, 191, 198, 203; and H. Cunningham, "Leisure and Culture," in F. M. L. Thompson, ed., *The Cambridge Social History of Britain, 1750–1950*, Vol. 2: *People and Their Environment* (Cambridge, 1990), 295. For Germany, see Dülmen, *Society of the Enlightenment*, 129.

[18] Joan Wallach Scott, *Only Paradoxes to Offer: French Feminists and the Rights of Man* (Cambridge, Mass., 1996); Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780–1850* (Chicago, 1987).

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selves and their projects before their peers, frame public opinion, organize meetings, and hold public authority accountable; they could even assert a claim to represent others.[19] As recent studies of masculinity suggest, men outside the governing elite employed similar strategies for entering the public arena. In the scientific, philosophical, literary, and naturalist societies, built on "the reciprocity of equals," men of like interests and commitments experienced conviviality, collegiality, and fellowship. Men founded the associations of civil society in order to enjoy the company of their peers, as well as to pursue science and be stewards of culture and thereby become "public somebodies." Voluntary associations, especially the scientific and learned societies, enabled men to display distinction and gain recognition from others for their experience, talent, expertise, cultural participation, and civic leadership. Membership in associations built "confidence for men to make claims for political representation and power." From this perspective, the "practitioners of civil society were the overwhelmingly male members of the voluntary associations . . . Insofar as civil society had begun to be actualized, to be lived, these men were civil society, and they thought of themselves as such."[20]

Historians and social theorists have long assumed a link between the institutions of civil society and the middle class. In a venerable sociological narrative, market capitalism and the bourgeoisie are the preconditions of civil society and the public sphere.[21] Yet in much recent work, the role of the middle class, for a long time regarded as a key actor in the civil society drama, has been problematized in European historiography. National narratives nowadays depict a fragmented, "muddled and divided" bourgeoisie, impossible to define economically, whose identity was formed in institutions of civil society such as voluntary associations.[22]

[19] Nancy Isenberg, *Sex and Citizenship in Antebellum America* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1998), xiv–xv, 12, 59, 69–70; Belinda Davis, "Reconsidering Habermas, Gender, and the Public Sphere: The Case of Wilhelmine Germany," in Geoff Eley, ed., *Society, Culture, and the State in Germany, 1870–1930* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1997), 397–426; Elisabeth Clemens, "Securing Political Returns to Social Capital: Women's Associations in the United States, 1880s–1920s," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 29, no. 4 (Spring 1999): 637; Ryan, "Civil Society," 571–72; Vernon Lidtke, *Alternative Culture: Socialist Labor in Imperial Germany* (New York, 1985), 16–17; and Anne Firor Scott, *Natural Allies: Women's Associations in American History* (Urbana, Ill., 1993), 2–3, 120.

[20] Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, 416, 445–46; and Hull, *Sexuality*, 200–01, 214. See also Harrison, *Bourgeois Citizen*, 21, 51, 56, 58, 63–64, 69, 86–87, 123; Dianne Sachko Macleod, "Homosexuality and Middle-Class Identity in Early Victorian Patronage of the Arts," in Alan Kidd and David Nicholls, eds., *Gender, Civic Culture and Consumerism: Middle-Class Identity in Britain, 1800–1940* (Manchester, 1999), 65; Páll Björnsson, "Making the New Man: Liberal Politics and Associational Life in Leipzig, 1845–1871" (PhD dissertation, University of Rochester, 1999), 161–63; R. J. Morris, *Class, Sect and Party: The Making of the British Middle Class, Leeds 1820–1850* (Manchester, 1990), 397; and Ryan, "Civil Society," 567–68.

[21] In *Structural Transformation*, Habermas believed the public sphere to be grounded in class and capitalism. He revised this view in "Further Reflections on the Public Sphere," in Calhoun, *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, 453–54.

[22] On America, see Blumin, *Emergence*. On Britain, see Morris, "Voluntary Societies," 96, 110; John Seed, " 'Commerce and the Liberal Arts': The Political Economy of Art in Manchester, 1775–1860," in Janet Wolff and Seed, eds., *The Culture of Capital: Art, Power, and the Nineteenth-Century Middle Class* (Manchester, 1988), 46; Seed, "Theologies of Power: Unitarianism and the Social Relations of Religious Discourse, 1800–50," in R. J. Morris, ed., *Class, Power and Social Structure in British Nineteenth-Century Towns* (Leicester, 1986), 141; Clark, *British Clubs*, 12. On France, see Richard Holt, "Social History and Bourgeois Culture in Nineteenth-Century France," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 27 (1985): 713–26; Harrison, *Bourgeois Citizen*, 3, 6–8; Keith Michael Baker, "Defining the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century France: Variations on a Theme by Habermas," in Calhoun, *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, 187.

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Indeed, in authoritarian regimes with a fragmentary social structure and a small middle class, associations provided a way outside the state to articulate and realize projects of philanthropy, cultural stewardship, and social reform designed to democratize learning and thereby create an educated citizenry. They also framed the practice of science as a tool for the public good in order to promise practical solutions to a wide range of economic problems and social pathologies.[23] Following the argument of Frank Trentmann, we may state that civil society and voluntary associations should be detached from their "sociological base," that is, from the bourgeoisie. The hierarchies of value in civil society, commonly attributed to the bourgeoisie, were articulated through voluntary associations by a wide spectrum of liberal landowners, professionals, and government officials. In much recent scholarship, culture trumps capital, and identities trump income; the key markers are not class but education, urbanization, and sensibility.[24]

The appearance of societies of science in the eighteenth century shows the interplay of these markers and reveals a very complex relationship between cultural institutions, the state, and the individual as well as the meaning of association, especially in absolutist regimes. The vision of a disinterested, autonomous, value-free science, above (and outside) interests, passions, and politics, that proclaimed neutrality and impartial standards in the service of humanity, has been called "heroic" science.[25] Collectively practiced in a space, an "imaginary public sphere," of "alternative value systems," experimental science, it has been claimed, had "emancipatory potential," particularly under political absolutism.[26] Several historians, perhaps foremost among them Margaret C. Jacob, argue that science of the Enlightenment era was a "most powerful weapon" of intellectuals who wanted to relocate authority away from dynasties, the church, and the state. Because they functioned as self-organized "learned assemblies" that tirelessly emphasized cooperation and collaboration to achieve common, self-defined goals, even ostensibly apolitical learned societies came under the watchful eye of continental authorities,

[23] Blackbourn and Eley, *Peculiarities of German History*, 148–49; David Blackbourn, "The German Bourgeoisie: An Introduction," in Blackbourn and Richard J. Evans, eds., *The German Bourgeoisie: Essays on the Social History of the German Middle Class from the Late Eighteenth to the Early Twentieth Century* (London, 1991), 11–12; Henry Lowood, *Patriotism, Profit and the Promotion of Science in the German Enlightenment: The Economic and Scientific Societies, 1760–1815* (New York, 1991), 4–5; Michael E. Rose, "Culture, Philanthropy and the Manchester Middle Classes," in Alan J. Kidd and K. W. Roberts, *City, Class and Culture: Studies of Social Policy and Cultural Production in Victorian Manchester* (Manchester, 1985), 106; Kathleen D. McCarthy, *Noblesse Oblige: Charity and Cultural Philanthropy in Chicago, 1849–1929* (Chicago, 1982), ix; Harrison, *Bourgeois Citizen*, 51, 56, 58, 63, 64, 69, 86.

[24] Frank Trentmann, "Introduction: Paradoxes of Civil Society," in Trentmann, *Paradoxes*, 3, 10. See also Baker, "Defining the Public Sphere," 187; A. R. H. Baker, "Sound and Fury: The Significance of Musical Societies in Loir-et-Cher during the Nineteenth Century," *Journal of Historical Geography* 12, no. 3 (July 1986): 264; Becker, *Emergence*, 116; Blackbourn, "German Bourgeoisie," 5; Hull, *Sexuality*, 201, 203; Holt, "Social History," 7; Bell, "Public Sphere," 915–16; Alvin W. Gouldner, *The Two Marxisms: Contradictions and Anomalies in the Development of Theory* (New York, 1980), 355–61; and Clark, *British Clubs*, 136, 142, 144, 150, 156, 252, 444.

[25] Joyce Appleby, Lynn Hunt, and Margaret C. Jacob, *Telling the Truth about History* (New York, 1994), 29. See also Arnold Thackray, "Natural Knowledge in Cultural Context: The Manchester Mode," *AHR* 79 (June 1974): 693; Dorinda Outram, *Georges Cuvier: Vocation, Science and Authority in Post-Revolutionary France* (Manchester, 1984): 94, 109–10. Such a "myth of an apolitical science . . . assured for science a claim to constitute a neutral ground and therefore stabilize its status by removing it from the sphere of political conflict." Outram, *Georges Cuvier*, 109–10.

[26] Thackray, "Natural Knowledge," 686; Appleby, Hunt, and Jacob, *Telling the Truth*, 27.

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who feared, rightly, that such associations would be drawn into public affairs.[27] Although the practitioners of science were everywhere relatively small in number, societies of science extended their reach and allowed members to apply science for patriotic purposes: the study and investigation of the realm, the creation and diffusion of knowledge, and the improvement of external and internal nature.[28] "The appearance of numerous organizations, circles and societies," Richard van Dülmen asserts, "from the early eighteenth century onwards provided an important focal point of, and forum for, a progressive and reformist discourse and activity."[29] Science societies were in the forefront of a movement to count, classify, record, disseminate, and investigate a wide range of pathologies and participate in a variety of social reform movements, especially during the second half of the nineteenth century. In this way, for example, the poor could be studied and, it was hoped, removed from the state of nature in which they were commonly regarded as living and enter civil society.[30]

The above can merely touch on a few of the issues in a vast literature stretching across many national historiographies. But for the historian interested in understanding the dynamics of civil society in autocratic polities, certain insights should be suggestive. First, the relationship between civil society and the state is ambiguous. The autonomy of the former is rarely absolute, and the latter may always impose conditions on the activities of the public sphere of civil society. Collaboration and cooperation are just as likely as confrontation to define the relationship, and civil society is more likely to grow in scope when it avoids political activities that directly challenge absolutism. Second, the institutional core of civil society constituted by voluntary associations frequently precedes written constitutions and national representative bodies. Third, associations offer new forms of sociability and self-definition, and, even in authoritarian regimes, many associations are able to define collective goals by means of a variety of "outreach" projects of philanthropy, cultural stewardship, and applied science. Fourth, since the values and practices commonly associated with the middle class are often present in other groups of the population, various social groups may spearhead such projects, and a small "economic" bourgeoisie with little political clout need not spell doom for the appearance of civil society. Finally, recognizing the ways in which civil society is gendered may help us to understand the meaning of public participation in autocratic polities, such as Russia's, where not just women (or workers) but all groups were deprived of citizenship.

ALTHOUGH THE TERM IS USED, the grammar of "civil society" has not entered Russian historiography. It is easily discounted, not only as a representation of Russian reality but as a category of analysis. The institutional guarantors of civil society

[27] Philippa Levine, *The Amateur and the Professional: Antiquarians, Historians and Archaeologists in Victorian England, 1838–1886* (Cambridge, 1986), 52.

[28] Robert Fox, "Learning, Politics and Polite Culture in Provincial France: The Sociétiés Savantes in the Nineteenth Century," *Historical Reflections/Réflexions historiques* 7, nos. 2–3 (1980): 554.

[29] Dülmen, *Society of the Enlightenment*, 1–2, 66–67.

[30] Blackbourn and Eley, *Peculiarities*, 148–49; Rose, "Culture, Philanthropy," 106; Blackbourn, "German Bourgeoisie," 11–12. See also Harrison, *Bourgeois Citizen*, 120; McCarthy, *Noblesse Oblige*, ix.

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canonized in Western political thought—freedom from personal dependence and arbitrary domination, inviolability of person and domicile, property rights and sanctity of contract, the rule of law, and some sort of parliament or assembly of the estates—were certainly not features of the tsarist regime. The same is true of what might be called economic and sociological guarantors: commercial urban centers and a strong middle class. Indeed, although the origins of its particularity are in dispute, Russia is commonly regarded as non-Western and semi-Asiatic. One of Russia's most prominent contemporary historians framed his explanation for the continued appeal of communists and nationalists in post-Soviet Russia by evoking "cultural forces . . . that go to the essential nature of the Russian people. In pre-revolutionary Russia, public awareness was primarily traditional and mythological. The irrational predominated, with pagan and Christian concepts, symbols, and ideals. People lived and acted, led not by reason but by superstition . . . Russia has not escaped totalitarianism before or since 1917, because it has never had a civil society. The state monopolized every activity, and no autonomous society existed apart from its all-pervasive scope . . . An omnipotent state means subjects deprived of initiative."[31]

The atrophy of society, it is commonly argued, was entwined with the hypertrophy of the state in the "double helix" of Russian political culture under the old regime. In nineteenth-century Russia, a juridical, or state, school of history, guided by G. W. Hegel and guiding subsequent generations of historians, regarded the state as the all-powerful artificer of the Russian nation. Not brought into existence by a "contract," the state acts, while a politically immature, passive, and fragmented society is acted upon. A personalized autocracy and officialdom kept society fragmented by preventing "the formation of corps, corporations, or legal entities possessing definite rights and privileges and capable of contesting the authority of the sovereign and his government."[32] By the time the ideas of constitutionalism and limited government did emerge in Russia in the early nineteenth century, they were vigorously resisted by autocracy and soon overshadowed by radicalism. A strong state and weak society made "the whole system uniquely vulnerable to revolutionary action," and thus the view of an autocratic political culture elides into an explanation of the Russian Revolution. According to one history of the revolution, in its efforts to strengthen its own power the autocracy had "destroyed or crippled all autonomous institutions . . . as useless or even inimical to its purpose. No middle ground of spontaneous non-governmental public activity was left, alas, to mediate

[31] Yuri Afanasyev, "Russia's Vicious Circle," *New York Times*, February 28, 1994. (In the last sentence, Afanasyev quotes nineteenth-century populist Nikolai Chernyshevskii.) Admittedly, this is an "op-ed" piece, not a scholarly work. However, the wide dissemination of such ahistorical generalizations makes it all the more important to subject them to scholarly scrutiny.

[32] Marc Raeff, *Understanding Imperial Russia: State and Society in the Old Regime*, Arthur Goldhammer, trans. (New York, 1984), 66. On Russia's foremost Hegelian, see Gary Hamburg, *Boris Chicherin and Early Russian Liberalism, 1828–1866* (Stanford, Calif., 1992), 86–87. On Russia's fragmented social structure, see Gregory Freeze, "The Soslovie (Estate) Paradigm and Russian Social History," *AHR* 91 (February 1986): 11–36; Alfred J. Rieber, "The Sedimentary Society," in Edith W. Clowes, Samuel D. Kassow, and James L. West, eds., *Between Tsar and People: Educated Society and the Quest for Public Identity in Late Imperial Russia* (Princeton, N.J., 1991), 343–66; and Elise Kimerling Wirtschafter, *Structures of Society: Imperial Russia's People of Various Ranks* (DeKalb, Ill., 1994); and *Social Identity in Imperial Russia* (DeKalb, 1997).

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between an extreme absolutism and anarchy."[33] Social historians have directed some attention away from the state and officialdom and toward "social forces," and labor historians have documented the development of a plebeian public sphere. But in the end, most social and labor historians have joined the chorus of historians of the Russian state and institutions in finding either a fragmented society incapable of, and prohibited from, the self-organization necessary to stand up to a tsarist leviathan or a polarized class struggle that provided the "social basis" of revolution in its most extreme form.[34] To be sure, historians occasionally concede that by the end of Catherine's reign, "the blueprint for a civil society in Russia was ready"; by the end of the reign of Alexander I, "the growth of civil society proved to be irreversible."[35] It is more frequently conceded that a civil society "of sufficient size and autonomy to challenge the regime's monopoly on political authority" emerged by the turn of the twentieth century. But such a tardy civil society is seriously hobbled as a category of analysis: its appearance is all too often seen as a result of national calamity, such as the famine of 1891–1892 or the Revolution of 1905, and its essence is seen as opposition to tsarism.[36]

Despite the misleading picture of the absence of associations and of an autonomous public, the dominant interpretation of Russian political culture does contain an indisputable truth. Contested by the autocratic state, the very existence of voluntary associations and their works, not to mention civil society and an autonomous public sphere, could not be taken for granted in tsarist Russia. Without question, there were "no effective political constraints" to autocracy, and no one would claim that liberal democracy triumphed in 1917.[37] Yet the above story of late imperial Russia is a story of failures, absences, weaknesses, fragmentation, fragility, backwardness, lost opportunities, and tragedy. It is a story of Russian essentialism. It is a story of public action that was ill fated, embryonic, "missing," "primitive," "amorphous," and confrontational. Historians from a variety of historiographical

[33] Martin Malia, *The Soviet Tragedy: A History of Socialism in Russia, 1917–1991* (New York, 1994), 70; and Theodore Von Laue, *Why Lenin? Why Stalin? Why Gorbachev? The Rise and Fall of the Soviet System*, 3d edn. (New York, 1993), 17–18. See also Jacob Walkin, *The Rise of Democracy in Pre-revolutionary Russia: Political and Social Institutions under the Last Three Czars* (New York, 1962), 183–84; Geoffrey Hosking, *Russia: People and Empire, 1552–1917* (Cambridge, Mass., 1997), 181–82; Martin Malia, *Russia under Western Eyes: From the Bronze Horseman to the Lenin Mausoleum* (Cambridge, Mass., 1999), 143.

[34] Alfred J. Rieber, *Merchants and Entrepreneurs in Imperial Russia* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1982); Thomas C. Owen, *Capitalism and Politics in Russia: A Social History of the Moscow Merchants 1855–1905* (Cambridge, 1981); Abraham Ascher, *The Revolution of 1905: Russia in Disarray* (Stanford, Calif., 1988); Hosking, *Russia*; Leopold Haimson, "The Problem of Social Stability in Urban Russia, 1905–1917," *Slavic Review* 23, no. 4 (1964–65): 619–42 and 24, no. 1: 1–22; Victoria Bonnell, "Voluntary Associations in Gorbachev's Reform Program," in Alexander Dallin and Gail W. Lapidus, eds., *The Soviet System in Crisis: A Reader of Western and Soviet Views* (Boulder, Colo., 1991), 151–60; Ronald Grigor Suny, *The Soviet Experiment: Russia, the USSR, and the Successor States* (New York, 1997), 15; Harley D. Balzer, ed., *Russia's Missing Middle Class: The Professions in Russian History* (New York, 1996).

[35] Raeff, *Understanding Imperial Russia*, 129.

[36] Terence Emmons, "The Zemstvo in Historical Perspective," in Emmons and Wayne S. Vucinich, eds., *The Zemstvo in Russia: An Experiment in Local Self-Government* (Cambridge, 1982), 433. See also Emmons, *The Formation of Political Parties and the First National Elections in Russia* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983), 1–5; Von Laue, *Why Lenin?* 59; Raeff, *Understanding Imperial Russia*, 89, 183–86; Abraham Ascher, *P. A. Stolypin: The Search for Stability in Late Imperial Russia* (Stanford, Calif., 2001), 77; and Orlando Figes, *A People's Tragedy: A History of the Russian Revolution* (New York, 1996), 162.

[37] Richard Pipes, *Russia under the Old Regime* (New York, 1974), xxi.

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schools and political preferences are in remarkable consensus: the story of late imperial Russia is fundamentally a story of what did *not* happen.

It is certainly not my intention to refute the overwhelming evidence of a repressive state or to claim that a strong, stable civil society was secure in imperial Russia, much less to place any formal limits on the scope of tsarist political authority or to defend it in the Gramscian manner. Rather, I propose a change of emphasis from what did not happen to what did. In slighting the development of civil society, most of the above views create an unwarranted sense of historical inevitability and bury other aspects of the Russian past under an authoritarian essentialism that prevents us from drawing an adequate map of nineteenth-century public life. Although an all-powerful and repressive state, intransigent radicals, and subjects unprotected by rights have dominated the historical representation of late imperial Russian political culture, a lively non-revolutionary civic life emerged in the largest cities. Economic growth, mobility, urbanization, and advances in education, coupled with the Great Reforms of the 1860s, fostered the development of organized structures that mediated between the individual and the state. New professional, entrepreneurial, and artistic elites aspired to create new public identities. Bureaucratic service to the state or visionary service "to the people" no longer defined the concept of public duty. Moreover, there are signs that Russian historiography is turning away from "declensionism," that is, from the study of the decline of tsarist Russia as it headed inexorably toward revolution.[38] Rather than seek the "social basis" of great confrontations between state and society, historians now are just as likely to study alternative channels for gradualism and reform and to try to explain what kept tsarist Russia together rather than to reaffirm what broke it apart. Work on Russian freemasonry, local and municipal government, charity, liberal academics, professionalization, the press, and popular reading habits, among other topics, helps us to understand more fully how Russian political culture worked—both the constraints and the opportunities.[39] If we focus on Russia's autocratic ways, we emphasize the differences between Russia and the West and accentuate the inevitability of revolution. If, on the other hand, we venture into the less explored terrain of Russia's emerging civil society, we may find a rather different picture of public life. One thing we are sure to find: voluntary associations, always under the watchful eye, both benevolent and suspicious, of autocracy. A

[38] Jane Burbank and David L. Ransel, eds., *Imperial Russia: New Histories for the Empire* (Bloomington, Ind., 1998), xv–xvi.

[39] Douglas Smith, *Working the Rough Stone: Freemasonry and Society in Eighteenth-Century Russia* (DeKalb, Ill., 1999), 86; S. Frederick Starr, "Civil Society and the Impediments to Reform," in William G. Miller, ed., *Toward a More Civil Society? The USSR under Mikhail Sergeevich Gorbachev* (New York, 1989), 307; Daniel Brower, *The Russian City between Tradition and Modernity, 1850–1900* (Berkeley, Calif., 1990), 40; W. Bruce Lincoln, *The Great Reforms: Autocracy, Bureaucracy and the Politics of Change in Imperial Russia* (DeKalb, 1990), xvi; Adele Lindenmeyr, *Poverty Is Not a Vice: Charity, Society, and the State in Imperial Russia* (Princeton, N.J., 1996), 111, 231; David Wartenweiler, *Civil Society and Academic Debate in Russia, 1905–1914* (Oxford, 1999); Manfred Hagen, *Die Entfaltung politischer Öffentlichkeit in Russland, 1906–1914* (Wiesbaden, 1982); Christine Ruane, *Gender, Class and the Professionalization of Russian City Teachers, 1860–1914* (Pittsburgh, 1994); Gary Marker, *Publishing, Printing, and the Origins of Intellectual Life in Russia, 1700–1800* (Princeton, 1985); Louise McReynolds, *The News under Russia's Old Regime: The Development of a Mass-Circulation Press* (Princeton, 1991), 3–4; Jeffrey Brooks, *When Russia Learned to Read: Literacy and Popular Literature, 1861–1917* (Princeton, 1985), xxi; Joan Neuberger, *Hooliganism: Crime, Culture, and Power in St. Petersburg, 1900–1914* (Berkeley, 1993), 111.

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study of voluntary associations will show not only the constraints but also the opportunities for public action; it will also show how efforts to assist the state in bringing progress to the nation led to efforts to limit the scope of state power. Rather than explain the liberal-democratic civil society that Russia clearly did not become, I will try to suggest ways to understand the civil society that it did achieve.[40]

OF ALL THE ELEMENTS that composed or facilitated the development of civil society in Russia—a print culture and the press, the universities, the city councils and the rural zemstvos, the judiciary, economic growth and diversification, urbanization, professionalization, the liberal movement—the most neglected has been the voluntary association.[41] By the end of the nineteenth century, Russia had thousands of voluntary associations. They were everywhere—St. Petersburg and Moscow, the capitals of the non-Russian regions of the empire, the major provincial centers, and even small towns. Their range included learned societies, small-town charitable and agricultural societies, and clubs for recreation and sport. Their rapid growth and ubiquity, of course, help me argue their significance in life and their neglect in history; at the same time, this complicates any attempt to analyze them. I will examine only a selected group of St. Petersburg and Moscow voluntary associations, mainly but not exclusively learned societies. I make no claim that these organizations were typical or representative of all of Russia's associations. But because of their longevity, their formal and legally constituted relationship with the authorities, the paper trail available, their stature, and their public missions, they allow us to problematize associational life under autocracy and to reconstruct the broader social, intellectual, and institutional framework in which associations operated.[42] I will proceed by examining their contribution to three broad thematic areas of public life—the application of science to the study of productive natural and human resources, the preservation and promotion of the national heritage, and social reform movements. I have chosen these areas not only for their intrinsic interest and importance but for three additional reasons. First, each has its analogue in Europe and North America; indeed, one could argue that they are paradigmatic of post-Enlightenment public life. Second, in each area, a prominent association or set

[40] I have borrowed this conceit from Mack Walker, who set about to explain the small-town bourgeoisie that Germany did get rather than the strong liberal bourgeoisie that it did not get. See Walker, *German Home Towns: Community, State and General Estate, 1648–1871* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1971), 4.

[41] Even a magisterial and exhaustive study of Russian social history neglects associations. B. N. Mironov, *Sotsial'naia istoriia Rossii perioda imperii (XVIII-nachalo XX v.): Genezis lichnosti, demokraticheskoi sem'i, grazhdanskogo obshchestva i pravovogo gosudarstva*, 2 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1999).

[42] Since the societies I am using were headquartered in St. Petersburg and Moscow, provincial associations, let alone those representing the many national minorities in the empire, are beyond the scope of this project. Other types of organizations excluded from this study are royal academies; guilds, corporations, trade associations, cooperatives, and unions (directly involved with the business of making a living); political parties; secret societies and illegal organizations; churches, sects, and other religious associations; and informal organizations, circles, and salons. For the pertinent criteria, see Clark, *British Clubs*, 16; Lowood, *Patriotism*, 24–25; Christiane Eisenberg, "Working-Class and Middle-Class Associations: An Anglo-German Comparison, 1820–1870," in Jürgen Kocka and Allen Mitchell, eds., *Bourgeois Society in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Oxford, 1993), 153–54; and Mark E. Warren, *Democracy and Association* (Princeton, N.J., 2001), 57–58.

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of associations may be identified as archetypal. Third, the archetypal associations span a long chronological period: from the reign of Catherine II at the end of the eighteenth century to those of Alexander III and Nicholas II at the end of the nineteenth. After examining a sampling of Russian associations, it will be possible to judge the contribution of voluntary associations to the development of Russian civil society.

Improvement and progress by means of the application of science to the study of productive natural and human resources was one of the most important goals of the Enlightenment. By bringing the benefits of science to agriculture, for example, nature itself could be improved and made more productive. To accomplish this goal, in the second quarter of the eighteenth century, monarchs and private persons founded agricultural societies in the British Isles, France, the German states, and Switzerland.[43] Societies sponsored essay competitions and awarded prizes to encourage innovations, created networks of corresponding members, funded and manned expeditions, published journals and treatises, maintained facilities such as botanical gardens and observatories, undertook statistical surveys, and mapped the realm. Such projects created and diffused public knowledge, mobilized volunteers in scientific and "patriotic" enterprises, and created the sense of "participation in a culture of learning."[44] Russia was no exception to this phenomenon. In the 1750s and 1760s, a few government officials such as Nikita Panin began to connect the goal of a more efficient and humane economic and political system with improvements in Russian agriculture and with curtailment of the abuses of serfdom. At the same time, a few landowners became "enlightened seigneurs" and sought new ideas of estate management. Although Catherine's true intentions have long been disputed, there is evidence to suggest that the empress wanted "to mitigate the evils of serfdom without arousing excessive expectations among the serfs or hostility among the nobles," to create a "climate of opinion in which the nobles might agree to reforms to improve the life of the serfs." A body designed to study agriculture seemed to be the best institutional mechanism for creating such a "climate of opinion," and in 1765 was born Russia's first association, the Free Economic Society.[45] There is no doubt that the society, while independent of government, benefited from Catherine's moral and material support. Catherine conferred on the society "separate" patronage and permitted it to use the imperial coat of arms as

[43] Lowood, *Patriotism*; Isabel de Madariaga, *Russia in the Age of Catherine the Great* (New Haven, Conn., 1981), 133, 142; and James Arthur Prescott, "The Russian Free Economic Society: Foundation Years," *Agricultural History* 5, no. 3 (July 1977): 503–12.

[44] Thackray, "Natural Knowledge," 683; Clark, *British Clubs*, 271.

[45] Robert E. Jones, *The Emancipation of the Russian Nobility* (Princeton, N.J., 1973), 137. See also David L. Ransel, *The Politics of Catherinian Russia: The Panin Party* (New Haven, Conn., 1975), 281; Edgar Melton, "Enlightened Seigniorialism and Its Dilemmas in Serf Russia, 1750–1830," *Journal of Modern History* 62 (December 1990): 679; Paul Dukes, *Catherine the Great and the Russian Nobility: A Study Based on the Materials of the Legislative Commission of 1767* (London, 1967), 216; Wallace David, "The Conflict between Economic Vision and Economic Reality: The Case of M. M. Shcherbatov," *Slavonic and East European Review* (January 1989): 45; Roger P. Bartlett, "J. J. Sievers and the Russian Peasantry under Catherine II," *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 32, no. 1 (1984): 15–16; Madariaga, *Russia in the Age of Catherine*, 133, 142.

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well as her own logo, a beehive with the word "useful" (*poleznoe*) curling around it.[46]

During its 150-year existence, the Free Economic Society was governed by a charter or bylaws (*ustav*) drawn up by the society and approved by the government. In addition to stating the goals and scope of the society, as well as rules by which it managed its own affairs, the charter, explicitly or implicitly, granted certain rights and privileges. In an autocratic country, it functioned as a micro-constitution written in the language of representation, which gave associational life autonomous existence and a special meaning. Despite its inevitably close relationship to the government, the Free Economic Society was based on the principles of voluntary association of members, the assembly of private persons, and self-governance. Since the charter became a template for subsequent associations, and since Russian officialdom later threatened to encroach on certain rights and privileges, to abrogate, as it were, this micro-constitution, it would be worthwhile to highlight those features of the charter most jealously defended by the society's members.[47]

In the first place, the charter was written by the members themselves. They established their own goals, the means to attain them, and internal rules and regulations, hence the society's name, "free," independent, possessing its own will (*vol'noe*). To be sure, the charter had to be approved by the government, and there is no doubt that its provisions were constrained by an understanding of what was acceptable. Nevertheless, in drawing up its own rules, the society engaged in the process of self-definition. Second, membership was entirely voluntary. The society had the power to select its own members and thereby create a bond of trust, mutual respect, and sociability in the achievement of common goals. Third, the society constituted its own structure of authority. The highest decision-making body was the general members' meeting (*obshchee sobranie*). This body elected officers by secret ballot, and the results were not subject to validation by the authorities. A council or board (*sovet*), consisting of a president, vice president, secretary, treasurer, and chairs of divisions and committees, planned the society's activities and set the agenda for the general meetings. Fourth, the society could pursue autonomous activity, regulated only by its own rules and regulations and the laws of the land; it did not need government permission for all its activities or authorization to allocate funds. For example, it could create ad hoc committees and commissions as it saw fit, and the various departments and committees had considerable autonomy to set their own agenda. Fifth, the society had privileges regarding censorship, the feature of arbitrary autocracy that so often shackled intellectual life. Like the Academy of Sciences and the universities, the Free Economic Society and

[46] A. I. Khodnev, *Kratkii obzor stoletnei deiatel'nosti Imperatorskogo Vol'nogo Ekonomicheskogo Obshchestva s 1765 do 1865 goda* (St. Petersburg, 1865), 1–4.

[47] The charters were published in the complete collection of Russian laws, *Polnoe sobranie zakonov Rossiiskoi imperii* (hereafter, *PSZ*), 27 (1765), no. 12,502; *PSZ*, 2d ser., 34 (1859), no. 34,192; *PSZ* 47 (1872), no. 51,195, as well as in many separate editions. The following discussion is based on nineteenth-century bylaws. I have used *Proekty Ustava Imperatorskogo Vol'nogo Ekonomicheskogo Obshchestva* (St. Petersburg, 1913), which compares the 1872 bylaws and two drafts of revised bylaws, as well as *K istorii Vol'nogo Ekonomicheskogo Obshchestva* (St. Petersburg, 1907), doc. no. 180. In *Living the Enlightenment*, Margaret Jacob attaches considerable importance to the bylaws of the associations of the Enlightenment in Western Europe.

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subsequent learned societies were allowed to censor their own printed matter and import foreign publications duty-free and uncensored. After 1862, all learned societies were exempt from pre-publication censorship. Finally, such privileges gave the Free Economic Society a crucial feature of the public sphere everywhere—publicity.[48]

Like the European science, agricultural, and patriotic societies of the day, the chief goal of the Free Economic Society was the increase and diffusion of useful knowledge.[49] First and foremost, the society collected, translated, and disseminated foreign advances in agriculture and the arts. Also, it tried to create an institutional framework that would stimulate public interest and encourage such advancements in Russia. Members were to perform experiments, test innovations, and evaluate the results of experiments submitted to the society. Essay competitions, an important component of the public sphere, encouraged the production of knowledge and practical proposals to solve problems. The society was to convey visually the results of Russian and foreign advances through collections, exhibits, museums, and lectures. Finally, the society aimed to increase the amount of information available on local economic conditions, primarily, but not limited to, those of agriculture.[50] As part of the latter project, it cultivated relationships with other organizations, domestic and foreign, by exchanging publications and by publishing accounts of the activities of other agricultural societies and, later, of the zemstvos. Despite obstacles, this effort created considerable enthusiasm, conveyed by A. T. Bolotov, a middling provincial nobleman and improving landlord: "And my satisfaction grew even greater when I saw that, following foreign examples, all the nobles living in the province had been invited to communicate their economic observations to the Society, along with other people of every rank and to pave the way for this, 65 questions were appended at the end of this book."[51]

It is beyond the scope of this article to pursue the myriad projects of the Free

[48] These features of the bylaws were frequently noted in the liberal press. See, for example, a series of reports in the "Iz obshchestvennoi khroniki" section of *Vestnik Evropy*: no. 5 (1896): 434–36; no. 6 (1896): 861–63; no. 6 (1897): 875–76; and no. 10 (1897): 846–48. On censorship, see N. M. Korkunov, *Russkoe gosudarstvennoe pravo*, 5th edn., 2 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1904–05), 1: 465; and Charles A. Ruud, *Fighting Words: Imperial Censorship and the Russian Press, 1804–1906* (Toronto, 1982), 125–26.

[49] The overall activities of the society may be culled from many different accounts: Khodnev, *Kratkii obzor*; A. I. Khodnev, *Istoriia Imperatorskogo Vol'nogo Ekonomicheskogo Obshchestva s 1765 do 1865 goda* (St. Petersburg, 1865); A. N. Beketov, *Istoricheskii ocherk dvadtsatipiatiletnei deiatel'nosti Imperatorskogo Vol'nogo Ekonomicheskogo Obshchestva s 1865 do 1890 g.* (St. Petersburg, 1890); and N. G. Kuliabko-Koretskii, "Kratkii istoricheskii ocherk deiatel'nosti I. V. E. Obshchestva so vremeni ego osnovaniia, preimushchestvenno v dele sobiraniia i razrabotki statisticheskikh svedenii o Rossii i rasprostraneniia znanii v naselenii," *Trudy Vol'nogo Ekonomicheskogo Obshchestva*, no. 3 (1897): 395–412; Michael Confino, *Domaines et seigneurs en Russie vers la fin du XVIII^e siècle: Etude de structures agraires et de mentalités économiques* (Paris, 1963); V. V. Oreshkin, *Vol'noe ekonomicheskoe obshchestvo v Rossii 1765–1917* (Moscow, 1963); Joan Klobe Pratt, "The Russian Free Economic Society, 1765–1915" (PhD dissertation, University of Missouri, Columbia, 1983).

[50] Discussion of the essay competitions can be found in V. I. Semevskii, *Krest'ianskii vopros v Rossii v XVIII i pervoi polovine XIX veka* (St. Petersburg, 1888), 1: xi, 309–39; Confino, *Domaines*, 202–03, 232–34, 237–51; R. Jones, *Emancipation*, 137–38; Khodnev, *Istoriia*, 366–467; Oreshkin, *Vol'noe ekonomicheskoe obshchestvo*, 59–63; and Roger Bartlett, "'I.E.' and the Free Economic Society's Essay Competition of 1766 on Peasant Property," British Study Group on Eighteenth-Century Russia, *Newsletter*, no. 8 (1980): 58–67.

[51] A. T. Bolotov, *Zhizn' i prikliucheniia, 1738–1795*, 3 vols. (Moscow-Leningrad, 1931), 2: 318; quoted in Dukes, *Catherine the Great and the Russian Nobility*, 99–100. See also Confino, *Domaines*, 38; Pratt, "Russian Free Economic Society," 36–44; Khodnev, *Istoriia*, 1–94.

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Economic Society. Moreover, it must be acknowledged that historians have questioned the sustained commitment of members and the effectiveness of the society's activities; they certainly did not bring about a transformation of Russian agriculture.[52] Nevertheless, the significance of the Free Economic Society lies less in any particular product it did or did not, could or could not, deliver. The Free Economic Society's links with government set a pattern for reciprocal and even mutually beneficial relations between Russia's voluntary associations and the state, a pattern that prevailed until the end of the nineteenth century. The society had imperial patronage, accepted members of the royal family as officeholders, received what we might call today government grants, and petitioned government offices for favors and privileges, such as free postage. Like many future associations in the nineteenth century, the society was called on to assist the government in the study of a variety of problems and in implementation of policy. In this, a "patriotic society for the encouragement of agriculture and the economy in Russia" was fulfilling its patriotic duty. At this point in the development of Russia's voluntary associations, individual societies' goals and state goals were one and the same. Even while the necessity of a close relationship with the government no doubt circumscribed the society's autonomy, until the 1890s there is little evidence that the government systematically compromised the principles of voluntary membership, internal integrity, or autonomous self-management of the society's affairs. By becoming the first public forum for a discussion of and dissemination of views on economic policy, the Free Economic Society sowed the seeds of participatory public dialogue and marked the beginning of a process whereby independent public initiative was sanctioned under autocracy.[53] Born in the age of "enlightened despotism," this initiative continued even in the age of the reactionary Nicholas I.

A fascination with the past, spawned by antiquarianism, historicism, and patriotism, spread throughout Europe during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Monarchs and subjects alike assembled artifacts and curiosities, founded museums, and organized societies. Historicism emanating from Germany provided philosophical justification for the study of the customs and ways of life of distinct and cohesive groups of people. Collecting and displaying fueled efforts to seek and record local customs and beliefs, those "fast disappearing ways of life." Learning about one's nation was a form of patriotic public service that shaped a sense of national identity and pride.[54] Although this obsession with the national heritage has often been portrayed as a longing for an idealized past or as an anti-modern aesthetic retreat, in fact the study of the past expressed an acceptance of progress and an affirmation of the distance traveled to the present. The vehicle that mobilized this study of the past and of the nation was the voluntary association, often, especially on the continent, in conjunction with a government agency,

[52] Confino, *Domaines*, 28–34. It should be noted that the effectiveness of European agricultural societies has also been questioned. Clark, *British Clubs*, 437–40; Kenneth Hudson, *Patriotism with Profit: British Agricultural Societies in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (London, 1972), 3, 18, 46–48; Lowood, *Patriotism*, 132–41, 163, 169.

[53] Khodnev, *Kratkii obzor*, 1–4; Prescott, "Russian Free Economic Society," 503; Raeff, *Understanding Imperial Russia*, 99.

[54] Lynn L. Merrill, *The Romance of Victorian Natural History* (Oxford, 1989), 97; Blackbourn, *Long Nineteenth Century*, 275.

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commission, or academy.[55] As is well known, in the first half of the nineteenth century, educated Russians became obsessed with national identity. In their efforts to emphasize difference, Russians paid Western Europe the ultimate compliment of emulation. The broadening scholarly and public interests in the Russian nation came together in 1845 with the founding of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society. Later that year, the newly formed organization drew up a charter, modeled after that of the Royal Geographical Society in London, that sanctioned autonomy in its mission, internal organization, and selection of members and officers.[56]

During the last years of the reign of Nicholas I, such autonomy was by no means guaranteed, and F. P. Litke, admiral, scientist, explorer, and the society's first vice president, viewed the Geographical Society much as a captain would a ship, trying to steer it on a safe course and prevent unforeseen calamities. Although Litke regretted internal bickering over mission statements and organizational issues, such debate among members proceeded openly without any effort of the government to dictate the society's goals.[57] Indeed, the state was an active collaborator in a mission that valorized the advancement of native science, imperial expansion, and national integration and promoted a community of learning and service to the nation. Like European learned societies of the day, the Geographical Society facilitated scientific research and brought together scientists, scholars, and reform-minded officials to study social and economic questions. Its autonomous divisions were "turned into the kind of laboratories where ideas are exchanged, where the initiative for public enterprises to advance science are inspired, where research strategies are discussed, where completed work is evaluated and prizes are awarded, and where the results of private investigations are assembled and published."[58] It built a base of empirical data, an ongoing system of questionnaires, and consolidated, coordinated, and disseminated the great amount of private, and seemingly random, collection of geographical information.[59] Requiring a large number of researchers outside the capital, the questionnaires, for example, generated a constant flow of "important and curious observations" about different localities to

[55] The literature on this subject is vast, and I have been informed by the following: James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature and Art* (Cambridge, Mass., 1988), 215–51; George W. Stocking, Jr., *Victorian Anthropology* (London, 1987); Stocking, ed., *Objects and Others: Essays on Museums and Material Culture* (Madison, Wis., 1985); Bruce G. Trigger, *A History of Archaeological Thought* (Cambridge, 1989); Merrill, *Romance of Victorian Natural History*; Levine, *Amateur and the Professional*; Catherine A. Lutz and Jane L. Collins, *Reading the National Geographic* (Chicago, 1993); and C. Dellheim, *The Face of the Past: Preservation of the Medieval Inheritance in Victorian England* (Cambridge, 1982).

[56] *PSZ*, 2d ser., 20 (1845), no. 19,259.

[57] I. G. Sukhova, "Eshche raz o predystorii Russkogo geograficheskogo obshchestva," *Izvestiia Vsesoiuznogo geograficheskogo obshchestva*, no. 5 (1990): 403–08; L. S. Berg, *Vsesoiuznoe geograficheskoe obshchestvo za sto let* (Moscow-Leningrad, 1945), 32–34; *Vospominaniia general-fel'dmarshala grafa Dmitriia Alekseevicha Miliutina 1843–1856* (Moscow, 2000), 139–40.

[58] P. P. Semenov, *Istoriia poluvekovoi deiatel'nosti Imperatorskogo Russkogo geograficheskogo obshchestva, 1845–1895*, 3 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1896), 1: 9.

[59] W. Bruce Lincoln, *Petr Petrovich Semenov-Tian-Shanskii: The Life of a Russian Geographer* (Newtonville, Mass., 1980), 12–13; V. M. Shtein, "Rol' Vsesoiuznogo geograficheskogo obshchestva v razvitii russkoi obshchestvennoi mysli," *Izvestiia Vsesoiuznogo geograficheskogo obshchestva*, nos. 1–2 (1945): 7. It has also recently come to the attention of students of Russian ethnography. See Nathaniel Knight, "Science, Empire, and Nationality: Ethnography in the Russian Geographical Society, 1845–1855," in Burbank and Ransel, *Imperial Russia*, 108–41.

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the society's headquarters in St. Petersburg. According to the silver jubilee report, the society brought "order to that constant effort of freely moving forces, which incessantly stream in from the outside, changing in their composition and diverse in their combinations, specializing and directing their work in conjunction with the general goals of the Geographical Society." It provided a training ground for public or government work: the government reformers of the 1850s and 1860s had all been members of the Geographical Society.[60]

The desire to spread in Russia a love of geography, ethnography, and statistics fulfilled more than a training mission. In the 1840s, the Geographical Society was at the center of a quest for national identity and the leader of a movement to privilege the study of the Russian people.[61] The foundation of the society, and especially the projects of its Ethnographic Division, marked the birth of institutionalized Russian area studies. Like ethnographers in Western Europe, the charter members of the Russian Geographical Society considered it "urgent to preserve for posterity . . . the special features of folk life before it is too late."[62] In 1847, the society's Ethnographic Division drew up an elaborate program of empirical study based on 7,000 questionnaires sent all over Russia. In the striking metaphor of P. P. Semenov-Tian-Shanskii, explorer and long-time secretary of the society, the Russian common people had retained the distinguishing features and original character of the Russian nation as if "buried under the volcanic ash of history."[63] In evoking the spirit of community in the past, the society summoned science to validate its sense of community in the present. The society's jubilee histories capture the rosy attitude of the members toward a community voluntarily constituted:

> From the very start, the Society was not a closed circle of learned specialists who convened from their studies to exchange ideas and inform each other of the results of their research. It threw open the door to all, without exception, who were interested in studying Russia, and summoned all her available and motley forces to independent action [*samodeiatel'nost'*] directed to that study.

Among all its members, from the royal family down to the most modest provincial geographer, the society created that desire to study the nation's productive forces and to facilitate its well-being, as well as "that spiritual bond that binds us all together in the love for our native land."[64] The community bonded by a study of

[60] F. R. Osten-Saken, *Dvadtsatipiatiletie Imperatorskogo Russkogo geograficheskogo obshchestva* (St. Petersburg, 1871), 44; W. Bruce Lincoln, *In the Vanguard of Reform: Russia's Enlightened Bureaucrats, 1825–1861* (DeKalb, Ill., 1982), 91–101.

[61] Semenov, *Istoriia*, 2–3; T. A. Lukina, "K istorii osnovanii Russkogo geograficheskogo obshchestva," *Izvestiia Vsesoiuznogo geograficheskogo obshchestva*, no. 6 (1965): 508–10.

[62] Karl Ernst von Baer, "Ob etnograficheskom issledovanii voobshche i v Rossii v osobennosti," *Zapiski Russkogo geograficheskogo obshchestva*, books 1–2, 2d edn. (1849), 64–81. See also Semenov, *Istoriia*, 1: xvii–xxi, 37–38, 51; Berg, *Vsesoiuznoe*, 33, 146–47; L. M. Saburova, "Russkoe geograficheskoe obshchestvo i etnograficheskie issledovaniia," *Ocherki istorii russkoi etnografii, fol'kloristiki i antropologii*, no. 7 (Leningrad, 1977), 6–7; and N. N. Stepanov, "Russkoe geograficheskoe obshchestvo i etnografiia, 1845–1861," *Sovetskaia geografiia*, no. 4 (1946): 187–206.

[63] Semenov, *Istoriia*, 1: 51. Semenov here is summarizing an important report to the society by the writer, publisher, and ethnographer, N. I. Nadezhdin.

[64] Osten-Saken, *Dvadtsatipiatiletie*, 44–45. This openness became part of the image of the society propagated by its leaders. Semenov's golden jubilee account of the society repeats, but does not attribute, almost word-for-word the silver jubilee assessment (*Istoriia*, 1: xxiv). Such jubilee editions, of

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the nation was soon becoming one bonded by a desire to educate and reform it.

Associations were essential ingredients in movements of reform and cultural stewardship in nineteenth-century Europe and America. At the same time, associations and the activities they sponsored were important in shaping middle-class identities and in developing and reinforcing hierarchies of value, sensibilities, and cultural aspirations.[65] Particularly important for my purposes here are efforts to provide education, to promote self-improvement and rational leisure as well as a thirst for positive knowledge, and to mobilize the public for reform causes through a variety of projects. Myriad societies sponsored schools, vocational training, and public lectures. They organized congresses, often with the cooperation of governments, that became local, regional or national venues for otherwise-isolated people to come together to discuss matters of common concern.[66] Museums and exhibitions of natural history, science, and industry celebrated progress, the division of labor, and the dissemination of knowledge; they also demonstrated the cooperation of science, industry, private associations, and governments in service to the public.[67] By mobilizing new special-interest constituencies and in publicizing a wide variety of causes, associations became a new form of public representation and advocacy, especially in polities lacking national representative institutions or for groups not

course, exaggerate the openness and significance of a learned society. It is important, however, to give voice to such sentiments in order to examine the meaning and self-definition of associations; for this reason, I have used their publications and archives throughout, complemented, when appropriate, by the reports of Russian officialdom.

[65] Mary P. Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790–1865* (Cambridge, 1981); Blumin, *Emergence*; Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*; Wolff and Seed, *Culture of Capital*; Morris, *Class, Sect and Party*; McCarthy, *Noblesse Oblige*; Blackbourn and Evans, *German Bourgeoisie*; Kocka and Mitchell, *Bourgeois Society*. In the meantime, the objects of improvement and reform needed immediate guidance and mediation in the form of civilizing agencies and rational recreation that, it was hoped, would introduce the habits of hard work and thrift, temperance, the elevation of taste, morals, and judgment—in short, the "discipline of culture."

[66] Kidd and Roberts, *City, Class and Culture*; Katherine Auspitz, *The Radical Bourgeoisie: The Ligue de l'Enseignement and the Origins of the Third Republic, 1866–1885* (Cambridge, 1982); Morris, "Voluntary Societies"; Sanford Elwitt, "Social Reform and Social Order in Late Nineteenth-Century France: The Musée Sociale and Its Friends," *French Historical Studies* 11 (Spring 1980): 431–51; Donald M. Scott, "The Popular Lecture and the Creation of a Public in Mid-Nineteenth-Century America," *Journal of American History* 66, no. 4 (March 1980): 791–809; Donald M. Scott, "The Professions That Vanished: Public Lecturing in Mid-Nineteenth-Century America," in Gerald L. Geison, ed., *Professions and Professional Ideologies in America* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1983), 12–28; J. N. Hays, "The London Lecturing Empire, 1800–1850," in Ian Inskter and Jack Morrell, eds., *Metropolis and Province: Science in British Culture, 1780–1850* (London, 1983), 91–119; and R. Hinton Thomas, *Liberalism, Nationalism and the German Intellectuals, 1822–1847: An Analysis of the Academic and Scientific Congresses of the Period* (Cambridge, 1951).

[67] On the grand nineteenth-century exhibitions and museums, I have been informed by John E. Findling and Kimberly D. Pelle, *A Historical Dictionary of World's Fairs and Expositions, 1851–1988* (Westport, Conn., 1990); Robert Rydell, *The Books of the Fairs: Materials about World's Fairs, 1834–1916, in the Smithsonian Institution Library* (Chicago, 1991); Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876–1916* (Chicago, 1984); Burton Benedict, ed., *The Anthropology of World's Fairs* (Berkeley, Calif., 1983); Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs, 1851–1939* (Manchester, 1988); Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (New York, 1995); Keith Walden, *Becoming Modern in Toronto: The Industrial Exhibition and the Shaping of Late Victorian Culture* (Toronto, 1997); and Stocking, *Victorian Anthropology*.

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otherwise represented, thereby breaking down a sense of powerlessness to shape public policy.

It is a commonplace that the Russian intelligentsia regarded itself as the steward of Russian learning and culture. In the absence of dispersed bourgeois wealth and numerous individual philanthropists, Russian voluntary associations were even more important than their counterparts in the West as the initiators of public outreach and cultural stewardship.[68] Many Russian associations with a self-conscious public mission to democratize science and learning had their origins in the Era of the Great Reforms during the 1860s, a time of unprecedented state-sanctioned public discussion of government policy, local conditions, and projects for national renewal. To be sure, the government was unwilling to permit any constitutional challenge to autocratic rule, and radicals resented the incompleteness of the reforms and the slowness of change; but for a while at mid-century, a spirit of earnest application of effort for national improvement prevailed. This spirit was perhaps most intense at the universities and among Russian youth. In 1863, a new government charter granted universities more autonomy, including the right to organize their own learned societies. The Ministry of Internal Affairs noted that there was "a general inclination toward the development of associational public activity in all forms and for all kinds of purposes."[69]

Russian youth believed that the study of science held the key to progress, and the era presented new opportunities to mobilize resources for the pursuit of public science. In 1863, a group of specialists, amateurs, and students affiliated with Moscow University founded the Society of Friends of Natural Science, Anthropology, and Ethnography (OLEAE in its Russian initials). Judging the creation of knowledge—theoretical research—already to be the turf of other institutions such as the Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg, the charter members of OLEAE stated that what Russia needed most was to disseminate a love of science and to nurture young scientists. Russia was deficient not in theoretical knowledge but "in the number of people who can use that knowledge." In the arresting terminology of the charter members, the goal of OLEAE was the "democratization of knowledge."[70] Among the major outreach activities of OLEAE were the Ethnographic Exposition in 1867, the Polytechnical Exposition in 1872, and the creation of the nation's best-known science museum, the Moscow Polytechnical Museum. In an example of cooperation between associations, the city government, the scientific community, and the general public, the museum sponsored lectures, discussions,

[68] For more, see Joseph Bradley, "Voluntary Associations, Civic Culture, and *Obshchestvennost'* in Moscow," in Clowes, Kassow, and West, *Between Tsar and People*, 131–48.

[69] Quoted in Lindenmeyr, *Poverty Is Not a Vice*, 121. The university charter is in "Obshchii ustav Imperatorskikh Rossiiskikh Universitetov," *PSZ*, 2d ser., 38 (1863), no. 39,752. See also S. A. Tokarev, *Istoriia russkoi etnografii: Dooktiabr'skii period* (Moscow, 1966), 284; Alexander Vucinich, *Science in Russian Culture, 1861–1917* (Stanford, Calif., 1970), 77.

[70] Obshchestvo liubitelei estestvoznaniia, antropologii i etnografii (hereafter, OLEAE), *Protokoly zasedanii*, no. 1 (Moscow, 1864), cols. 2–3; and no. 27 (Moscow, 1867), cols. 109–10. See also V. V. Bogdanov, "Obshchestvo liubitelei estestvoznaniia, antropologii i etnografii pri Moskovskom gosudarstvennom universitete," *Uchenye zapiski Moskovskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta: Iubileinaia seriia*, vyp. 53 (1940): 363–64; P. V. Bogdanov, *Piatidesiatiletie Imperatorskogo obshchestva liubitelei estestvoznaniia, antropologii i etnografii* (Moscow, 1914), 33; and Tokarev, *Istoriia russkoi etnografii*, 284.

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and Sunday tours pitched at workers. By providing meeting halls and auditorium space free of charge to numerous other societies, it became a civic center, contributing substantially not just to the democratization of science and learning but also to civic life and to the goals of the rational use of leisure. (See Figure 1.)[71]

The needs of a modern economy, the increasing division of labor, and the specialization of the work force required a greater investment in primary education and in adult and technical training, and associations responded to this need. In 1861, the Free Economic Society created an autonomous division known as the Literacy Committee, which became the nation's most prominent association involved in primary education. When it opened, the officers of the Free Economic Society declared that the society's top priority must be to assist the spread of literacy among the newly emancipated peasants; Russian agriculture could not improve, the argument ran, unless its basic human component, the peasant cultivator, became a literate farmer. The committee organized the free distribution of government-approved textbooks and instructional materials to the nation's primary schools and libraries, and an estimated one million books passed through this network between 1861 and 1895. The committee complemented this distribution network with a publishing venture of its own, thereby becoming an important actor in the effort of educated society to provide an alternative to pulp fiction and to construct a canon of edifying popular literature. To support its wide-ranging activities, the committee relied on in-kind contributions, membership dues, and donations, largely from Russia's business class.[72] Fund-raising, as well as the consulting services and wide network of correspondents among teachers and even peasants "dispersed all over Russia," created horizontal linkages in the countryside and a reputation of trust and service, what in the Western literature is now called "social capital."[73]

Among the many Russian associations involved in adult and technical education, the best known and most influential was the Russian Technical Society (RTO in its Russian initials), founded in St. Petersburg in 1866. From the beginning, the membership was heterogeneous; though dominated by the technical intelligentsia, it also included civil servants, military officers, industrialists, and foreigners. By the

[71] OLEAE, *Vserossiiskaia etnograficheskaia vystavka i slavianskii s"ezd* (Moscow, 1867); OLEAE, *Obshchee obozrenie Moskovskoi politekhnicheskoi vystavki* (Moscow, 1872). I discuss the 1872 Exposition in "Science, Technology and the Public at the Moscow Exposition," a paper presented at IREX's Alumni Symposium "Science, Technology and the Public in Russia," at the University of Texas, February 12, 1999, and available on the World Wide Web at http://www.irex.org/programs/conferences. Useful introductions to the museum's activities are N. N. Pozdniakov, "Politekhnicheskii muzei i ego nauchno-prosvetitel'noi deiatel'nosti 1872–1917 gg.," *Istoriia muzeinogo dela v SSSR* (Moscow, 1957), 129–58; and *Moskovskii muzei prikladnykh znanii: Materialy dlia istorii ustroistva muzeia* (Moscow, 1875).

[72] The standard history of the Literacy Committee is D. D. Protopopov, *Istoriia S.-Peterburgskogo Komiteta gramotnosti, 1861–1895* (St. Petersburg, 1897), compiled by its secretary. Additional material on the origins and activities of the committee may be found in K. Dikson, *S.-Peterburgskii Komitet gramotnosti: Istoricheskii ocherk, 1861–1911* (St. Petersburg, 1911); I. A. Gorchakov, "Obzor deiatel'nosti Komiteta gramotnosti," *Trudy Vol'nogo ekonomicheskogo obshchestvo*, no. 1 (January–February 1894): 285–99; and P. Shestakov, "Stolichnye komitety gramotnosti," *Russkaia mysl'* (May 1896): 106–24; (June 1896): 107–24; and (October 1896): 91–102. The St. Petersburg Literacy Committee had its counterpart in Moscow, a division of the Moscow Agricultural Society.

[73] A. A. Kizevetter, *Na rubezhe dvukh stoletii: Vospominaniia, 1881–1914* (Moscow, 1997), 165–67.

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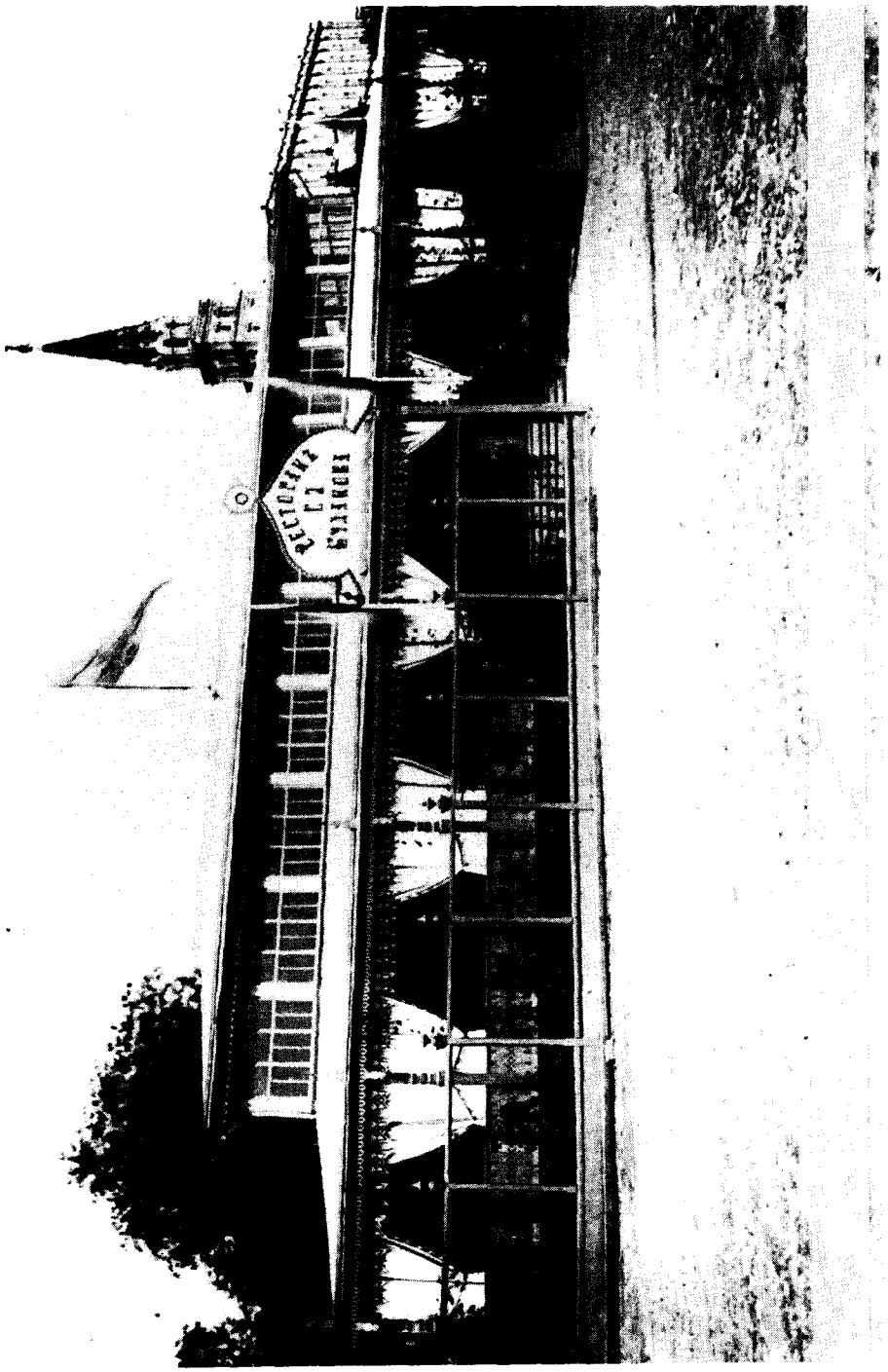


FIGURE 1: One of three restaurants at the Polytechnical Exposition in Moscow in the summer of 1872. The exposition was organized by the Society of Friends of Natural Science, Anthropology, and Ethnography and held inside the Kremlin walls and in the adjacent gardens. (One of the Kremlin towers is visible in the background.) More than 750,000 visited the exposition to see 10,000 articles on display, including 2,000 from foreign countries. (Source: Imperatorskoe Obshchestvo Liubitelei Estestvoznaniia, Antropologii i Etnografii, *Politekhnicheskaia Vystavka 1872 g.: Al'bom Vidov* [Moscow, 1872]). Courtesy of the State Polytechnical Museum, Moscow.

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end of the nineteenth century, forty branches were scattered across the Russian Empire; the local branches had considerable autonomy to establish contacts with business, industry, and educational institutions. According to its charter, the RTO's broadly defined mission was to assist the development of Russian technology, to disseminate practical information, and to advance engineering education.[74] Throughout the 1870s and 1880s, the RTO became a national forum for debate of educational policy, largely through the efforts of one of its divisions, the Standing Committee on Technical Education. In order to improve technical training and labor productivity, this committee ran classes for adult workers and schools for workers' children, and sponsored public lectures. To operate schools, acquire classroom space, recruit teachers, develop syllabi, review textbooks, and coordinate instruction required considerable organizational skills. Given that revenue from membership dues, the sale of publications, and government grants did not cover all its activities, the Technical Society had to organize concerts, lectures, and other fund-raisers.[75] Public lectures, reading rooms, and public libraries not only facilitated the efforts at self-improvement and diffusion of science and technology, they also served the complementary component of cultural stewardship: the rational use of leisure. The RTO was but one of many organizations that sponsored public lectures, a phenomenon of civil society that, in the words of historian A. A. Kizevetter, became "an epidemic" in the 1890s.[76]

Like the many lecture series, periodic national congresses were highly public enterprises organized by a variety of Russian associations. Periodic congresses of scientists and of technical education specialists must suffice for illustration. Modeled after congresses of German scientists and organized by university science societies in different cities of the empire beginning in 1867, the scientific congresses established a precedent for other congresses, in that they conducted their business largely by government-approved rules and procedures of their own making (*polozhenie*). (See Figure 2.) In an address before the first congress of scientists,

[74] The charter may be found in *PSZ*, 2d ser., 41 (1866), no. 43,219. See also N. N. Gritsenko, *et al.*, *Nauchno-tekhnicheskie obshchestva SSSR* (Moscow, 1968); and N. G. Filippov, *Nauchno-tekhnicheskie obshchestva v Rossii, 1866–1917* (Moscow, 1976); "Kratkii istoricheskii ocherk deiatel'nosti Imperatorskogo Russkogo tekhnicheskogo obshchestva s ego osnovaniia po pervoe ianvaria 1893 g.," *Zapiski Russkogo tekhnicheskogo obshchestva* 7–8 (1893): 1–20. Other associations whose mission was adult education and technical training were the Society for the Diffusion of Technical Knowledge, the Society to Promote Commercial Education, and the Society of Public Universities. A. E. Gruzinskii, *Tridtsat' let zhizni Uchebnogo dela Obshchestva rasprostraneniia tekhnicheskikh znanii* (Moscow, 1902). See also Owen, *Capitalism and Politics*, 162; and Joseph Bradley, "Merchant Moscow after Hours: Voluntary Associations and Leisure," in James L. West, ed., *Merchant Moscow: Images of Russia's Vanished Bourgeoisie* (Princeton, N.J., 1998), 133–46.

[75] On the efforts of RTO in education, see B. N. Tits, *Ocherk istorii Postoiannoi kommissii po tekhnicheskomu obrazovaniiu pri Imp. Russkom tekhnicheskom obshchestve, 1868–1889* (St. Petersburg, 1889); and N. M. Korol'kov, *Kratkii obzor deiatel'nosti Postoiannoi kommissii po tekhnicheskomu obrazovaniiu* (St. Petersburg, 1912).

[76] Cited passage from Kizevetter, *Na rubezhe dvukh stoletii*, 213–14. Other societies opening reading rooms or organizing public lectures were the Society to Study and Disseminate Accounting, the Pirogov Society of Russian Physicians, the Society of Free Public Libraries, the Society for the Diffusion of Technical Knowledge, the Moscow Juridical Society, the Society of Public Universities, and the Temperance Society. "Obshchestvo sodeistviia k ustroistvu obshcheobrazovatel'nykh razvlechenii," *Izvestiia Moskovskoi gorodskoi dumy*, pt. 1 (June 1898): 17–18; N. F. Sumtsov, "Organizatsiia obshchestvennykh razvlechenii," *Obrazovanie*, no. 1 (January 1898): 29–43.

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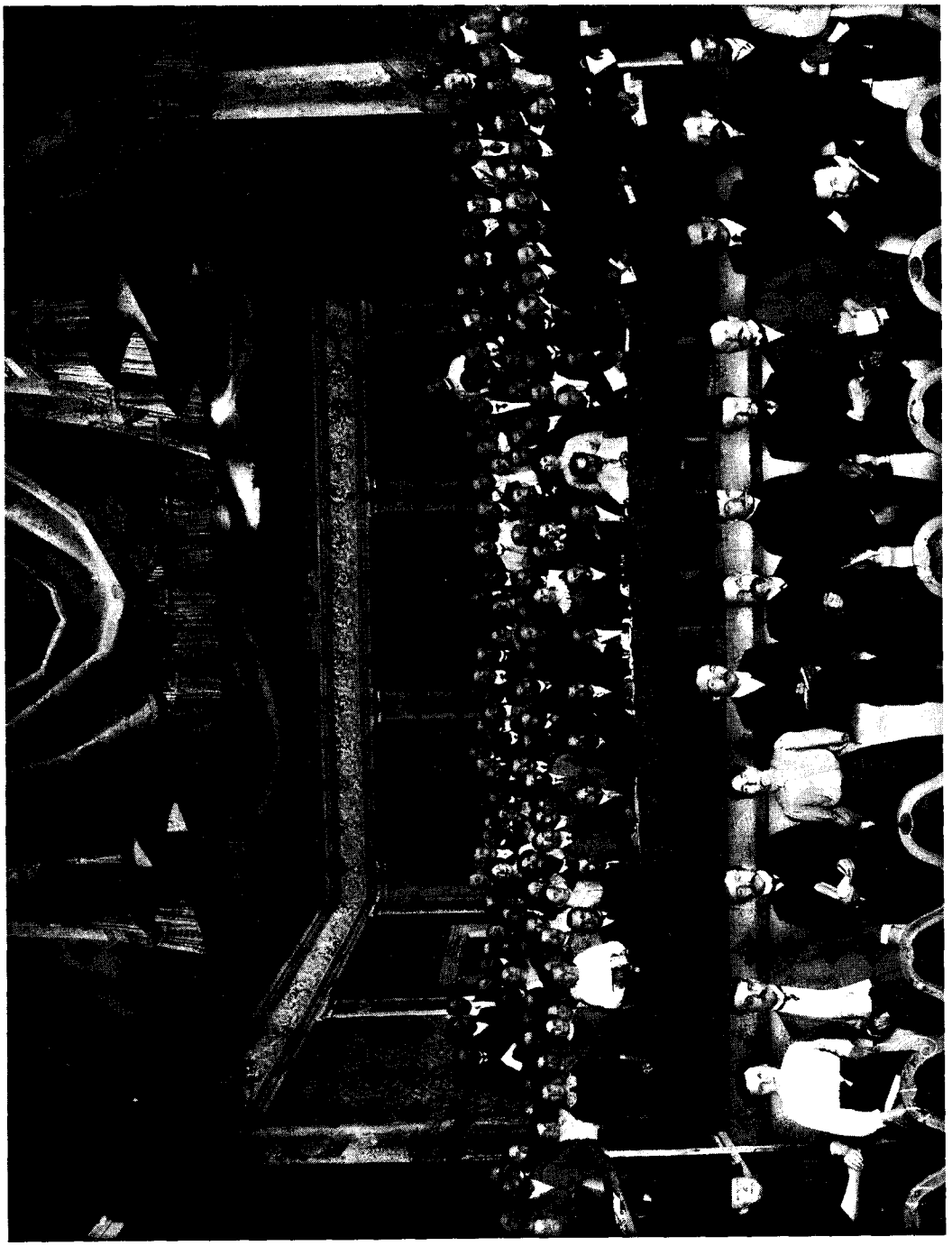


FIGURE 2: Participants at the Third All-Russian Congress of Feldshers and Obstetricians in St. Petersburg in 1912. Congresses were an important form of public representation where critical opinion was expressed that the government found increasingly difficult to contain. There were more than 500 district, regional, and national congresses of medicine and public health alone before 1917. The photograph was taken by K. K. Bulla, who photographed all of the most important prerevolutionary academic and professional congresses. Courtesy of the Central State Archive of Documentary Films, Photographs, and Sound Recordings of St. Petersburg.

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G. E. Shchurovskii, a professor of geology at Moscow University and president of OLEAE, opined that "Congresses are a moral force, bringing scientists in contact with each other and with society and the mass of the population." In addition to bringing together scientists from the far corners of the empire, the congresses elevated native science to "a place next to European science," and promoted science education.[77] Similarly, a series of congresses of vocational and technical education, organized by the Russian Technical Society beginning in 1889, was convened to acquaint the public with the state of Russian technical education and to study "the conditions for its proper organization." Believing that the congresses would energize, facilitate, and coordinate a multitude of private and public efforts to improve technical education and promote private initiative, the organizers encouraged public input into the program.[78] Congresses and the myriad public meetings provided forums, in the provinces as well as in Moscow and St. Petersburg, for public debate on a wide range of national policy issues, many of which, such as corporal punishment, universal public education, and government economic policy, were highly controversial.

These efforts to inform and mobilize the public fanned controversy and alarmed an autocratic government that for a long time had nurtured and supported the activities of associations. By the end of the nineteenth century, the relationship between government and more and more associations became politicized and confrontational. The Literacy Committee allegedly used its "vast network of public libraries, reading rooms, and public lectures" and its claim to a voice in public policy, "to turn public education into a weapon of anti-government propaganda."[79] One high-profile case at the turn of the century provides an excellent example of a contested public sphere. In the 1890s, the Free Economic Society was forced to curtail its public activities under mounting government complaints that it had opened its meetings to the public and overstepped the bounds of its charter.[80] A memorandum of the Political Police of December 8, 1897, contended that the meetings of the Free Economic Society had "turned into a parliament which debates publicly, always before great crowds, absolutely all issues of government internal policy." "There is no possibility of objective discussion, or if it starts, it is quickly turned into an anti-government meeting," a "political demonstration." The

[77] Cited passages quoted in B. E. Raikov, *Grigorii Efimovich Shchurovskii: Uchenyi, naturalist i prosvetitel'* (Moscow, 1965), 61; and A. V. Pogozhev, *Dvadtsatipiatiletie estestvenno-nauchnykh s"ezdov v Rossii, 1861–1886* (Moscow, 1887), vi. See also *Izvestiia o s"ezde estestvoispytatelei v Kieve s 11-go po 18-e iiunia 1861 goda* (Kiev, 1861), vii.

[78] A. G. Nebol'sin, "Ob ustroistve periodicheskikh vystavok i s"ezdov po tekhnicheskomu i professional'nomu obrazovaniiu," *Trudy s"ezda russkikh deiatelei po tekhnicheskomu i professional'nomu obrazovaniiu v Rossii: Doklady na obshchikh sobraniiakh otdelenii* (St. Petersburg, 1890), 3.

[79] "Sekretnaia svodka Departamenta Politsii dlia Glavnogo Upravleniia General'nogo Shtaba ob uvelicheniem chisla oppozitsionno-nastroennykh elementov sredi chlenov Vol'nogo ekonomicheskogo obshchestva v sviazi s rostom revoliutsionnogo dvizheniia v 1904–1905 gg.," Rossiiskii Gosudarstvennyi Istoricheskii Arkhiv (St. Petersburg), fond 91, opis' 1, delo 664 (1904–1905), listy 1–3.

[80] I discuss this case in "The Politicization of Public Life: The Case of the Free Economic Society, 1890–1900," a paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies, Denver (November 2000). The source base is a paper trail of reports, correspondence, and memoranda in the files of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Department of Police, and the Free Economic Society itself in St. Petersburg and Moscow archives.

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memorandum ended by the arresting claim that "no underground organization has done as much to spread anti-government ideas as has the Free Economic Society."[81]

IT SHOULD BE READILY APPARENT THAT the institutional core of civil society—the network of associations in St. Petersburg, Moscow, and other major cities—was rapidly growing in imperial Russia. To be sure, compared to Western Europe and North America, in a vast and far less urban empire this network was less dense, and the number of members per capita was decidedly smaller. But associations were too important to be dismissed by the imperial government then or by historians today. What, then, was the meaning of Russia's associations and its emerging civil society? As British sociologist Keith Tester suggests, the most important question is not whether civil society has existed, or exists, among a particular people, whether it is strong or weak, or which institutions it possesses or lacks—important as these questions are—but why people operate as if it had meaning.[82] It did have meaning in its day, and that meaning reveals much about Russia's allegedly "traditional and mythological" public life and about an omnipotent state that allegedly created "subjects deprived of initiative."

Although scholars often emphasize the differences between Russia and "the West," the experience of Russian associations suggests many similarities. Russia's associations were able to promote and pursue the same goals as their counterparts in Europe and North America. Within the unavoidable constraints of autocratic power, Russian associations were by and large self-defined, self-organized, and self-managed bodies offering a free, that is, not coercive, sociability. Their charters, the "founding document," as they were repeatedly called, contained certain state-sanctioned privileges and immunities. Through associations, entrepreneurs, government officials, and professionals—almost exclusively men—presented typical nineteenth-century themes, language, projects, and hierarchies of value, commonly regarded as deficient in autocratic Russia: opportunity, individual initiative, autonomy, self-reliance, self-improvement, a spirit of enterprise, industriousness, rationality, the ability to control one's destiny, a belief in science and progress, and cultural stewardship. As elsewhere, outreach activity aspired to "enlarge the mind," improve taste, and "make better citizens." Programs of adult education aimed at nothing less than "the democratization of knowledge," "the leveling of social classes," and "the breaking of all barriers between people."[83] The many projects—meetings and public lectures, publications, school administration, fund-raising—demonstrated extensive outreach as well as the organizational talents and the suppleness wanting in the cumbersome Russian bureaucracy.

[81] "Zapiska po Otdeleniiu okhraneniia obshchestvennoi bezopasnosti i poriadka v stolitse," Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Rossiisskoi Federatsii (hereafter, GARF), fond 102, deloproizvodstvo 4 (1907), delo 133, listy 38–40 verso. In a similar vein is "Kratkaia kharakteristika revoliutsionnoi deiatel'nosti prosvetitel'nykh obshchestv," GARF, f. 102, Osobyi Otdel (1906, pt. 2), d. 194, pt. 2, l. 266.

[82] Keith Tester, *Civil Society* (London, 1992), 1–2.

[83] V. Storozhev, "Po povodu otcheta Moskovskoi Komissii domashnego chteniia," *Obrazovanie* 3 (1897): 75. The "absence of ranks" (*nesoslovnyi kharakter*) in the meetings and other activities became an almost formulaic observation of Russian associational life. See, for example, descriptions of meetings of the Moscow Archaeological Society in T. I. Vzdornov, *Istoriia otkrytiia i izucheniia russkoi srednevekovoi zhivopisi XIX v.* (Moscow, 1986), 140.

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Indeed, to a great degree, Russian officialdom nurtured associations precisely for their organizational talents, as well as for their advancement of progress and national well-being. Despite the story of conflict between state and society that pervades much of the historical literature, as it pervaded the mutual perception of the antagonists at the time, a great degree of cooperation and collaboration existed between officialdom and Russian associations. From the end of the eighteenth to the end of the nineteenth century, the Russian state did much to create civil society by sanctioning the creation and operation of private associations. As in Europe, state subsidies, royal patronage, and the presence of government officials and even members of the imperial family on association boards fostered the crossover between official and unofficial realms. For more than a century, the government found it quite useful to have the learned societies apply knowledge, in a dispassionate way, to social and economic problems; to collect, analyze, and publish data; and even to make policy recommendations, of course only when asked to do so. For this reason, the government was willing to concede the societies considerable latitude for the autonomous management of their own affairs and even allow them to hold public meetings. To many members, associations presented an opportunity for a pragmatic, advantageous reciprocal relationship with the imperial government. Many associations assiduously cultivated an ethos of earnest service and usefulness in order to gain prestige and patronage for their projects. Russian associations often regarded their goals and those of the state as mutual—national progress and betterment through study, improvement, and mobilization of productive human and natural resources.

In pursuing these goals, associations became the vehicle by which educated Russians learned about society and communicated with each other. In a huge empire whose polity was built on vertical linkages to and from the autocrat that isolated its subjects, public meetings brought speakers and audiences in contact with each other and, by being reported in the societies' publications as well as in the press, with the broader educated society, both metropolitan and provincial. The projects of associations thereby established horizontal linkages that bypassed the Russian government, further underscoring their autonomy. By emphasizing change and progress, associations and their projects fostered a public awareness of a changing world, of history. This, in turn, raised consciousness and accorded an opportunity for special-interest constituencies of men to enter the public arena, to subject their missions to public scrutiny, and to be stewards of culture. Associations and their enterprises promoted that sense of public duty and civic pride that had been missing from Russian national life.[84] By mobilizing the public in the language

[84] Such rhetoric was pervasive. The minutes of the meetings of the planning committee of the Polytechnical Exposition of 1872 provide one example among many. See A. P. Bogdanov and I. Beliaev, "O tseli i kharaktere politekhnicheskoi vystavki," and Viktor Della-Vos, "Po povodu politekhnicheskoi vystavki," in the minutes of the meeting of OLEAE, August 29, 1868, in *Politekhnicheskaia vystavka: Protokoly zasedanii*, vol. 1 (Moscow, 1869), 18–23; "Protokol chastnogo sobraniia chlenov Komiteta po ustroistvu Politekhnicheskoi vystavki 17go oktiabria 1870 g.," in *Politekhnicheskaia vystavka: Protokoly zasedaniia*, vol. 2 (Moscow, 1871), 7–11. One can also find it in the newspaper coverage. See two stories about the closing of the exposition and about the final report of the exposition submitted to OLEAE in *Moskovskie Vedomosti*, no. 272 (October 1, 1872): 1–2; and no. 304 (December 1, 1872): 3–4.

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of representation before both peers and power, associations collectively claimed to represent the nation, through publicity, policy initiatives, and petitions, to the Russian government.[85]

Thus to represent the nation in the review and formulation of state policy jeopardized the precarious mutuality between officialdom and associations and gave furtive legitimacy to anti-government views. By the end of the nineteenth century, many, though by no means all, associations wanted the government to sanction a broader scope of activity, thus raising the threat of a vast archipelago of unauthorized and unscrutinized public initiative. Continued government tutelage only created more resentment and fostered an adversarial relationship. Regarding the review and formulation of national policy to be entering the arena of politics, a territory beyond the scope and competence of private associations, officialdom tried to suppress discussion of sensitive topics. Although historians have rightly identified certain major national crises—the famine of 1891–1892, events leading up to the Revolution of 1905, for example—as galvanizing public action in a spirit of opposition to the government, the organizational framework for such public assertiveness was already in place. Overcoming the fear of the authorities, and convening "parliaments," as meetings were often called in the press, associations such as the Free Economic Society and the Russian Technical Society gained in esteem, authority, and trust among the educated population, gains that came at the government's expense. Thus associations demonstrated what public life could be, even under autocracy, and why this public life was threatening to the authorities. They created and assiduously cultivated the spaces of initiative and autonomy where the capacity of citizenship could appear. However, politicization and contestation in these spaces at the turn of the twentieth century made the public sphere, like the state itself, vulnerable to attack, and a rapidly developing civil society was soon hijacked by revolutionaries for the purposes of its own destruction.

If the capacity of citizenship could sprout on the inhospitable ground of autocratic rule, could the Russian experience—and, in particular, its experience in association—enrich theories of civil society? Under tutelary autocratic authority, the emergence of civil society was not a consequence of the inviolability of person and domicile, property rights, and the rule of law, as is often theorized in the Western tradition, but was in advance of, or concurrent with, such limitations in the scope of state power. In freely constituted and publicly validated associations, educated Russians acted as if they were in civil society. Sanctioned by the state itself, associations become the leading edge in the emergence of a dynamic civil society. Russian associations help explain the cooperation between state and civil society, the social basis of liberalism and reform movements, and the eventual struggle against political absolutism. Through associations, individuals took initiative, acquired social identities, formed interest groups, framed policy issues, and mobilized public opinion. Voluntary associations created spaces where rights could

[85] Examples of such mediation can be found in Pogozhev, *Dvadtsatipiatiletie*, 142, 149, 151, 170, 171. I pursue this at greater length in "Russia's Parliament of Public Opinion: Association, Assembly and the Autocracy, 1906–1914," in Theodore Taranovski, ed., *Reform in Modern Russian History: Progress or Cycle?* (Cambridge, 1995), 212–36.

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be asserted and defended and claims could be mediated. Their charters were micro-constitutions written in the language of representation. That language defined a legal relationship with authority, articulated collective goals, conferred certain rights and privileges, and set rules for self-management of affairs. Under autocracy, voluntary associations not only gave civil society meaning, they made an essential contribution to the process by which Russian subjects were becoming citizens.

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Buffalo Bill Meets Dracula: William F. Cody, Bram Stoker, and the Frontiers of Racial Decay

LOUIS S. WARREN

On a summer day in 1887, crowds of passers-by gathered to stare as an unusual group of celebrities drove through Oatlands Park, London. For many, seeing a group of fashionably dressed gentlemen that included England's greatest living actor, Henry Irving, would have been exciting in itself. But one of Irving's companions made the coaching party even more intriguing. With long black hair spilling down over his shoulders and stunning good looks, the figure that adorned thousands of colorful lithograph posters that blanketed London that season was instantly recognizable. Beside Henry Irving sat William F. "Buffalo Bill" Cody, the impresario of the Wild West show sweeping the English capital that summer. Together, the pair drew gasps and, occasionally, shouts of approval from onlookers.

For historians, though, the party becomes most interesting when we take notice of a third passenger, one who was probably unknown to most observers that day. Large and red-haired, engaging and solicitous, Bram Stoker, the future author of *Dracula*, shared the carriage with Cody and Irving.[1] This probably was not Stoker's first meeting with Cody. The two had likely met in the United States at least a year before. Stoker corresponded with Cody and with the showman's staff, and he almost certainly attended the Wild West show, which in 1887 was enjoying unparalleled celebrity in its first European appearance. Indeed, Cody was hard to miss. British readers had been devouring fictional romances about this living American at least since the 1870s, and now he materialized before their eyes.[2] He did not disappoint.

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[1] Bram Stoker, *Personal Reminiscences of Henry Irving*, 2 vols. (New York, 1906), 2: 142; Stoker recalls that the outing occurred in the fall, but Irving made the invitation for June, and both he and Stoker were touring the United States after July. See Henry Irving to W. F. Cody, May 1887, in "Invitations and Letters 1887–95," Microfilm Reel, Buffalo Bill Historical Center, Cody, Wyoming (hereafter, BBHC); "Mr. Irving's Farewell," *The Era* (July 16, 1887): 13; "Henry Irving's Farewell," *The Era* (July 23, 1887): 12.

[2] George Gilbertson to W. F. Cody, May 26, 1887, in "Letters and Invitations, 1887–8," BBHC.

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"The representative frontiersman of his day" and his "exposition" of real Indian warriors, genuine Anglo cowboys, Mexican vaqueros, and women sharpshooters became objects of enormous popularity.[3] In the United States, his show had been touring for four years to great acclaim. Now in London, in 1887, society columns dubbed him "the lion of the season." The frontier hero became perhaps the most sought-after party guest among the United Kingdom's upper classes. Queen Victoria even made a rare appearance outside her palace to see the show, then ordered a command performance for her private viewing at Windsor Castle.[4]

Catapulted to these heights, Buffalo Bill's Wild West would be a major attraction in Europe and America for many years, the lights dimming over its last appearance only in 1916. By then, the show had become the best-known representation of America. And Cody himself, the warrior from the frontier West, had become the world's most famous American.

In 1897, ten years after Buffalo Bill's London premiere and at the height of his fame, Bram Stoker introduced another frontier figure to the English capital. Commander of the Christian forces in the wars against the Ottoman Turks hundreds of years before, the "bravest and most cunning of Transylvania's sons" on the Turkish frontier, his purpose in London was very different from Buffalo Bill's. So was his reception. After turning one wealthy young woman into a vampire and nearly snagging another, he was chased out of the capital by an international posse of English, Dutch, and American men, who tracked this nemesis to Transylvania, vanquished his Romany bodyguards, and killed him within sight of his castle. Unlike William Cody, Count Dracula was, of course, an entirely fictional creation. This did not prevent his becoming an object of immense fascination. Among the reading public, the count would become almost as popular as Buffalo Bill. Appearing for the first time in 1897, the novel *Dracula* was in paperback by 1900. It has never been out of print since, and the count's many film incarnations have made him the preeminent nineteenth-century monster.[5]

Superficially, the contrast between Cody and the count could not be greater. Benign hero and malign villain, one is the center of a progressive myth of regeneration and renewal, the other embodies the decadence and the terrifying power of the gothic imagination. But their differences become more intriguing, an investigation of them more compelling, when we recognize their odd connections, specifically their divergent but eerily similar "frontier histories." It is well established that Stoker's monster had many inspirations and literary precursors, including a century of bloodsucking forebears.[6] Less recognized is how much Stoker's masterpiece turns on a particular frontier mythology of the period, of which Buffalo Bill Cody was the principal expositor.

This article argues both that Buffalo Bill and his Wild West show were

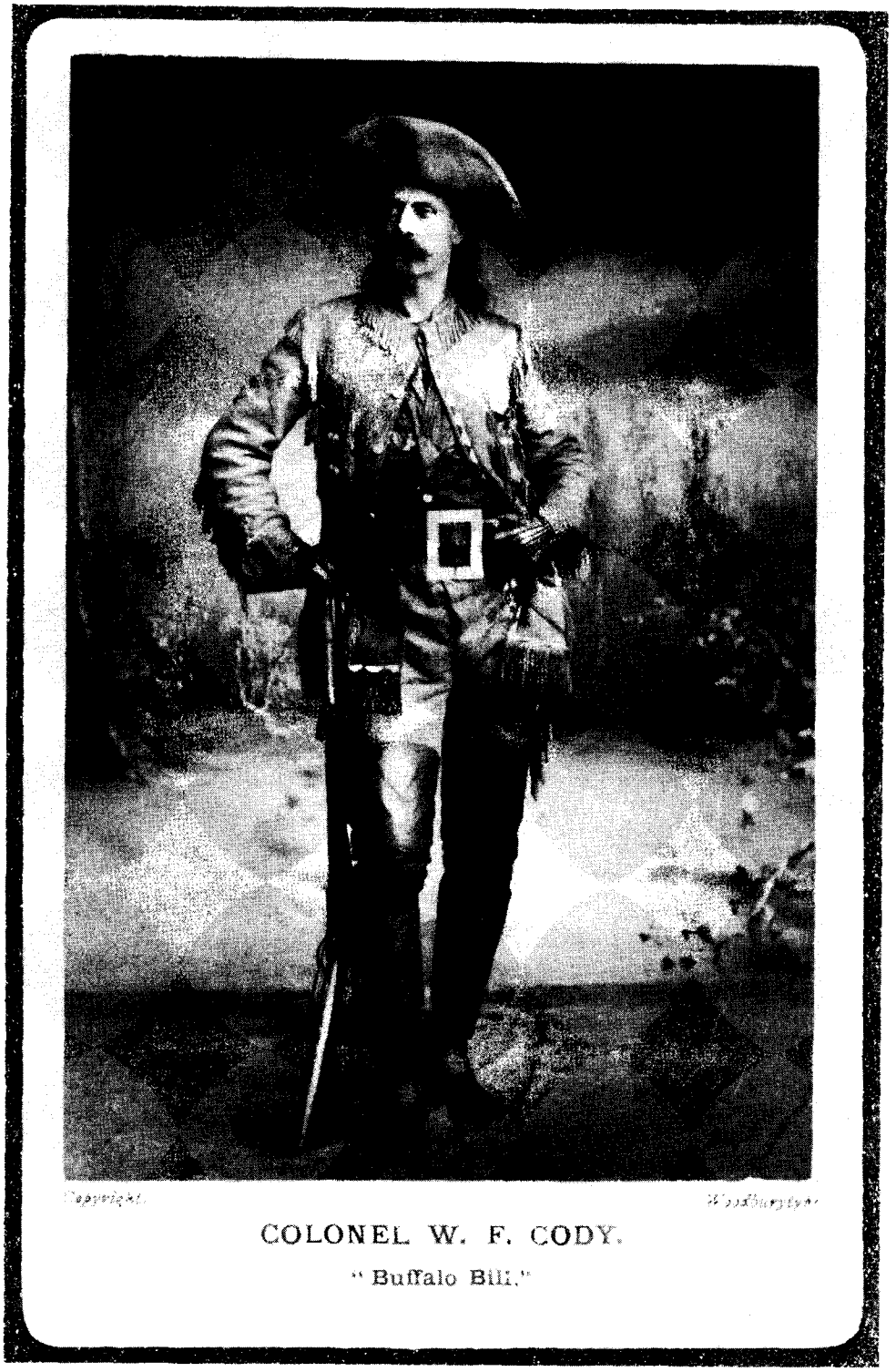
[3] "Jack and Jill at Play," n.p., n.d.; "Opening of the American Exhibition: Buffalo Bill's Wild West," *Lloyd's Weekly London Newspaper*, n.d., both in Annie Oakley Scrapbook, 1887–1925, BBHC.

[4] Henry Blackman Sell and Victor Weybright, *Buffalo Bill and the Wild West* (New York, 1955), 157–76; Don Russell, *The Lives and Legends of Buffalo Bill* (Norman, Okla., 1960), 324–41.

[5] Maurice Hindle, ed., "Introduction," to Bram Stoker, *Dracula* (New York, 1993), vii; David J. Skal, *Hollywood Gothic: The Tangled Web of "Dracula" from Novel to Stage to Screen* (London, 1990), 28.

[6] Christopher Frayling, "Lord Byron to Count Dracula," 69–74, in Frayling, ed., *Vampyres: Lord Byron to Count Dracula* (Boston, 1991), 1–84.

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Shoulder-length hair, beaded buckskin, and high black boots with Mexican spurs: popular photographs of Buffalo Bill Cody, like this one from the 1887 London season, later inspired the description of "Grizzly Dick" in Bram Stoker's comic novella *The Shoulder of Shasta* (1895). Buffalo Bill Historical Center, Cody, Wyoming. Cabinet photograph, accession number P.69.2088.

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important inspirations for Bram Stoker's novel *Dracula* and that, in the Wild West show, as in *Dracula*, the frontiers of racial encounter were invested with the possibility of degeneration and the necessity of race war. Pairing show and novel in this way, we begin to see how late nineteenth-century, progressive frontier myth and the literature of gothic horror represented homologous fictional worlds, divergent but sprung from common origins on mythic race frontiers.

The connections between Buffalo Bill and Count Dracula go well beyond the popularity of American frontier myth in late Victorian England. *Dracula*, as Steven Arata has written, is a novel of reverse colonization, in which "the colonizer finds himself in the position of the colonized, the exploiter is exploited, the victimizer victimized." In this analysis, the powerful Count Dracula invades imperial England and comes very close to reducing it to his "imperial" domain. By removing the race essence of his victims, their blood, he turns them into vampires and extends, in the words of the novel's chief monster hunter, his "vampire kind." In a fundamental way, he underscores the racial weakness of his victims and the transformative racial power of his own monstrosity.[7]

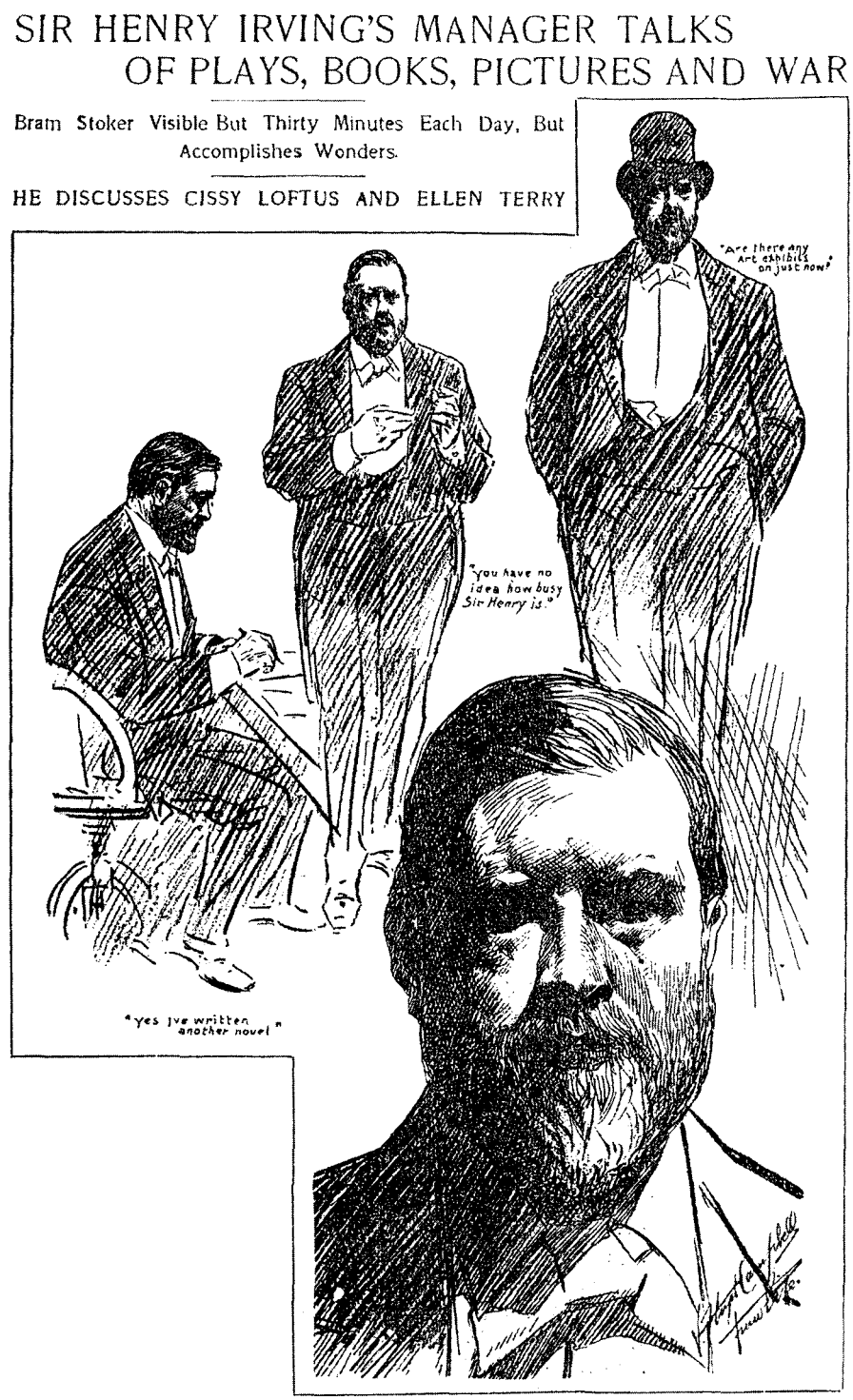
To grasp the deeper connections between Cody's show and Bram Stoker's literary masterpiece, we must keep in mind that race was much more than color in the late nineteenth century. For thinkers of the time, the word invariably implied cultural as well as physical attributes, and was demarcated by more subtle variations than mere skin pigment. Most considered the Irish a different race from the English, and both of these were distinctive from Italians. In evoking fears of English racial weakness and vulnerability to racially powerful people, the novel *Dracula* was part of a much larger cultural obsession with racial degeneration and imperial decline in the late Victorian era. The later nineteenth century saw widespread concern about slowing birth rates, the steady loss of international competitiveness, and a general decline of English political and industrial power, all accented by the diminishing fortunes of the nation's aristocracy and upper classes. These complicated developments were often ascribed to a weakening of the Anglo-Saxon race. Such notions found their way into popular culture, including the literature of the period, notably Robert Louis Stevenson's *Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* (1886), Rider Haggard's *She* (1887), and the fiction of Rudyard Kipling.[8]

The enthusiasm for the Wild West show in London sprang in no small measure from these same fears. Most commentators were lavish in their praise of Cody and his "exposition" in 1887. Its drama was overtly optimistic, depicting white Americans—Anglo-Americans—invigorated and racially empowered by the experience of conquering the frontier. And yet between the lines of adulatory show reviews lurked an abiding ambivalence, even a fear, of the powerful American virility on display in

[7] Stephen Arata, *Fictions of Loss in the Victorian Fin de Siècle* (New York, 1996), 107–32, esp. 108; Stoker, *Dracula*, Hindle, ed., 8; also see Stephen Arata, "The Occidental Tourist: *Dracula* and the Anxiety of Reverse Colonization," in Bram Stoker, *Dracula*, Nina Auerbach and David J. Skal, eds. (New York, 1997), 463–64.

[8] Arata, *Fictions of Loss*; Daniel Pick, "'Terrors of the Night': *Dracula* and Degeneration in the Late Nineteenth Century," *Critical Quarterly* 30 (Winter 1988): 71–87; and Pick, *Faces of Degeneration: A European Disorder c. 1848–c. 1918* (Cambridge, 1989), esp. 155–75; J. Edward Chamberlin and Sander Gilman, *Degeneration: The Dark Side of Progress* (New York, 1985). Matthew Frye Jacobsen expounds on what he calls "variegated whiteness" of Europeans in *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (Cambridge, Mass., 1998), 41–52.

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Bram Stoker, 1901. *The North American* (Philadelphia), November 21, 1901.

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Buffalo Bill's arena. Amid all the English enthusiasm for the Wild West show's regenerative promise of frontier warfare glimmered a specter of reverse colonization by racially powerful frontier warriors, the Americans, which observers seemed unable to escape completely.

To furrow brows as much as it did, the Wild West show had to be seen as more than a pleasant spectacle. And it was. Cody himself saw his creation as historical epic, which joined the white race to the spilling of blood across the frontier. We shall see that *Dracula*, although a novel set in the world's largest city, is also, crucially, a frontier tale. For showman and author both, continual westward expansion and continual race war secured the racial destiny of white people. But they differed, ultimately, on the promise of frontier warfare. Cody believed in it as the salvation of the white race; Stoker's view was much gloomier, at least in his most famous novel, wherein frontiers become almost as dangerous to the race as vampires themselves.

For all the differences between the Wild West show and *Dracula*, there can be little question that Stoker had the American West on his mind as he composed the novel. His tale's European protagonists are joined by a virile Texan, Quincey Morris. Stoker traveled in North America, and seems to have admired the place.[9] But reading between the lines of the novel, one has to wonder how deep his admiration ran. Of the three young male protagonists who chase Dracula down and dispose of him, Morris is disturbingly incompetent. His eagerness to use his gun and his poor aim endanger his friends, he fails in simple assignments to follow the vampire, and, in the attempted capture of Dracula in London, the count escapes when Morris bungles. So consistently does he parade his ineptitude that other questions arise. Why did Stoker make his representative American, his westerner, such a fool? For that matter, is Morris just a buffoon? Or are his numerous blunders a mask for a deeper malevolence? He is presented as racial relative to the book's English protagonists, and in a crucial scene his blood is transfused into one of the count's English victims . . . who then becomes a vampire. Whose side is the American on?[10]

The answers to these enduring riddles of Stoker's plot and intent are connected to the novel's racial implications, which become salient when read against the backdrop of Buffalo Bill's Wild West show. Its drama, in which the American Anglo-Saxons are hardened in the crucible of frontier race war, had a distorted reflection in *Dracula*, a dark parable about urban Anglo-Saxons threatened by a frontier hero gone bad. In the twentieth century, scholars have often examined the racial and cultural anxieties that underlie horror and western film genres.[11] Tracing the shadowy connections between Bram Stoker and William Cody provides some startling clues not just about the meaning of the novel *Dracula* but also the

[9] Bram Stoker, *A Glimpse of America* (London, 1886).

[10] Franco Moretti, *Signs Taken for Wonders: Essays in the Sociology of Literary Forms* (London, 1983), 84–96; Clive Leatherdale, *Dracula: The Novel and the Legend*, rev. edn. (Brighton, 1993), 129–36.

[11] Richard Slotkin, *Gunfighter Nation: The Myth of the Frontier in Twentieth-Century America* (New York, 1992); Jane Tompkins, *West of Everything: The Inner Life of Westerns* (New York, 1988); Robin Wood, *Hollywood from Vietnam to Reagan* (New York, 1986); Cynthia A. Freeland, *The Naked and the Undead: Evil and the Appeal of Horror* (Boulder, Colo., 2000).

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development of frontier and gothic traditions as racial myths in the fin-de-siècle transatlantic world.

Finally, in doing so, it underscores for us how a generation of scholarship assessing the triumphalism of America's frontier myth has yet to take full account of its darker twin, the contemporary fear of the frontier as a place of racial monstrosity. New western historians have evaluated the nostalgia of the frontier myth in light of the darker and more complicated events of history but have yet to explore fully the deep-set fears of the West among the white victors, or to use these to help explain the genesis of a decidedly overwrought western mythology.[12] The conjoined study of Buffalo Bill and Count Dracula suggests such fears informed a gothic frontier myth, featuring not a clear-cut conquest of the wilderness by white settlers but the transformation of the pioneer into something more racially powerful—and infinitely twisted—that threatens the decadent metropole. The points of contact between the creators of these tales, combined with the many significant correspondences between novel and show, command our attention. From the relative superficialities of plot and character to the deeper issues of the book's perspectives on race—blood—the ghost of Buffalo Bill's Wild West haunts this greatest work of vampire fiction.

THE PERSONAL HISTORIES THAT CONNECT William Cody and Bram Stoker reveal how entangled the social and literary worlds of frontier myth and gothic terror actually were. *Dracula* is, in the words of Richard Davenport-Hines, "an intensely personal book," through which Stoker responded to developments in his private life.[13] Figures in *Dracula* were often warped reflections of friends and colleagues in the London theater world. Cody's arrival among that circle constituted Stoker's most immediate and significant exposure to the American West prior to his visit to California in the 1890s.

Buffalo Bill and Bram Stoker were almost exact contemporaries. Stoker was born in Dublin, in 1847, the son of an Anglo-Irish civil servant, and educated at Trinity College. His early writings consisted of theater reviews for Dublin newspapers and horror stories, which made him a favorite of Dublin's literary elite, including Lord William and Lady Jane Wilde, parents of Stoker's college acquaintance, Oscar Wilde. In the late 1860s, Stoker was much taken with the stage performances of a young English actor named Henry Irving, the leading light of the new Romantic school of acting. In 1876, Stoker met the thirty-eight-year-old Irving

[12] Richard White, "Trashing the Trails," in *Trails: Toward a New Western History*, Patricia Nelson Limerick, Clyde A. Milner II, and Charles E. Rankin, eds. (Lawrence, Kans., 1991), 26–39; Patricia Nelson Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West* (New York, 1987); Richard White, *"It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own": A History of the American West* (Norman, Okla., 1991); James R. Grossman, ed., *The Frontier in American Culture: Essays by Richard White and Patricia Nelson Limerick* (Berkeley, Calif., 1994); William Truettner, ed., *The West as America: Reinterpreting Images of the Frontier* (Washington, D.C., 1991); Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth* (Cambridge, Mass., 1950). One scholar who has explored settler fears of the early frontier and their influence on frontier myth is Richard Slotkin, *Regeneration through Violence: The Mythology of the American Frontier, 1600–1860* (Middletown, Conn., 1973).

[13] Richard Davenport-Hines, *Gothic: Four Hundred Years of Excess, Evil, Horror, and Ruin* (New York, 1998), 257.

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at a private gathering where Irving recited a poem in his honor, which sent Stoker into what he called "something like hysterics." Irving was well on his way to becoming the Victorian era's most famous actor, and by 1878 Stoker had signed on as manager for his London theater, the Lyceum. Stoker worked for Irving for the next twenty-eight years, until the actor's death, and the relationship profoundly affected his life and his literary work.[14]

That Irving provided an uncertain bridge to a life of culture and wealth helps to explain Stoker's obsessive interest in the actor's affairs. Stoker was not only adulatory of Irving but captivated by his presence and devoted to following his every move. As one contemporary remarked, "To Bram, Irving is as a god, and can do no wrong." In the considered judgment of one biographer, Stoker's friendship with Irving was "the most important love relationship of his adult life."[15] For all this, Stoker seems to have been largely unappreciated by his employer and idol. Henry Irving was a self-absorbed and profoundly manipulative man. He enjoyed cultivating rivalries between his followers, and to remain in his circle required constant, careful courting of his notoriously fickle affections. Understandably, Stoker felt most secure when Irving took an interest in him personally, as he did in the early 1880s; and he became anxious and jealous when Irving turned his gaze to other men, as he did by 1885.[16]

Scholars have long agreed that keys to the Dracula tale's origin and meaning lie in the manager's relationship with Irving in the 1880s. The later years of that decade and the early 1890s—the period of Stoker's first work on *Dracula*—were years of crisis for the manager, as he fought with others in Irving's company to defend the position he had worked so hard to attain. The friction provided the basis for new literary directions. He began to pen his rivals for Irving's attention into his morbid fiction, such as his portrait of the Austin brothers, employees of Irving's whom Stoker envied and despised, as bloodthirsty twins in his horrifying tale "The Dualitists," which was published in 1887.[17]

There is virtual unanimity on the point that the figure of Dracula—which Stoker began to write notes for in 1890—was inspired by Henry Irving himself. Stoker originally intended the work as a play, with the tragedian in the leading role. (Irving derided the novel—"Dreadful!"—and would have nothing to do with it.)[18] Stoker's numerous descriptions of Irving correspond so closely to his rendering of the fictional count that contemporaries commented on the resemblance. He would remain devoted to Irving, producing a gushing two-volume memoir after his death.

[14] Hindle, "Introduction," xvii–xxx; Barbara Belford, *Bram Stoker: A Biography of the Author of Dracula* (New York, 1996), esp. 48–78; Daniel Farson, *The Man Who Wrote Dracula: A Biography of Bram Stoker* (London, 1975). Quote from Stoker, *Personal Reminiscences*, 1: 31.

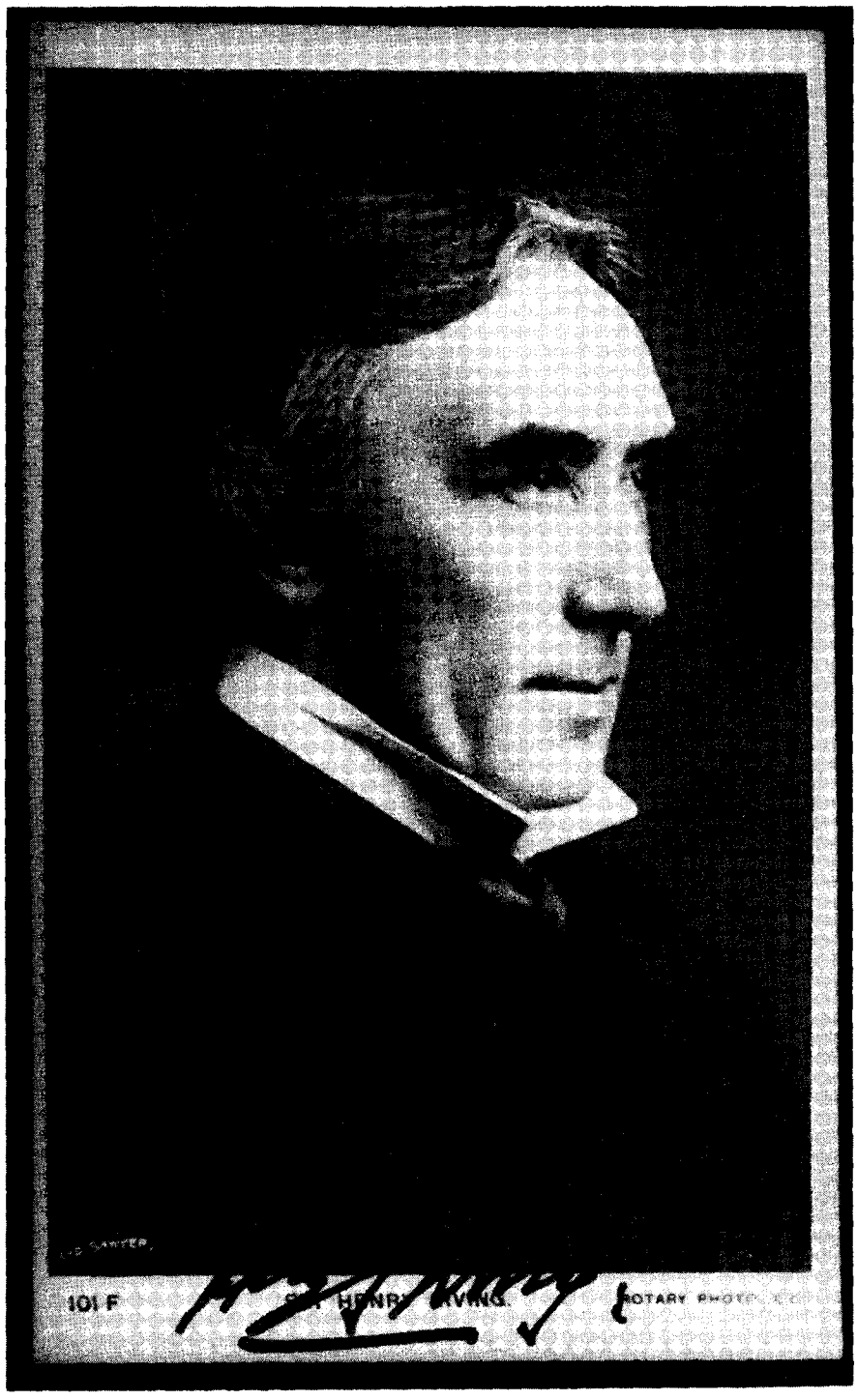
[15] Quotes from J. B. Booth, *London Town* (London, 1929), 43; Phyllis A. Roth, *Bram Stoker* (Boston, 1982), 136. Also see Farson, *Man Who Wrote Dracula*, 215–16; Skal, *Hollywood Gothic*, 31. During his career with Irving, Stoker collected what remains the largest body of Irving ephemera. See "The Papers of Henry Irving and Ellen Terry," Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, Stratford-upon-Avon.

[16] Roth, *Bram Stoker*, 136; Belford, *Bram Stoker*, 121, 173–74; Leatherdale, *Dracula*, 70; Maggie Kilgour, "Stoker's Defence of Poetry," 50, in William Hughes and Andrew Smith, eds., *Bram Stoker: History, Psychoanalysis, and the Gothic* (New York, 1998), 47–61.

[17] Belford, *Bram Stoker*, 178–79; Farson, *Man Who Wrote Dracula*, 84–87.

[18] Belford, *Bram Stoker*, 270.

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Henry Irving, Britain's premier tragedian of the late Victorian period, was Bram Stoker's longtime employer and a major inspiration for his Count Dracula. He was also the leading cultural sponsor of Buffalo Bill Cody and his Wild West show in 1887 London. Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, Stratford-upon-Avon.

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But Bram Stoker also internalized the fear and animosity his employer inspired in him, making them the foundations of his gothic fiction.[19]

As significant as Stoker's experience in Irving's circle was in these years, it is surprising that no scholar has noticed how deeply Buffalo Bill Cody ingratiated himself with that circle in the same period. England's leading actor met Cody for the first time during one of his tours of the United States, seeing the Wild West show at Staten Island—presumably in the company of Bram Stoker—in 1886. Irving gave the show a rave review in advance of its 1887 London debut, predicting it would "take the town by storm."[20] Even before the show embarked for London, people were introduced to Buffalo Bill as "friends of our mutual friend, Henry Irving."[21]

Irving and Cody no doubt found each other useful. Irving was a slender, pale man, his appearance ill-suited to the commanding stage roles he so enjoyed.[22] Consorting with Cody reinforced his position as a masculine and authoritative figure. By befriending Irving, an actor who had received unprecedented elite and royal patronage (William Gladstone offered to make Irving the first actor to receive a knighthood in 1883), Cody found entree to English society and validation for the cultural message of his own educational exposition, the culmination of a strategy for enhancing his own myth that he had been developing for at least a decade.[23] Their companionship in certain ways embodied the busy exchange of cultural statements across the Atlantic that typified this and later periods. Americans sought out actors like Irving (whose fame in America was almost as great as in Britain) to provide elements of high culture that seemed weak or absent in much of the United States, and to reassure themselves by appreciating "highbrow" theater that they possessed at least as much potential for cultural development as Europeans. English people drew on frontier spectacles and myth for their own complicated reasons, not least of which was a need for reassurance about their own racial and political destinies.

With the arrival of the Wild West show in London in 1887, Cody took his cowboys and Indians to see Henry Irving in a play at the Lyceum. As stunning as the stage performance was, the real show was this Wild West appearance in the audience. This was a vintage Buffalo Bill moment, when an ordinary activity became a performance imbued with mythic significance. The Wild Westerners' costumed visit to the Lyceum highlighted the achievements of American civilization in making the progress from rude and savage origins to this apex of Western culture, the

[19] Farson, *Man Who Wrote Dracula*, 164–65. Also see Hindle, "Introduction," xvi–xvii; Kilgour, "Stoker's Defence of Poetry," 49–50; Jerrold E. Hogle, "Stoker's Counterfeit Gothic," 210, in Hughes and Smith, *Bram Stoker*, 205–24; Nina Auerbach, *Romantic Imprisonment: Women and Other Glorified Outcasts* (New York, 1985), 269–70; Belford, *Bram Stoker*, 5, 106, 270; Leatherdale, *Dracula*, 82–83.

[20] "Henry Irving in America," *The Era* (September 11, 1886): 19; "The 'Wild West' Show," *The Era* (September 18, 1886): 10; Russell, *Lives and Legends of Buffalo Bill*, 328; Sell and Weybright, *Buffalo Bill and the Wild West*, 151.

[21] Horace Porter to William Cody, February 10, 1887, in "Invitations and Letters 1887–1891," Microfilm Reel, BBHC.

[22] Belford, *Bram Stoker*, 71.

[23] For Cody's plans to visit Britain, see William F. Cody, *The Life of Hon. William F. Cody* (1879; rpt. edn., New York, 1991), 364. For Irving's social stature, see "Address by Mr. Henry Irving," *Glasgow Evening News* (November 10, 1891): 7; Jeffrey Richards, ed., *Sir Henry Irving: Theatre, Culture, and Society: Essays, Addresses, and Lectures* (Keele, 1994), esp. 7.

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THE TWO GREAT WESTERN SHOWMEN.

HENRY: "Yes, Bill, nobody knows better than I the value of the 'puff preliminary.' "

BILL: "Henry, you've made business boom for me over here, and I guess I'll do you the same good turn when I get back among the boys."

Cartoonists lampooned the public friendship of Buffalo Bill Cody and Britain's leading Shakespearean actor, Henry Irving. *Illustrated Bits* (May 21, 1887): 3.

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premier theater in London. Seating Red Shirt, "chief" of the show Indians, and Buck Taylor, "King of the Cowboys," in the Royal Box suggested the "natural nobility" of the cowboys and Indians, and simultaneously validated the royal traditions of England as springing from a warlike and "natural" past. Irving exploited the event to full effect, inviting cowboys, Indians, and Cody onstage after the show, thereby becoming one of their manly company for a moment. Upon their departure, crowds jammed the streets to watch.[24]

Through the early summer of 1887, even a cursory reader of society columns could track their movements together. At Cody's invitation, the actor attended a special showing of the Wild West show before its public opening. He returned for opening day, too, and thereafter, for the entire 1887 season, had a private box at the Wild West arena. He hosted dinner parties for Cody at his own Lyceum's Beefsteak Room and escorted him to other social engagements. As in New York, invitations to Buffalo Bill frequently mentioned Irving as a mutual acquaintance, and an autographed photo of the American would remain in Irving's possession until the day he died.[25]

But Irving did more than associate himself with Cody in social circles. He spent so much time promoting the Wild West show that newspapers attributed its commercial success to him, the actor serving as a kind of highbrow analog to the mass advertising of the show's colorful, ubiquitous posters. "Mr. Irving, the tragedian, and Mr. Partington, the bill-poster, have each contributed to make Mr. Cody, alias 'Buffalo Bill,' the most talked about man in London."[26] Cartoons in the penny press depicted them together, with Irving as Cody's patron, or advance agent.[27] Inseparable and distinctive as they seemed to be in the public eye, humorists exploited the paradoxical friendship by making them interchangeable. Comics referred to Irving as a "great western showman" who would soon transform himself into a "Texan cow-boy" in order to attract Queen Victoria to one of his performances the way she had been lured out to see the Wild West show. Stoker himself saved a clipping from *Punch* magazine alleging that Cody would shortly take over the part of Mephistopheles in *Faust* (which Cody, his Indians, and cowboys had watched at the Lyceum).[28]

In May, after watching the official opening of the Wild West show, Irving

[24] Untitled clipping, *The Era*, April 23, 1887, in Johnny Baker Scrapbook (microfilm), Denver Public Library, Western History Room (hereafter, DPL–WHR).

[25] For Irving at opening day, see "What the World Says," *The World* (London) (April 27, 1887): 17; "The American Exhibition and Wild West Show," *Pall Mall Gazette* (May 10, 1887): 11; Irving's private box is in *The World* (May 11, 1887): 16; for dinner, see *Illustrated Bits* (London) (May 7, 1887): 11; Cody also attended dinner backstage during the last night of the Lyceum performances in 1887, see "Court and Society," *Court and Society Review* 5, no. 159 (July 20, 1887): 52. For another gathering attended by Irving, Cody, and Stoker, see "Mansion House Dramatic Luncheon, Wednesday, June 15, 1887, Plan of Tables," in Papers of Henry Irving and Ellen Terry, Reel 21, Item 52/48–49. For invitations, see E. Yates to Cody, June 7, 1887, in "Letters and Invitations 1887–8," BBHC; photograph in Papers of Henry Irving and Ellen Terry.

[26] "American Exhibition and Wild West Show," 11.

[27] *Illustrated Bits*, no. 113 (March 26, 1887): 7; (May 21, 1887): 3; also see "'Buffalo Bill's' Show," *Penny Illustrated Paper* (April 23, 1887): 262; *Penny Illustrated Paper* (May 7, 1887): 290; *The Entr'acte*, May 28, 1887, clipping in Papers of Henry Irving and Ellen Terry, Reel 21, Item 52/31.

[28] "Texan cow-boy" is in *Illustrated Bits*, no. 122 (May 28, 1887): 4; Cody as Faust in "Waiting Verification," *Punch*, May 7, 1887, clipping in Papers of Henry Irving and Ellen Terry, Reel 21, Item 52/19.

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congratulated Cody on his London debut. "No one rejoices more than I do at your business success which may ever continue." Apologizing for being "tied to the stake here day and night," Irving offered to "drive you into the country in the company of a few good friends, of which I am, I shall be proud to call myself one."[29]

All this time, Stoker watched the actor's relationship with the frontiersman closely. He treated all of Irving's friendships with a mixture of suspicion, envy, and resignation, and since he was as much Irving's social secretary as theater manager, he perhaps knew more about his employer's affection for Cody than anybody but Irving himself. Twenty years later, the manager looked back on the season when Buffalo Bill "struck London . . . like a planet," and recalled how he and Irving together drove the American to Oatlands Park, where the roads were thronged with a fortuitous, ready-made audience of people. Cody sat on the box beside the actor John Lawrence Toole and Irving. "The grouping took the public taste," wrote Stoker, "and we swept along always to an accompaniment of admiring wonder, sometimes to an accompaniment of cheers."[30]

For the next few years, Cody and Irving were found together at surprising times, and in such degree that they seemed to shadow one another. The English actor made a special trip to Bristol in 1891 to meet Cody—with his usual retinue of Sioux Indians—at the Bristol train station.[31] That same year, Buffalo Bill's Wild West and Irving's *Macbeth* overlapped in Glasgow. When Irving was feted at Glasgow's Pen and Pencil Club, who should appear for the dinner but William Cody, who himself became the subject of a drunken, patriotic homage by an expatriate American with the temerity to toast the frontiersman during Irving's party.[32]

Stoker had his own relationship with Cody, although like all of the manager's social bonds that were mediated through Irving, it paled in contrast to his employer's high-profile companionship with the American. Stoker requested—and received—souvenir photographs of Cody in 1887, as well as a complimentary season ticket to the Wild West show when it returned to London in 1892. He received Cody's requests for theater tickets on the American's business card, and from his business partner Nate Salsbury he received gifts, "beautiful Indian arrows which I shall always value," in 1893.[33]

Hints of Stoker's perceptions of Cody survive in other places. In the early 1890s, as *Dracula* progressed, Stoker wrote other gothic stories, including one about an American frontiersman (like Cody, from Nebraska) who is crushed in an iron maiden by a vengeful black cat at a castle in Germany. The frontier figure was so useful to the author that he resurrected him as the Texan vampire hunter Quincey Morris, in *Dracula*.[34]

[29] Henry Irving to Cody, May 1887, in "Invitations and Letters 1887–1895," Microfilm Reel, BBHC.

[30] Stoker, *Personal Reminiscences*, 2: 142; see note 1 above.

[31] "The Wild West at Horfield," *Bristol Evening News*, September 28, 1891, in Crager Scrapbook, 1891–92, BBHC.

[32] "The Lorgnette," *Glasgow Evening News* (November 28, 1891): 1.

[33] Cody to Stoker, July 25, 1887, Cody to Stoker, May 6, 1892, Cody to Stoker, n.d., Brotherton Collection, Leeds University; Stoker to Nate Salsbury, October 30, 1893, Nate Salsbury Papers, YCAL 17, Beinecke Library, Yale University.

[34] The story "The Squaw" appeared in 1893. Bram Stoker, *Midnight Tales*, Peter Haining, ed. (London, 1990), 85–97. Both the 1887 London program and Cody's calling card, which was in Stoker's possession, informed the public about Cody's Nebraska home. "Buffalo Bill's Wild West from the

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The author explored themes of the American West further with a western novel, his only work set on the American frontier. Published in 1895, *The Shoulder of Shasta* features an Englishwoman, Esse, who takes a tour of California. She falls in love with an American frontiersman bearing the memorable if unfortunate name of Grizzly Dick. But what stands out, for anyone who knows Stoker's social context in the 1890s, is how very familiar Grizzly Dick is. His hair flows down over his shoulders, he wears embroidered buckskins, and in a singular oddity, this hunter's daily wardrobe includes high black boots with Mexican spurs. At one point, a man in the novel compares him to Buffalo Bill Cody, a rather unsubtle hint of the character's inspiration, for Dick's outfit is almost a point-for-point description of Cody's costume in his most famous photographs from the 1887 London season.[35]

It is a singular story in other ways. In a genre characterized by frontier heroes who save white womanhood from the clutches of wilderness savagery—wild animals, Indians, and bandits—Esse falls in love with Grizzly Dick after *she* saves *him* from a bear. He is oblivious to her affections, and she pines away for him, growing weak and deathly pale after her return to San Francisco. Her salvation arrives in the form of a strapping English artist named Reginald (he might as well have been called Bram; Stoker was proud of his physique, and his athleticism) who becomes her new love interest and her fiancé. Her health returns as she forgets all about Dick.

The climax comes when Dick, through a miscommunication, receives an invitation to Esse's party in San Francisco. Dick abandons his buckskin for silk. He arrives a fop, his hair professionally curled beyond recognition, desperately trying to fit into urban society. He makes the transition from frontier to high society, like Cody did, but he does what Cody would not, adopting the dress of his social betters. He has become a fool. Insulted by snobby guests, he pulls his Bowie knife. Then, humiliated at his loss of control and horrified that he has drawn a weapon in the company of ladies, he hurls the knife down, where the blade plunges into the floorboards. None of the men present are strong enough to remove it except for Reginald, who presents it to Grizzly Dick as a gesture of friendship. In the ambivalent ending, Dick is persuaded to put his old clothes on, and he returns to the wilderness, while Esse and Reginald are left happily to marry.

If the novel is a flirtation with the American frontier, it also suggests the frontier is best left alone and frontiersmen best left out there. In this light romance, it is the English artist-gentleman, Reginald, who embodies the right balance of manly power and gentility. The frontiersman is comical when he is not dangerous, and perhaps his greatest threat is the unreasoning, extreme infatuation he inspires in English womanhood, which causes Esse to wane before she is rescued by the cultured, manly, and very English hero. In fact, Esse's malady—her pallor, her listlessness, her loss of weight, her increasing detachment, and her inability to think about anything other than the mountain man—mimics the one that strikes the doomed

Plains of America," n.p., M Cody Box 6 Misc., DPL–WHR; Cody to Stoker, n.d., Brotherton Collection, Leeds University. For connection of "The Squaw" to Quincey Morris, see Leatherdale, *Dracula*, 130; Belford, *Bram Stoker*, 178.

[35] Bram Stoker, *The Shoulder of Shasta*, Alan Johnson, ed. (1895; rpt. edn., Westcliff-on-Sea, 2000), 27–28, 99–100.

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Lucy Westenra after her visit from a frontier hunter who provokes an all-consuming passion in Stoker's next, and most famous, novel.[36]

The Shoulder of Shasta appeared in October of 1895. Less than two years later, the same publisher issued *Dracula*, the novel Stoker had been crafting for seven years.[37] It was by far his most ambitious work. In his fiction, Stoker had been exploring questions about frontiers and borders for the previous four years. But, speculating on the origins of *Dracula*, we could do worse than to revisit that coaching party in 1887. It was summer, the coach path winding through the trees. The spontaneous cheers for the men on the box must have seemed as natural as the setting, and perhaps made Stoker ponder—as he often did—the sources of celebrity and its dark power. Perhaps the impromptu performance of these divergent geniuses side by side—Cody in all his unassuming genuineness and Irving in all his imperious assumptions—germinated in Stoker the seed of his Dracula tale. To be sure, the powerful tension between the virtuous frontier hero and the decadent life-draining monster would occupy center stage in his novel.

THE AMERICAN WHO SAT WITH Henry Irving and Bram Stoker on the coach trip through Oatlands Park that day surprised practically everyone, not least himself, with his sudden fame. Indeed, it would have been hard to imagine a more unlikely biography for a London celebrity. Understanding how Cody came to be the sensation of the United Kingdom in 1887 returns us from biography to cultural context, shedding considerable light on the racial messages of his show and their striking correspondence with crucial themes in the novel *Dracula*.

He was born William Frederick Cody, in Iowa, in 1846. His parents, middle-class farmers, soon moved the family to Kansas, where their son Will became a boyhood horse drover and, as he matured, a buffalo hunter, Union Army private, and cavalry scout in the Plains Indian Wars of the 1860s and 1870s. In the main, he followed the same career paths as hundreds of other young men of the Plains in this period. He showed promise as a military scout, but otherwise there was nothing extraordinary about him.

What changed the trajectory of Cody's life was his discovery by the dime novelist Ned Buntline in 1869, when the Kansan was twenty-three years old. That year, Buntline authored a highly imaginative "biography" titled "Buffalo Bill, King of the Bordermen" for a New York press. Cody's true genius—self-promotion and an ability to connect his real life to public longings—quickly surfaced. His subsequent rise as a fixture of dime novels was rapid. By the early 1870s, when still in his mid-twenties, he was scouting for the army on the Plains during the summer (he won the Congressional Medal of Honor for valor in the war against the Sioux and Cheyenne in 1872) and playing himself in biographical stage plays in New York, Chicago, and other eastern cities during the fall and winter. His easy interweaving

[36] Alan Johnson, "Introduction," in Stoker, *Shoulder of Shasta*, 15, 17, 118 n. 1.

[37] Richard Dalby, "Bibliographic Note," 6, and Johnson, "Introduction," 10, both in Stoker, *Shoulder of Shasta*.

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of truth and fiction saw his star rise until he became the premier embodiment of American frontier mythology with the creation of his Wild West show in 1883.[38]

In brief, Cody sought to enlarge the spectacle of frontier drama he had performed on the stage for over a decade, and thereby move western theater from its decidedly "lowbrow" status as cheap melodrama to full-fledged mythic spectacle and "highbrow" family entertainment.[39] The Wild West was conceived as an "exposition" (he refused to call it a show) for the education of audiences about the American frontier past. The ease with which this show appealed to English racial fears owes something to the way Cody designed it as a response to analogous American anxieties.[40] In Cody's hands, the frontier became the setting for a constant race contest, a Social Darwinist crucible of American whiteness, where the destiny of Anglo-Saxon North America was shored up against the implicit decay of the cities, the industrial revolution, new immigration from southern and eastern Europe, and a host of other ill-defined threats and pervasive cultural fears.[41] In its many variations over its thirty-three-year history, the Wild West show always consisted of a series of dramatic "action tableaux" meant to reprise real historical events, or processes, performed alongside feats of skill and racial competition. Between and among narrative scenes of racial conflict—the "Attack on the Deadwood Stage," the "Attack on an Emigrant Train"—were displays of riding, shooting, and roping skill, and also foot and horse races between whites, Mexicans, Indians, and, later on, Filipinos, Arabs, and others.

The competitions in the Wild West show were not fixed; any participant might win. But occasional victories by Mexicans and Indians were countered by the superiority of white Americans in the show's premier technological achievement, shooting.[42] Annie Oakley might compete against Johnny Baker, "the boy marksman," but never would a white shooter have to hold her or his own against an Indian or Mexican rifleman. In the show's version of frontier history, Anglo-Americans would remain supreme in part because they alone controlled modern weaponry, the technological supremacy undergirding their racial—"natural"—superiority.

Although historians have been preoccupied by the show's reenactments of Custer's Last Fight (as it was known then), these were in fact rare, and were not

[38] The authoritative biography of Cody is Russell, *Lives and Legends of Buffalo Bill*. See also Nellie Snyder Yost, *Buffalo Bill: His Family, Friends, Fame, Failures, and Fortunes* (Chicago, 1979); Slotkin, *Gunfighter Nation*, 63–87; Richard White, "Frederick Jackson Turner and Buffalo Bill," in Grossman, *Frontier in American Culture*; Sell and Weybright, *Buffalo Bill and the Wild West*; Joseph G. Rosa and Robin May, *Buffalo Bill and His Wild West: A Pictorial Biography* (Lawrence, Kans., 1989); Joy S. Kasson, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West: Celebrity, Memory, and Popular History* (New York, 2000).

[39] For the growing divide between highbrow and lowbrow culture in this period, see Lawrence W. Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (Cambridge, Mass., 1988).

[40] For cultural anxieties of the Gilded Age, see Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880–1917* (Chicago, 1995); T. J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880–1920* (New York, 1981); G. Edward White, *The Eastern Establishment and the Western Experience: The West of Frederic Remington, Theodore Roosevelt, and Owen Wister* (Austin, Tex., 1989); Alex Nemerov, *Frederic Remington and Turn-of-the-Century America* (New Haven, Conn., 1995); William H. Truettner, *The West as America: Reinterpreting Images of the Frontier* (Washington, D.C., 1991).

[41] Slotkin, *Gunfighter Nation*, 63–87.

[42] Richard W. Etulain notes the dominant theme of competition in the Wild West show but not its racial implications; *Telling Western Stories: From Buffalo Bill to Larry McMurtry* (Albuquerque, N.Mex., 1999), 16.

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performed in London in 1887. The usual climactic scene for the Wild West show was the "Attack on the Settler's Cabin," featuring a white family—most visibly, a white woman—whose rape and destruction by Indians was narrowly averted by the timely arrival of Buffalo Bill and the cowboys.[43] Coming as it did after the Emigrant Train act, in which white emigrant families with wagons full of household goods were saved from Indian attack, the show contained strong suggestions of (white) families in peril and (white) families saved.[44] By making the salvation of the home its paramount message, the show implied that racial propagation—itself the sign of racial vigor—would go to those who secured the frontier for their families. Cody's drama thus made the Social Darwinist contest between races the center of North American and world history. Simultaneously, it discounted and elided issues of class conflict. Burgeoning class tensions in industrial cities could be glossed over by an appeal to a mythic, natural past of racial conflict in which class simply did not figure.[45]

Cody had many ways of symbolizing the natural origins of American racial power, but his manipulation of the centaur image is particularly telling. The centaur, the mythical creature that marks the boundary between culture and nature, was in many ways the perfect vehicle for an exposition of frontier life, in part because of its implications for sex and regeneration. The centaur's hybridity—the upper body of a man with the body of a stallion—highlighted its virility.[46] A popular symbol of American horsemanship in the nineteenth century, the show's publicists hailed the star cowboy, Buck Taylor, as "the Centaur Ranchman of the Plains" as early as the first year of the show's existence. Thereafter, the centaur icon became ever more attached to the show. London publications referred to the Wild West show as a gathering of "Transatlantic Centaurs," and even before Cody's arrival in London, *Punch* magazine hailed him as "The Coming Centaur." Such publicity was effective, in part because it symbolically connected the virility of Cody and his cowboys—those "manly and muscular heroes of the saddle and the lasso"—to the show's pervasive horsemanship, from the Indian attack on the Deadwood stagecoach to Cody's own signature act—blasting amber balls from the air with a rifle while riding at top speed around the show arena. After Cody died in 1917, E. E. Cummings recalled the seamless meld between man, mount, and weapon:

Buffalo Bill's
defunct
who used to
ride a watersmooth-silver
stallion

[43] See programs for these and other years in the Denver Public Library, Western History Room, M Cody Programs, and at the Buffalo Bill Historical Center. For composition of the show in London, see "The Queen in London: Visit to Westminster and the American Exhibition," *Daily Telegraph* (London), May 12, 1887, clipping in Annie Oakley Scrapbook, BBHC; and "Programme of Exhibition before the Queen," 1887, in *Souvenir Album of the Visit of Her Majesty Queen Victoria to the American Exhibition* (London, 1887), copy in BBHC.

[44] "The Wild West Show," *The Era*, May 14, 1887, clipping in Annie Oakley Scrapbook, 1887–1925, BBHC.

[45] Slotkin, *Gunfighter Nation*, 88–122.

[46] Page duBois, *Centaurs and Amazons: Women and the Pre-History of the Great Chain of Being* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1982), 25–42.

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and break onetwothreefourfive pigeonsjustlike that
Jesus
he was a handsome man.[47]

The centaur was but one of many monsters, real and imagined, and mostly malevolent, to invade London in the 1880s. In 1885, two years before the Wild West show made its debut, William T. Stead caused a major political and social scandal with his "Maiden Tribute of Modern Babylon," an exposé of child prostitution in London in which he depicted the bestial sexuality of the professional class as a minotaur. In 1886, Robert Louis Stevenson electrified the literary world with his portrayal of a doctor caught between his longing for knowledge and his bodily lust in *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*. The year after Cody's departure, in 1888, mutilated bodies of prostitutes marked the trail of Jack the Ripper, and newspaper coverage of the murders served as a powerful reminder to London women of the dangers of public life and the supposed safety of the home. Indeed, coverage of the Ripper murders resonated with the imagery of Cody's own "Attack on the Settler's Cabin," wherein a woman is saved from certain debasement only by the shelter of her home and the courage of armed white men.[48]

Cody's monstrous fusion of horse and man arrived in London to announce the triumph of Anglo-American culture, the glories of Western imperial power, and the regeneration of the white race through frontier conflict and technological progress. If the image of Buffalo Bill as Winchester-toting centaur heightened Cody's masculine image in particular—"Jesus he was a handsome man"—it did so in part by connecting that image to a progressive narrative of white Americans as people (Cody himself) who sprung from nature (the horse) to master technology (the repeating rifle). Throughout the performances, wilderness—animals and Indians—continually fell away before the advance of the American centaur, his settlements, and his technological prowess.

English enthusiasm for the Wild West show stemmed in no small measure from its depiction of an English diaspora racially restored by the frontier. In this sense, the show's success expressed a gathering transatlantic conviction that the English and Americans were part of a shared "race empire" of Anglo-Saxon expansion. Indeed, while historians have explored connections between the Wild West show and the frontier thesis of Frederick Jackson Turner, Cody's extravaganza is more obviously connected to Anglo-Saxonism, which was the most popular historical explanation for America's frontier success in the 1890s. Anglo-Saxonists conflated race and culture, so that the origins of liberal democracy, constitutional monarchy, representative government, and most other venerable English and American traditions were derived from racial characteristics of ancient tribes—Angles, Saxons, Jutes, and Vikings—formed under oak trees in the German forests.

[47] "Centaur Ranchman," in *Buffalo Bill and Doc Carver Rocky Mountain and Prairie Exhibition* (n.p., 1883), program in Newberry Library, Chicago; "Transatlantic Centaurs," in untitled clipping, *The Era*, April 23, 1887, in Johnny Baker Scrapbook, DPL–WHR; "Coming Centaur," in W. F. Cody, *Story of the Wild West and Campfire Chats* (Philadelphia, 1888), 721; E. E. Cummings, *Complete Poems, 1904–1962*, rev. edn., George J. Firmage, ed. (New York, 1991), 90; also see Stella Foote, *Letters from "Buffalo Bill"* (Billings, Mont., 1954), 15.

[48] Judith R. Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London* (London, 1992); Hindle, "Introduction," x.

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According to the theory, these racial attributes hardened in battle with racial inferiors—Romans, Picts, and Celts—during a long process of westward expansion, and were cultivated and preserved from continental decay in the Western bastion of the British Isles, and later, in the United States. By 1887, enthusiasm for such notions had reached near-hysterical proportions. Theories about the common Germanic origins of British and Anglo-American culture and institutions dominated historical writing and reverberated in packed lecture halls on both sides of the Atlantic. To most observers in Britain, the Wild West show was a dramatic reenactment of Anglo-Saxon triumph.[49]

Anglo-Saxonism was, of course, a variant of Aryanism, a theory of westering race history in which Germanic peoples, the Teutons, originated as the Aryans on the high plateaus of Asia, whence they migrated west over the millennia. The variations, contradictions, and ramifications of Aryanism did not preclude its appeal, on both sides of the Atlantic. Americans, from Walt Whitman to General Arthur McArthur (1845–1912), endorsed it as history.[50] In Britain, in the very summer that Buffalo Bill's show received rave reviews in London newspapers, the Aryan myth was still proving useful as a rationale for empire in India, with columnists reinscribing the now-hoary notion that the Raj constituted England's return to the land of her Asian origins, "charged with conveying Western ideas to the race from whom our civilization came."[51]

Bram Stoker himself turned to Aryanists for crucial background details of Count Dracula's ancestors. And *Dracula*, like many of his other novels, was informed by a popular Anglo-Saxonist tradition that British and Americans were descended

[49] Richard White compares the frontiers of Turner and Cody in "Frederick Jackson Turner and Buffalo Bill," in Grossman, *Frontier in American Culture*. For Anglo-Saxonism, see Stuart Anderson, *Race and Rapprochement: Anglo-Saxonism and Anglo-American Relations, 1895–1904* (Rutherford, N.J., 1981), 1–70, esp. 39–45, 57–61; Frank N. Hankins, *The Racial Basis of Civilization: A Critique of the Nordic Doctrine* (New York, 1926), 159–63; Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981), 62–97; Owen Wister, "The Evolution of the Cow-Puncher," *Harper's Magazine* 91 (1895): 610, rpt. in Ben Merchant Vorpahl, *My Dear Wister: The Frederic Remington–Owen Wister Letters* (Palo Alto, Calif., 1972), 77–96. So linked was the American frontier to the original frontier of Anglo-Saxon expansion that scholars on both sides of the Atlantic split their studies of Anglo-Saxon race history into two volumes: one for Europe, the other for America. For Theodore Roosevelt, the conquest of the American West essentially began on "The day when the keels of the Low-Dutch sea-thieves first grated on the British coast." Theodore Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West*, 6 vols. (1889; New York, 1908), 1: 4.

[50] The late Victorian scholarship on Aryanism is enormous. The best history of the myth itself is Leon Poliakov, *The Aryan Myth: A History of Racist and Nationalist Ideas in Europe*, Edmund Howard, trans. (London, 1974). Other sources consulted include Isaac Taylor, *The Origin of the Aryans* (New York, 1890); Charles Morris, *The Aryan Race: Its Origin and Its Achievements* (Chicago, 1888); V. Gordon Childe, *Aryans: A Story of Indo-European Origins* (New York, 1926); Joseph P. Widney, *Race Life of the Aryan Peoples*, 2 vols. (New York, 1907), esp. 1: 10–25; Madison Grant, *The Passing of the Great Race: or, The Racial Basis of European History* (New York, 1918), esp. 169–70, 233; Hankins, *Racial Basis of Civilization*, esp. 20–32. For the impact of the Asian origins thesis on American thought generally, see Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny*, 34–36; Smith, *Virgin Land*, 37; Walt Whitman's Aryanism is expressed in his 1860 poem "Facing West from California Shores," in Whitman, *Leaves of Grass and Selected Prose*, John Kouwenhoven, ed. (New York, 1950), 92. Stoker was a devoted reader and defender of Whitman from his college days, particularly *Leaves of Grass*. "Bram Stoker's Correspondence with Walt Whitman," in Stoker, *Dracula*, Hindle, ed., 487–97. For views of Arthur MacArthur, see Richard Drinnon, *Facing West: The Metaphysics of Indian-Hating and Empire-Building*, rev. edn. (New York, 1990), 317–18.

[51] "The Jubilee," *The World* (June 22, 1887): 5. The theory was a common rationalization for the British acquisition of India. Thomas R. Metcalf, *Ideologies of the Raj* (New York, 1995), 81–86.

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from ancient Viking raiders, the Berserkers.[52] These invocations of mythic race history suggested connections to the American frontier myth; Aryanism and Anglo-Saxonism were coeval with the development of American frontier mythology, and in many respects they were relatives. In all these myths, the racial energies of white people aged in the East and renewed themselves through bloody encounters with barbarians in the West.[53] The tale of Aryans passing from Asia to Europe and in the process becoming Britons was as analogous as it was prefatory to the story of Britons migrating west and becoming Americans.

But, as much as Buffalo Bill's Wild West show seemed to resonate with these myths of race origin and race strength, it was simultaneously troubling for audiences concerned about racial decay. On the one hand, the show enhanced the sense of racial kinship between the United States and Britain, so that *The Times*, for example, could intone on the day of its departure, "The Americans and the English are of one stock." In this vein, columnists suggested that English manhood could take lessons from Cody's cowboys.[54] On the other hand, such musings themselves often called into question the racial viability of the English. Race, in the nineteenth century, was inherited through blood but subject to change by new environments.[55] "Of one stock" they may once have been, but were the two nations still of the same race? Or had the frontier experience so altered the Americans that they had become something different? To see cowboys like Buck Taylor and Dick Dolmson

[52] Stoker was acquainted with premier Aryanists of his day, including F. Max Müller and Armenius Vambery. For Müller, see Frayling, *Vampyres*, 343; Clemens Ruthner, "Bloodsuckers with Teutonic Tongues: The German-Speaking World and the Origins of Dracula," in Elizabeth Miller, ed., *Dracula: The Shade and the Shadow* (Westcliff-on-Sea, 1998), 60–61. For Vambery, see Stoker, *Dracula*, Hindle, ed., 309, 518, n. 125; Belford, *Bram Stoker*, 260. For Anglo-Saxonism: Quincey Morris is hailed as "a moral Viking" in the pages of *Dracula*, and Harold An Wolf, the English hero of Stoker's 1905 novel, *The Man*, finds that sea voyages in stormy weather revive "the old Berserker spirit." Stoker endorsed the theories of the period's most popular Anglo-Saxonists, John Fiske and Edward Freeman, in Stoker, *Glimpse of America*, 30–31. For Viking fixations in Britain, see Poliakov, *Aryan Myth*, 39; Andrew Wawn, *The Vikings and the Victorians: Inventing the Old North in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Rochester, N.Y., 2000); Paul C. Sinding, *The Northmen* (New York, 1880), 19–20; William Hughes, *Beyond Dracula: Bram Stoker's Fiction and Its Cultural Context* (New York, 2000), 100. To Stoker, racial alliance could mitigate racial decay. Thus in his novels *Lady Athlyne*, *The Mystery of the Sea*, *The Lady of the Shroud*, *The Man*, and in *Dracula*, we find Stoker's English, German, American, and Dutch characters reenergizing their flagging bloodlines through infusions of "pioneer blood"—often Viking blood—from racial relatives. Hughes, *Beyond Dracula*, 59. Stoker's beliefs in the advantages of miscegenation between "the right races" were in keeping with contemporary racial thought, which held that race mixing among purer Aryan descendants was one way of ensuring the continued viability of Aryan civilization. Thus the English themselves were a mix of Viking, Celt, and other white races, as were the Americans in the works of Frederick Jackson Turner and Theodore Roosevelt. Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 179; Roosevelt, *Winning of the West*, 1: 23; Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," 47, rpt. in John Mack Faragher, ed., *Rereading Frederick Jackson Turner* (New Haven, Conn., 1994), 31–60.

[53] Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny*, 34–36; Smith, *Virgin Land*, 37; Poliakov, *Aryan Myth*, 197–99.

[54] Untitled clipping, *The Times*, November 1, 1887, in "Letters and Invitations 1887–8," BBHC; "The Wild West Show," *The Era*, April 23, 1887, in Johnny Baker Scrapbook, DPL–WHR.

[55] George W. Stocking, Jr., *Victorian Anthropology* (New York, 1987), 64, 106; Anderson, *Race and Rapprochement*, 67; Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization*, 179; Roosevelt, *Winning of the West*, 1: 23. Even before Stoker began writing *Dracula*, his thought about Americans was informed by a sense that the American environment had formed them into a new race. In his 1886 essay, *A Glimpse of America*, he outlined the "social conditions" that brought about "distinct methods of race development," making Americans a more inventive and energetic race than the British. Stoker, *Glimpse of America*, 12–23, 47–48.

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"amongst a group of self-complacent little City clerks it might be imagined that the individuals belonged to separate species."[56] In 1888, the Metropolitan Police began their search for suspects in the Jack the Ripper murders by interrogating political radicals and racial minorities whose barbarous instincts might have incited the crimes. Beginning with socialists, "Asiatics," and Greek Gypsies, they moved on to three of Cody's own, "persons calling themselves Cowboys who belonged to the American Exhibition" who had stayed behind in London, and whose racial identity was questionable enough to earn them a place on this list of potential savages.[57]

The conspicuous growth of American cultural and economic power conjured notions of British decline, which only enhanced such anxieties about the American race. By the early 1880s, such a flood of American investors, tourists, and entertainers had inundated Britain that critics began to fulminate about the "American Invasion." Cody's popularity brought these concerns to a head, particularly in the show business world, where theater owners and managers, among them Bram Stoker, read commentary about the threat of competition from American shows.[58]

Cody's sex appeal made the leap from these cultural concerns to issues of biology, or race, that much easier, for the spectacle of an "invader" who was irresistible to English womanhood easily reinforced fears of English racial decline. At least one columnist compared him to Jung Bahadur, a Nepalese warrior prince whose visit to London in the 1850s included an affair with an Englishwoman, a scandalous event long remembered in bawdy songs at late night supper clubs.[59] According to R. D. Blumenfeld, a London journalist, Cody in his London apartment was "embarrassed by an overwhelming mass of flowers which come hourly from hosts of female admirers."[60] When Bram Stoker received a note from Cody via a young woman, written on the American's calling card, requesting two seats at the Lyceum for one "lovely little actress," the manager did not have to wonder who would be sitting in the second seat.[61] The attraction of numerous women to Buffalo Bill's show and to his table—and presumably his bed—was threatening to English people concerned that racially degenerate Englishmen no longer captured the fancies of Englishwomen.[62] In a humorous penny press verse in 1887, an anonymous woman admirer celebrates Cody as "Nature's perfected touch in form and grace." Lamenting that her male compatriots do not wear clothes like Cody's, she pulls back from this last appreciation as she realizes:

[56] "The Wild West Show," *The Era*, April 23, 1887, in Johnny Baker Scrapbook, DPL–WHR.

[57] Stephen Knight, *Jack the Ripper: The Final Solution* (London, 1976), 59; also see Tom A. Cullen, *When London Walked in Terror* (Boston, 1965), 106.

[58] "Incognita," *Court and Society Review* 5, no. 157 (July 6, 1887): 12; Stoker saved a cartoon of "The American Invasion of England," *Funny Folks*, October 7, 1886, in Papers of Henry Irving and Ellen Terry, Reel 21, Item 51/57.

[59] "Topics of the Week," *The Graphic* (May 14, 1887): 502 ; F. C. Burnand, *Records and Reminiscences*, 2 vols. (London, 1904), 1: 238; Bruce Rosen, "Love for Sale: Victorian Paramours and the Marriage Market," paper given at the Australisian Victorian Studies Conference, Canterbury University, Christchurch, New Zealand, February 1997.

[60] R. D. Blumenfeld, *R.D.B.'s Diary 1887–1914* (London, 1930), 3.

[61] Cody to Stoker, n.d., Brotherton Collection, Leeds University.

[62] Contemporaries commented occasionally on Cody's infidelities. See Kasson, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West*, 137–41. For Englishmen's fears, see Ben Shephard, "Showbiz Imperialism: The Case of Peter Lobengula," 102, in John M. MacKenzie, ed., *Imperialism and Popular Culture* (Manchester, 1986), 94–112, esp. 102; Fraser Harrison, *The Dark Angel: Aspects of Victorian Sexuality* (London, 1975), 123.

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Even before the sensational London debut of Buffalo Bill's Wild West show in 1887, cultural critics were complaining about "the American Invasion," the surge of American entertainers, financiers, and tourists in Britain. This satirical 1886 cartoon was clipped and saved by Bram Stoker himself. Bram Stoker Papers, Microfilm Reel 51, Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, Stratford-upon-Avon.

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> But, 'tis the MAN we lack—not costume. Place
> Yours on the usual product of the race
> And see how soon 'twould look absurd and vain,
> And tailors' art be welcomed back again.

As if to reemphasize the point, the verses were followed by a brief essay on the great opportunity awaiting "the genius who invents a male bathing dress that will not give away the fact that the wearer is bow-legged, cross-eyed, knock-kneed, flat-footed, and hump-backed."[63]

Degeneration theory was always a province of the "respectable classes," a way of ascribing biological causes to subversive social change.[64] That Cody should become an icon for those classes is perhaps not surprising, and they made an almost exclusive claim to Cody's associations.[65] As one writer commented on the show's opening, "Such a vast concourse of the cream—or it may be as well to say the *creme de la creme*—of society is seldom seen at any function."[66] For an aristocracy spiraling downward in power, wealth, and influence, beset by demands for power sharing from their social inferiors, the show's implicit teaching that history's most important contests were between races, not classes, must have seemed reassuring.[67]

Aristocratic enthusiasm was tempered, though, by the nagging anxiety behind the fanfare, a warning refrain about American expansion and eagerness for combat so much on display in "Wild" West Brompton south of Hyde Park. "The Buffalo Bill *furore* is becoming ridiculous," wrote one editorialist. Granting that Cody was a better showman than even P. T. Barnum, the writer asked, "But are these credentials sufficient to justify an outburst of fashionable fetish worship?" Lord Charles Beresford came in for particular criticism, for having "given the Yankee showman a mount on the box-seat of his drag at the Coaching Club meet. *Noblesse oblige*; there is a want of congruity in the companionship of an illustrious British officer who fills an important position in the Government with a gentleman chiefly famed as an adroit scalper of Red Indians." This critique might be read as a reminder to the upper classes not to go slumming with *arriviste* Americans, but it contained more than a hint of fear about American—and particularly Cody's—intentions and even racial identity, and it resonated with cultural concerns about the American Invasion. For these critics, the public adoration of Buffalo Bill recalled events seven years earlier, when the Zulu king Cetswayo was feted by the upper classes in London shortly after leading his armies to stunning victories over British forces in South Africa. The glittering public image of the Yankee frontiersman was shadowed by the disgraceful memory. Before worshiping at the "shrine" of

[63] *Illustrated Bits*, no. 127 (July 9, 1887): 3.

[64] Arata, *Fictions of Loss*, 2–3.

[65] Untitled clipping, *The Sunday Chronicle*, July 24, 1887, in Annie Oakley Scrapbook, 1887–1925, BBHC.

[66] "The American Exhibition and the Wild West," *The Sporting Life*, May 10, 1887, in Annie Oakley Scrapbook, 1887–1925, BBHC.

[67] Arata, *Fictions of Loss*; also see David Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy* (New Haven, Conn., 1990); Gareth Stedman Jones, *Outcast London: A Study in the Relationship between Classes in Victorian Society* (1971; rpt. edn., New York, 1984); Richard A. Soloway, *Demography and Degeneration: Eugenics and the Declining Birthrate in Twentieth-Century Britain* (1990; rpt. edn., Chapel Hill, N.C., 1995).

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Buffalo Bill, "London society should remember the shame which subsequently fell upon it for its adoration of the black miscreant."[68]

In this sense, the Wild West show sharpened older concerns about the danger of a war with Americans, a preoccupation of English politicians for much of the nineteenth century, when the British and Americans clashed over the Oregon Question, the Southern secession, fishing rights, and a host of other issues.[69] Anxieties about war found official sanction in the proposal to create a permanent court of arbitration to resolve future differences between the United States and the United Kingdom. The first meeting to discuss the idea took place at the American Exhibition of 1887. Indeed, it was timed to coincide with the closing of the Wild West show in November, so that *The Times* could observe, "Civilization itself consents to march onward in the train of Buffalo Bill." In endorsing the court of arbitration proposal, *The Times* summed up the simultaneous adoration and fear that the Wild West show inspired. Crediting Cody for "bringing America and England nearer together," the newspaper also warned that "a serious quarrel between England and the United States would be almost worse than a civil war," a judgment likely shared by the audiences who witnessed the American love of gunplay and combat in Cody's arena.[70]

London audiences of the Wild West show were thus caught in an ongoing double-take. The "creme de la creme" cheered for the regeneration of the Anglo-Saxon race on the American frontier. But the shouts were punctuated with furtive glances at these armed, aggressive, and racially vigorous visitors to—or invaders of—an England on a downhill slide. Thus a cloud of anxiety hovered, the bright spectacle of frontier energy and victory dimming now and again amidst a drifting fog of worries about expanding slums, the restless colonies, the declining industrial position of the country, themselves all symptomatic of England's precipitous racial degeneration.

How might this history shed light on Quincey Morris, the American character Stoker penned in *Dracula*, and on the novel's larger meaning? As distinctive as Cody's show and Stoker's classic might seem at first, even a cursory reading of the novel suggests the many ways in which the American frontier is bound up in it. Stoker's gothic world expressed much of the admiration and fear that English audiences felt for Buffalo Bill, and for Americans generally, through a conflation of frontiers east and west, European and American, a vast borderland of race origin and race war that is the story's true context.

On the surface, *Dracula* is a conventional tale of female vulnerability and male gallantry. The action begins with a young Englishman, Jonathan Harker, traveling

[68] At least two columnists made the connection between Cody and Cetswayo. See "General Chatter," *The People*, May 22, 1887, in Annie Oakley Scrapbook, 1887–1925, BBHC; also "Topics of the Week," *The Graphic* (May 14, 1887): 502. For a hint of the upper-class fascination with Cetswayo, see the cartoon from *Punch* in 1880, reproduced on the World Wide Web at http://olrcweb.bham.ac.uk/empire/cartoons/Cartoons.Cetewayo.London.htm.

[69] Anderson, *Race and Rapprochement*, 62; Arata, *Fictions of Loss*, 216, n. 44; Stoker, *Glimpse of America*, 8–9.

[70] *The Times*, November 1, 1887, in "Letters and Invitations, 1887–8," BBHC.

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to Transylvania to meet the count after his law firm has been commissioned to buy property for the aristocrat in London. The count is of course a vampire, although his guest does not realize this. He traps Harker in the castle and turns him over to his three minions, female vampires who live in the castle's recesses. Harker escapes and returns home, but Dracula has already left for London, where he plans to use his newly purchased properties as bases for his forays into England. There he will suck the blood of Englishwomen and reduce the country to his domain.

He prevails first upon Lucy Westenra, a wealthy young woman who is a friend of Mina Harker, Jonathan's wife, and engaged to young Lord Godalming. But Jonathan has glimpsed the count in London, and together he and Mina join forces with Abraham Van Helsing, an elderly Dutch doctor, Dr. John Seward, who runs a mental asylum, his friend Lord Godalming, and Quincey Morris, the colorful Texan.

After turning Lucy into a vampire—whom the protagonists skewer with a huge wooden stake—Dracula bites Mina and forces her to suck his blood while she is in bed with her unconscious husband. Desperate to save Mina from becoming a vampire, Harker and his friends pursue the count back to Transylvania, where they arrest and reverse Mina's transformation by killing Dracula just before he reaches his castle.

It is not difficult to imagine how Stoker might have drawn on Cody's popularity to enhance his fictional drama had he wanted to. The bite of Count Dracula constitutes a variety of "abduction" and rape of white women. Since much of Buffalo Bill's heroic persona was connected to redeeming women captured by savages, and given the fabulous plots into which fiction writers inserted him, it is not too outlandish to imagine Nature's Nobleman arriving to do battle with the Lord of the Un-Dead in an effort to rescue the virtuous Mina from impending "vampire-hood." We can easily picture what Cody's role in such an adventure would be. Joining the novel's small party of protagonists, Buffalo Bill would race across Europe to intercept the count, "to cut him off at the pass" before he reached his stronghold. He would ensure the party was stocked up on rifles, and lead scouting expeditions to reconnoiter the territory. Dashing to the final confrontation in the Transylvanian twilight, he would dispatch the count's Romany troops and deal the death blow to the vampire, plunging his knife—not a wooden stake or a European dagger but a frontiersman's Bowie knife—into Dracula's dark heart.

The irony of my imagined plot is obvious for anyone who has read *Dracula*: change the name of Buffalo Bill to Quincey Morris, and you have the novel's climax. As the experienced hunting guide, it is the American, Morris, who deploys the posse's forces at critical moments. As they prepare to chase the count across Europe, Morris is the one who advises them to stock up on rifles, Winchesters in fact, the very brand that had Cody's exclusive endorsement. (The only advertisement in his 1887 London show program was for Winchester rifles.)[71] He arrives with the others just in time to battle Dracula at the Borgo Pass, with the dire castle in sight. When Dracula dies in the novel, it is not with a stake through his heart but

[71] In the original notes for the novel, Stoker intended the posse to carry a Maxim Gun, but he changed it to the American weapon. See Bram Stoker, "Dracula" MS, p. 34b, Rosenbach Museum, Philadelphia. For the Winchester in the Wild West show, see "Buffalo Bill's Wild West, From the Plains of America," 1887, M Cody Box 6, DPL–WHR; and the longer 1887 program including its ad for Winchester guns, in "Buffalo Bill's Wild West," 1887 program, DPL–WHR.

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Morris's Bowie knife. Critics have long pondered Stoker's purpose in creating Morris, the weakest and most peripheral of the three youthful male characters who battle Count Dracula. Equally puzzling is his death. Morris is the only one to die in the struggle with the vampire, and it is his death—not Dracula's—that closes the novel's action.[72]

All this is still more intriguing when we revisit Morris's odd, recurring inabilities, or duplicities. Indeed, although it goes unnoticed by the others in the novel, right up until the moment he stabs the villainous Dracula, Quincey Morris is practically malevolent. In shooting at a bat he takes to be the count, he nearly kills others in the party. Instead of pursuing the count forcefully at one critical juncture, he hides among the trees and loses him. When the count is surrounded in his house in Picadilly, Morris is to guard the window to prevent his escape, but the count escapes anyway—through the window. Were they in league together? Lucy dies and turns into a vampire immediately after receiving a transfusion from Morris. He is the first character in the book to utter the word "vampire"—indeed, he diagnoses Lucy—and he is the only one to have had exposure to vampire bats, in Argentina, where they killed his horse. Might he himself have been infected? In the original draft of his novel, Stoker had Morris traveling to Transylvania alone, and at another point he was to enter Dr. Seward's office in the company of the count.[73] What was his role meant to be in the original draft? And what are we to make of his numerous missteps in pursuit of the vampire?

One of the more provocative and thoughtful arguments of recent years, and now a consensus among critics, posits that Morris is a secret vampire. In this reading, his character expresses Stoker's ambivalence about the American ascent to world power in the 1890s. Some see Morris as a dark allusion to the parasitic threat of American capital; others point out that if the novel *Dracula* is concerned with the displacement of racially decaying people by the racially vigorous, then the real danger to England in 1897 comes not from Eastern Europe but from the Americans, represented by Morris.[74] In a sense, Stoker is caught in the ongoing double-take of British audiences at the Wild West show, expressing adulation for Americans on the one hand ("If America can go on breeding men like that, she will be a power in the world indeed," says one character of Quincey Morris) and the fear of their regenerative and military power on the other, a fear that finds some resolution in Morris's death at the novel's end.[75]

Clearly, William Cody was the inspiration for Quincey Morris. Indeed, the similarities between the fictional character and the historical Cody are extensive and go far beyond their predilection for Winchesters. Both are hunters (something they share with Dracula himself), and both have been hunting guides to the aristocracy. During the 1870s, Cody led numerous dignitaries on Plains buffalo hunts, including Prince Alexis of Russia and various British aristocrats. These hunts

[72] Leatherdale, *Dracula*, 129–36.

[73] Moretti, *Signs Taken for Wonders*, 84–96; Leatherdale, *Dracula*, 130–31; Stoker, "Dracula" MS, Rosenbach Museum.

[74] Moretti, *Signs Taken for Wonders*, 84–96; Arata, *Fictions of Loss*, 129.

[75] Stoker, *Dracula*, Hindle, ed., 225.

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formed a large part of Cody's biographical publicity in England, where he was far and away the most famous hunting guide of the period.[76]

Morris's origins as a Texan are, I suspect, an attempt to locate him "out west" more than anything specific. But they call to mind the 1887 joke about Irving becoming a "Texan cow-boy" to gain an audience with the queen; furthermore, as we have already seen, the earlier version of the character, in the short story "The Squaw," hailed from Cody's home state of Nebraska.[77] Finally and most important, by the time Stoker began to write *Dracula* in the 1890s, the ubiquity of Buffalo Bill's Wild West show would have made it practically impossible for Stoker to conjure up a western character without thinking of Buffalo Bill.

But if Morris is drawn from Cody, Count Dracula has a good deal in common with him, too. For starters, he is not just a frontiersman but a frontier hero. As Van Helsing informs the vampire hunters, Dracula "won his name against the Turk," across the Danube "on the very frontier of Turkey-land," where he consistently showed himself to be "the cleverest and the most cunning, as well as the bravest" of Transylvania's sons.[78]

After generations of studying American frontier ideology, historians would do well to move beyond Frederick Jackson Turner's lumping of European frontier concepts into a single notion of "a fortified boundary line running through dense populations." In the 1890s, complex European ideas connected race, culture, and national borders. Nations were thought to be roughly contiguous with patterns of racial settlement, and their frontiers were profoundly racial boundaries.[79] In this connection, the Wild West show served as a kind of allegory for European politics. Articles about "frontier tensions" between, for example, Germany and France, appeared alongside reviews of the show.[80]

Indeed, Stoker's use of frontier rhetoric to describe Transylvania was not new. In Britain, southeastern Europe was the locus of the "Eastern Question," the debate over how best to secure a region criss-crossed by racial frontiers, constantly threatening war and the empire's hold on India. Transylvania was a lynchpin of the Balkans, and in the travel books that Stoker researched it had many similarities to Cody's version of the American West. Its racially segmented, mutually hostile

[76] These included Sir George Watts-Garland and the earl of Dunraven. Russell, *Lives and Legends of Buffalo Bill*, 162–84.

[77] Stoker composed "The Squaw" in the mid-1890s, shortly before publishing *Dracula*, based on notes made years before. Charles Osborne, ed., *The Bram Stoker Bedside Companion* (London, 1973), 11.

[78] Stoker, *Dracula*, Hindle, ed., 309.

[79] Turner, "Significance of the Frontier in American History," 33; Kerwin Lee Klein, *Frontiers of Historical Imagination: Narrating the European Conquest of Native America, 1890–1990* (Berkeley, Calif., 1997), 18–20; William Cronon, "Revisiting Turner's Vanishing Frontier: The Legacy of Frederick Jackson Turner," *Western Historical Quarterly* 18 (April 1987): 157–76; John T. Juricek, "American Usage of the Word 'Frontier' from Colonial Times to Frederick Jackson Turner," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 110 (February 1966); for European concepts of frontier, see Anderson, *Race and Rapprochement*, 18–19; Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny*, 35. Jack D. Forbes pointed out the similarity between Turner's frontier and European frontiers forty years ago. Forbes, "Frontiers in American History," *Journal of the West* 1 (July 1962): 63–71; also "Frontiers in American History and the Role of the American Historian," *Ethnohistory* 15 (Spring 1968): 203–35.

[80] "Our London Letter," and "Arrest of M. Schnaebele of the Franco-German Frontier," in *Penny Illustrated Paper* (May 7, 1887): 290, 292–93; see also "France and Germany on the Frontier," *Pall Mall Gazette* (April 29, 1887): 11.

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Romanies, Magyars, and Saxons were analogous to Cody's Indians, Mexicans, and white cowboys. Like the peoples of the American West, they ranged between primitivism and civilization, struggling to carve life from the wilderness amid continuous race war. Ultimately, the eastern frontier could almost *be* the American West in the novel, with Gypsies as its Indians, treacherous and "almost outside all law," Slovaks dressed in "high boots" and "big cowboy hats," and the West European posse heading off the frontier villain at the East European pass.[81]

And the closer we look, the more familiar its principal frontier figure becomes. Like the Americans and the British, Dracula's kin, the Szekelys, are descended from Vikings, who in Dracula's words, "bore down from Iceland the fighting spirit which Thor and Wodin gave them," to stand guard for centuries along "the frontier of Turkey-land."[82] As he recounts their seemingly endless wars, Dracula invokes the heroism of his ancestors. Only later do we discover he is in fact talking about his own, centuries-old, exploits in the third person. Dracula "again and again brought his forces over the great river into Turkeyland; . . . when he was beaten back, [he] came again, and again, and again, though he had to come alone from the bloody field where his troops were being slaughtered, since he knew that he alone could ultimately triumph."[83]

If we step back from this tale for a moment and consider Stoker's fictional Eastern frontiersman in comparison to the most famous frontiersman of the 1890s, the oppositions place them in a near-perfect counterpoint. Dracula is the centuries-old warrior hero in the East, defending Western civilization's first frontier with non-Christian peoples in Transylvania, "the land beyond the forest." Cody is the hero of the Indian wars in the West, those epic conflicts between "Christian America" and savage paganism that so darkened America's "land beyond the forests," the Great Plains.

More than this, each of these figures embodies the entire frontier history of his people: Dracula as the eternal warrior from a frontier of ceaseless war (his insatiable appetite for blood mimicking the bloodthirst and stagnation of the Balkan frontier), Cody "the representative man of the frontiersman of the past,"

[81] Transylvania was well known to the English public from newspaper coverage about the "Eastern Question," the issue of how Britain should respond to the endemic racial strife of the Carpathians. Arata, *Fictions of Loss*, 113. For the wilderness, see a book that Stoker consulted in his research for *Dracula*: A Fellow of the Carpathian Society, *"Magyarland": Being the Narrative of Our Travels through the Highlands and Lowlands of Hungary*, 2 vols. (London, 1881), esp. 1: 25–27. Some commentators even suggested colonizing this Eastern frontier zone like the Western, settling English farmers there to secure the region and improve its economy. Andrew F. Crosse, *Round about the Carpathians* (Edinburgh, 1878), esp. 197–98, but also 141–42, 156, 229, 287, 352–53. Racial segmentation and race strife were characteristics of Transylvania in the works Stoker consulted: E. C. Johnson, *On the Track of the Crescent: Erratic Notes from the Piraeus to Pesth* (London, 1885), 149; Emily Gerard, *The Land beyond the Forest: Facts, Figures, and Fancies from Transylvania*, 2 vols. (London, 1888), 2: 86–87, 112–13. That Stoker himself was aware of the resonances between Transylvania and the American West explains the liberal interchange of Eastern and Western clichés in his notes, and in the final draft of his vampire novel. Originally, the tale included chapters titled "On the Track, Texan in Transylvania," in which Quincey Morris scouted out enemy territory (much like Cody in Indian country) and "Vigilante Committee, Necktie Party," to describe the moment in which the posse plots the count's demise. Tellingly, in his notes, Stoker frequently pairs the word "Transylvania" with "Texas" or "the Texan," as if the two frontiers of East and West were somehow inseparable, or interchangeable. Stoker, "Dracula" MS., Rosenbach Museum. Stoker, *Dracula*, Hindle, ed., 9, 59.

[82] Stoker, *Dracula*, Hindle, ed., 42–43.

[83] Stoker, *Dracula*, Hindle, ed., 43.

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hunter, rancher, and most important, warrior (his having "passed through every stage of border life" embodying the regenerative and progressive powers of the American frontier).[84] Stoker's monster is not just from the frontier. Like Buffalo Bill, he is the frontier. He retains the powers of a badly twisted nature, so that where Mary Shelley's creature in *Frankenstein* threatened to reproduce himself and destroy humanity, Dracula, like the frontier itself, threatens to *transform* humanity into a different set of beings altogether.[85]

As much as these old soldiers share a frontier history, each also faces a profoundly uneasy future, in which the racial coherence they represent threatens to evaporate. Both arrive in London to announce that the frontier wars are over, the great racial conflicts gone, and with them have gone not only the struggles that generated them but also the Darwinian contests that made their races great. Programs for the Wild West show simultaneously invoke the frontier world that birthed the Americans and its imminent vanishing. The racial conflicts of the ancient and frontier past are now giving way to a white-dominated nation-state.

Count Dracula also longs for a golden age of racial conflict. After regaling Jonathan Harker with his family's martial heritage, the count waxes nostalgic. "Those warlike days are over. Blood is too precious a thing in these days of dishonourable peace; and the glories of the great races are as a tale that is told."[86] Not surprisingly, perhaps, as the great European empires quash the old ethnic wars on the frontier, Dracula, the eternal frontier warrior, seeks to quench his bloodthirst on the weak, effeminate capital of Western Europe, London.

Here, the dread lord of Transylvania is a through-the-looking-glass version of Buffalo Bill. Like the American, Dracula comes to London announcing the closure of a racial frontier, and he, too, is possessed of a racial supremacy hardened in frontier battle with racial others. But he is a frontier warrior gone horribly wrong, the vanguard of Western culture turned against the home civilization and in full regression. Count Dracula *is* Buffalo Bill Cody, inverted.

The depth, range, and consistency of these inversions is striking, and we have room to consider only a few. "Nature's Nobleman" was youthful, from common origins but rendered supreme through his encounters with nature. Dracula is ancient, aristocratic, and decidedly "not of nature."[87] Cody the centaur embodied a narrative of progress from nature to technology. Dracula the vampire embodies a narrative without regeneration or progress, and in fact his recurrent morphing into wolves, bats, or clouds of dust suggests his devolutionary nature. Unlike the sharpshooting Americans of the Wild West show who avail themselves of the most modern weaponry, Dracula never resorts to machine supremacy for racial renewal. His is a constant atavism, a return to the most basic and crude of beings, substances, and appetites that mocks the advancements of modern civilization.

But Dracula is no mere villain to Cody's hero. It is, rather, as if his evil powers represent Cody's strengths and virtues carried to unprecedented extremes. Cody's

[84] Buffalo Bill's Wild West program, 1885 (Hartford, Conn., 1885); "every phase of border life" is in "Buffalo Bill's Wild West, From the Plains of America," 1887, M Cody Box 6, DPL–WHR. Slotkin, *Gunfighter Nation*, 75–76.

[85] Hindle, "Introduction," ix.

[86] Stoker, *Dracula*, Hindle, ed., 43.

[87] The quotation is from the character of Dr. Van Helsing. Stoker, *Dracula*, Hindle, ed., 308.

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martial abilities, his long military career, his facility with manipulating nature and particularly animals all have their dark counterpart in Dracula, the ages-old frontier hero who can become an animal at will. Even Dracula's inability to die, his un-deadness, seems to be a distorted echo of Buffalo Bill's frontier life, particularly his exploits in the Indian wars. In the accounts of his military commanders—liberally excerpted in show programs and publicity—Cody's remarkable talents as tracker, fighter, and strategist were charged with a legendary, practically superhuman endurance. In the esteem of General Carr, "Mr. Cody seemed never to tire and was always ready to go, in the darkest night, or the worst weather, and usually volunteered."[88] The sleeplessness of Buffalo Bill and the restlessness of westerners, so prevalent in the enormous energy on display in the Wild West show, rendered the frontier a place of eternal watchfulness, where, in the words of one London columnist, "constant vigilance is the price of existence."[89]

And "constant vigilance" is the essence of Dracula's curse, for as the centuries-old border guardian, Dracula himself has become an eternal sentry, unable to sleep, to rest, to die. As he puts it, his has been the "endless duty of the frontier guard, for, as the Turks say, 'water sleeps, and enemy is sleepless.' "[90] Dracula was created by unceasing war, by a frontier that went one step further than Cody's in refusing to close. So long as it remained open, so, too, must the eyes of its heroic border guardian. As we learn in the novel, Dracula was once a man. But his passion for victory over the hated Other, itself a characteristic of the racial frontier, led him to a Faustian bargain. In exchange for learning the dark arts that allow him finally to vanquish the Turk, he became the deathless vampire, the eternal warrior.[91] Seen in this light, the young career of the American begins to look like a pale version of Dracula's early days. We might say that to be Buffalo Bill in the war against the Turks is to become Dracula.

Like his application of frontier tropes to Transylvania, Stoker's many inversions of the frontier myth were in keeping with older gothic traditions. In the words of one scholar, "the mingled apprehension and aspiration" of the New England Puritans became the starting point for both the progressive frontier myth of later generations and its gothic horrors.[92] Put another way, regressive gothic literature inverts progressive New World expectations: the Christian errand into the wilderness becomes the traveler's ordeal, the city on a hill becomes the castle ruin (also on a hill) into which the traveler stumbles in the hour of dark need, and the climactic moment of the frontier saga, the removal of wilderness savages by the bearers of light, becomes in its gothic counterpart the transformation of the pilgrim into a monster.[93] In the end, Stoker conceived a vampire world that drew comprehensively on contemporary frontier myth to create a fully realized inversion,

[88] Buffalo Bill's Wild West program, 1893, 6, 18.
[89] *The Era*, April 23, 1887, clipping in Johnny Baker Scrapbook, DPL–WHR.
[90] Stoker, *Dracula*, Hindle, ed., 42–43.
[91] Stoker, *Dracula*, Hindle, ed., 309–10.
[92] David Mogen, "Wilderness, Metamorphosis, and Millennium: Gothic Apocalypse from the Puritans to the Cyberpunks," in *Frontier Gothic: Terror and Wonder at the Frontier in American Literature*, David Mogen, Scott P. Sanders, and Joanne B. Karpinski, eds. (Rutherford, N.J., 1993), 94.
[93] Slotkin, *Regeneration through Violence*, 116–45, 219–22.

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a gothic nightmare that stands in close counterpoint to Cody's frontier dream of the 1890s.

It would have been difficult for Stoker to restrain himself from the racial implications of that inversion. Since the beginning of the American experiment, various writers had speculated that Americans were racially degraded by historic and often familial ties to Indians and Africans, relations that were themselves symptomatic of licentious back-country freedom and North America's remoteness from European sources of whiteness.[94] Mexicans, a constant reminder of the frontier's potential for "unfit amalgamation" of Europeans and Indians, were the largest minority presence in the U.S. Southwest in the 1870s (and a major component of Cody's show, too). In the 1890s, the threat of frontier miscegenation still preoccupied apologists for the American conquest of the Southwest and California, and ultimately it played a large part in restraining U.S. expansion across the Pacific, particularly in the Philippines.[95]

Thus it is not surprising to find that racial ambiguities swirl around both the novel's frontiersmen. The doomed Lucy compares Quincey Morris to Othello, a curious reference for an infatuated white girl to apply to her ostensibly white suitor.[96] And where Morris suggests Stoker's suspicions about New World frontiersmen, it is Count Dracula who embodies his deepest fears about Americans and the fate of the Anglo-Saxon race. Just as Cody resembled King Cetswayo and Jung Bahadur in the barbs of his critics, so Dracula is revealed as the embodiment of racial ambivalence, the descendant not only of Vikings but of their enemies, the Huns of Attila, "whose blood is in these veins," as the count tells Jonathan Harker.[97] Scion of Asiatic *and* Teutonic lineages, not just Berserker but Hun-Berserker, Count Dracula is a racial hybrid, defying the categories that the frontier line itself purports to demarcate, subverting the civilization that is maintained by blood purity and in defense of which the frontier line is drawn.

Like those who worried that Americans might be too close to non-white peoples, to the frontier, to remain white, the novel *Dracula* depicts the frontier as the near edge of a racial transformation that threatens British civilization. In Stoker's vision, miscegenation leads to the replacement of weaker races by the stronger, to the triumph of the frontiersman over the metropole.[98] The racial frontier is thus key to understanding the real danger of the count, to *seeing* the monster who is in fact

[94] Slotkin, *Regeneration through Violence*, esp. 219–22. Racial degeneracy was only part of a wider anxiety about the inherent degeneracy of colonial societies. See Anthony Pagden, "Identity Formation in Spanish America," in Nicholas Canny and Anthony Pagden, eds., *Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World 1500–1800* (Princeton, N.J., 1987), 76. Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur wrote in the 1780s, at the furthest frontier of settlement "men appear to be no better than than carnivorous animals of a superior rank," who "exhibit the most hideous parts of our society." *Letters from an American Farmer* (1782; rpt. edn., New York, 1957), 42–43.

[95] An "unfit amalgamation" is from Joseph G. McCoy, *Historic Sketches of the Cattle Trade of the West and Southwest* (1874; rpt. edn., Lincoln, Neb., 1985), 80. For other warnings about miscegenation and frontier race decay, see Richard Henry Dana, *Two Years before the Mast* (1841; rpt. edn., New York, 1965), 136–37; Hubert Howe Bancroft, *California Pastoral* (San Francisco, 1888), 263–65, and 284. For the Philippines, see Kristin L. Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars* (New Haven, Conn., 1998), 180–99.

[96] Stoker, *Dracula*, Hindle, ed., 79, 417.

[97] At the time Stoker wrote *Dracula*, the Huns were still recalled as Asiatic barbarians who invaded the West. "Hun," *Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary* (New York, 1971), 3993.

[98] Arata, "Occidental Tourist," 466.

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either absent or invisible for much of the book. What makes him so very dangerous is that he has a lust for blood befitting a frontier warrior, and that good people cannot *tell* he is a monster. The source of these talents is the too permeable frontier line, that too fragile division between light-skinned civilizers and dark-skinned savages, whose congenital race hatreds can give way without notice to interracial sex. Thus he is a savage, a dark-hearted villain, and yet he is wrapped in skin so white that he seems to be "without a single speck of color about him anywhere." Not red, or brown, or yellow, he is "of extraordinary pallor."[99] The most deadly monster to emerge from the frontier is neither an Indian nor a Turk. He appears as a very white man but is in fact a frontier miscegenate from the ancient past, able to extend his "vampire race" through his own desire. Unless the novel's protagonists stop this embodiment of the frontier, he is the vision of their racial future.

The westering race myth is in this sense the deeper context of the novel, its genetic bed. Derived from Europe's mythic race frontiers, the war between westering Vikings and Asiatic Huns, Dracula is not just some relic of another country's barbaric heritage but an inverted race hero who comes straight out of the Anglo-Saxon past. Far to the east, Dracula's kin began the westward progression of Teutonic civilization that Morris is completing. Thus the centaur and the vampire are not mere symbolic opposites. Rather, Dracula and Quincey Morris, or Dracula and Buffalo Bill, mark the beginning and ending of a mythic drama: the epic birth of Western civilization.

This interpretation explains the curious ending in which the American's death, not Dracula's, signals the climax. The killing of the two race frontiersmen, one from the East—the land of the past—and the other from the West—the land of the future—terminates the thirst for blood and the threat of race mixture that the ancient race wars bequeathed to the English, the virtuous sons of the Berserkers. In the capable and dispassionate hands of the bourgeois and racially pure Englishmen who return Mina to England, the nation can become modern and yet remain progressive and free. Away from the racial frontier, there is still hope for blood purity, restrained passion, and enduring civilization.

The novel thus mimics social evolutionary scholarship of the period in utilizing the frontier as both a historical and predictive tool. To social evolutionists, the frontier line was, among other things, a purported division between primitive and modern. By looking from metropole to frontier, cosmopolitans could locate "primitives" and say, "They are what we once were."[100] Stoker suggests that Morris is what Dracula once was, and Dracula is what Morris will become. The relief at the novel's conclusion, where Dracula turns to dust and Morris lies buried, flows in part from this final resolution of the vampire's curse, which itself stems from a frontier that remains open for too long, warping the race that wins it.

Where Cody trafficked in nostalgia for frontiers and race wars, the novel *Dracula*, among all its other messages, conveys a warning about them. Perhaps the frontier wars were glorious, Stoker says, but the closure of the frontier is not all for the worse. The frontier is where Dracula comes from, where the dark desires of his

[99] Stoker, *Dracula*, Hindle, ed., 25, 28.

[100] Stocking, *Victorian Anthropology*, 169–79; Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier thesis is perhaps the clearest example. Turner, "Significance of the Frontier in American History."

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eternal longings were cloaked in a white skin. It whet his bloodthirst, fired his blood passion, and before that, begat the blood mixing that in turn begat him. Frontiers that do not close bring consummate blood-letting. Frontier wars that do not end require Faustian bargains. They nurture vampires.

Given that the novel *Dracula* plays on pervasive fears of race weakness, Stoker's reliance on myths of race origin for his tale's deep historical context is understandable. Since those myths were characterized by the centrality of frontier warfare, his resort to frontier settings, frontier tropes, and frontier warriors to carry the tale makes a great deal of sense. That he drew on the most famous Anglo-Saxon frontier hero of his day, Buffalo Bill Cody, as an inspiration for his fictional frontiersmen, Count Dracula and Quincey Morris, is hardly surprising, particularly given his obsession with his benefactor's social life and Irving's close attachment to Cody during the years of Stoker's work on the novel. The combination of popular doubts about Cody's racial identity combined with his physical beauty, his "irresistibility," his military prowess, his ability to master savages and savage nature suggests that the novel *Dracula* is a fantasy of the ambivalences that made Buffalo Bill such a figure of power and fascination in late nineteenth-century London, played out on the dark side.

As an artistic statement, the novel exceeds its origins to become much more than the sum of its parts. Until Stoker's time, most literary vampires were women. For most of the nineteenth century, from John Polidori's *The Vampyre* (1819) to J. Sheridan Le Fanu's *Carmilla* (1872), they were Eastern, sexy, and very thirsty.[101] In making his vampire a masculine figure, a frontier warrior spawned from a mythic collision of races in the ancient past and out to conquer London, Stoker both inverted Buffalo Bill and imitated his method. As Buffalo Bill had done with the Wild West, Stoker connected his "show," his monster, to the origins of Europe, and his mission to a widely perceived crisis, racial degeneration. The result was to suggest that the ancient vampire is profoundly entangled in the modern English world.

As much as Cody embodied a frontier myth of individual achievement and redemption, the noisy triumphalism of that myth was a counterpoint to its own dark baggage: the lurking fear of the frontier as a place of racial monstrosity and moral decay. Cody's frontier centaur symbolized the transformative power of the frontier, the way that going West, and conquering, could potentially make of Americans something new, something more free, and powerful. The vampire was Bram Stoker's dark vision of the same frontier transformation, the shifting of Self into Other, the loss of will and restraint before a new self that was soulless, consuming, and irresistible.

The connections between Cody and Count Dracula suggest how very plastic the frontier mythology of the Wild West show could be for cultural commentators and artists in the countries it visited. The myth of the American frontier became a touchstone for understanding other national histories and contemporary crises. But they also suggest how much the Wild West show itself borrowed from European traditions of race, empire, and warfare to weave its New World spectacle into Old

[101] See the chart in Frayling, *Vampyres*, 42–63.

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World epic. The progressive dream of Cody's show provided fertile ground for cultural consideration of its darker counterpart, the fear of frontier monstrosity and decay that had long preoccupied Europeans and Americans alike. Thus Cody's appeal to myths of centaurs and race wars as the birthing process of nations found resonance in European concerns with racial degeneration and cultural decline, nowhere better evidenced than in the use of the frontier myth by Bram Stoker, England's greatest gothic novelist.

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Review Essay

Violence and the State in the Twentieth Century

MARK MAZOWER

NOT LONG AGO, MODERNIZATION WAS THOUGHT TO LEAD TO prosperity, stability, and social welfare. When historical sociologists in particular sought to explain episodes of political violence along the path (or paths) to the modern era, they tended to see these as temporary. Both Barrington Moore and Charles Tilly, for instance, stressed the role of coercion and social conflict in modernization, but only as elements in a process of transition. Of late, however, violence has moved center stage, and the twentieth century is increasingly characterized by scholars in terms of its historically unprecedented levels of bloodshed. "More human beings had been killed or allowed to die by human decision than ever before in human history," Eric Hobsbawm has written. For Isaiah Berlin, the twentieth century was "the worst century there has ever been." Genocide, ethnic cleansing, and the killing of unprecedented numbers of civilians both in wartime and through acts of massive political repression have all contributed to what Charles Maier has described as an epoch of "moral atrocity."[1]

For some, the causes are to be located in the innate violence of nationalism and the nation-state, for others in the rise of an impersonal bureaucracy and new forms of government; still others blame the Enlightenment and its various ideological offspring. Modernization, according to Stanley Tambiah, has brought the world not only mass literacy, urbanization, and rising living standards but also "massive civil war and gruesome interracial and interethnic bloodshed." "Ethnic cleansing," states Norman Naimark, in his study of the phenomenon, "is a product of the most

Thanks are due to Marwa Elshakry, Laura Engelstein, Mark Levene, Stephen Kotkin, Jonathan Mazower, and the anonymous readers of earlier drafts of this essay. Without their encouragement and help, this piece would not have been written.

[1] Barrington Moore, Jr., *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy* (London, 1966); Charles Tilly, *Coercion, Capital, and European States, AD 900–1990* (London, 1990). Compare Anthony Giddens, *The Nation-State and Violence* (Cambridge, 1985); Michael Mann, *The Sources of Social Power* (London, 1986); J. L. Talmon, *The Origins of Totalitarian Democracy* (New York, 1970); Yves Ternon, *L'état criminel: Les génocides au XX^e siècle* (Paris, 1995); E. J. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Extremes: The Short Twentieth Century* (London, 1994), 12; Berlin cited by Michael Ignatieff, *Isaiah Berlin: A Life* (New York, 1998), 301; Charles S. Maier, "Consigning the Twentieth Century to History: Alternative Narratives for the Modern Era," *AHR* 105 (June 2000): 807–31, quote 812. The issue of the total number of victims of mass violence will not concern me here. The statistical problems appear to be overwhelming. Those interested in the available figures will want to start with the pioneering but highly unreliable Gil Elliot, *Twentieth Century Book of the Dead* (London, 1972); as well as Rudolph J. Rummel, *Death by Government* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1994); and Barbara Harff and T. R. Gurr, "Toward an Empirical Theory of Genocides and Politicides: Identification and Measurement of Cases since 1945," *International Studies Quarterly* 32 (1988): 359–71.

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'advanced' stage in the development of the modern state." According to Omer Bartov, the Holocaust was "the culmination . . . of a process begun in the late eighteenth century and still continuing." The all-seeing bureaucracy, its repressive, all-controlling panoptic impulses to the fore, often more or less tightly tied to the paranoiac character of the individual despot, is now blamed for many of the woes of the twentieth century.[2]

Behind this radical shift in perspective lies a combination of cultural, intellectual, and political developments. The belated reckoning of Western intellectuals with communism, especially after 1989, renewed an interest in the theories of totalitarianism. Then, in a desire to counter popular stereotypes of "ancient ethnic hatreds," which were commonly invoked in the 1990s to explain the recrudescence of violence globally after the end of the Cold War—especially in the Balkans, the Caucasus, and central Africa—many scholars began to emphasize the modern and state-derived character of mass violence. The strength and causal importance of more or less spontaneous crowd behavior, riot, and popular violence was downplayed by focusing attention on political elites and their proxies. Above all, the rise of Holocaust studies has seen the Final Solution—genocide at the hands of a highly organized state apparatus—turned into a paradigm for understanding modern violence, if not modern life altogether. Although many Holocaust scholars remain reluctant to contextualize Nazi violence in a broader, comparative historical framework, others are less inhibited, and even many of those who insist on the uniqueness of the genocide of the Jews want to claim it as *a* or perhaps *the* defining event of the twentieth century.[3]

The cumulative effect of these developments has been to highlight the central role played by the violent state, and to see modern mass violence in terms derived from the experience of a small number of historiographically dominant European paradigms. It is, however, questionable how far these paradigms allow us to understand the origins of such diverse events as the massacres that accompanied

[2] Omer Bartov, *Murder in Our Midst: The Holocaust, Industrial Killing, and Representation* (New York, 1996), 67–70; Stanley J. Tambiah, *Leveling Crowds: Ethnonationalist Conflicts and Collective Violence in South Asia* (Berkeley, Calif., 1996), 3–4; Norman M. Naimark, *Fires of Hatred: Ethnic Cleansing in Twentieth-Century Europe* (Cambridge, Mass., 2001), 8.

[3] The rise of an interest in the Holocaust is charted by Peter Novick, *The Holocaust in American Life* (Boston, 1999). Its paradigmatic quality is asserted by Zygmunt Bauman, *Modernity and the Holocaust* (Cambridge, 1989); and Omer Bartov, *Mirrors of Destruction: War, Genocide, and Modern Identity* (New York, 2000). On the issue of uniqueness, see from among a huge literature G. Rosenfeld, "The Politics of Uniqueness: Reflections on the Recent Polemical Turn in Holocaust and Genocide Scholarship," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 13 (Spring 1999): 28–62; and Alan S. Rosenbaum, ed., *Is the Holocaust Unique? Perspectives in Comparative Genocide* (Boulder, Colo., 1996). Compare the judicious comments by Maier, "Consigning the Twentieth Century to History," 812, 826–29. It is striking, to take one example of the reluctance of historians of the Third Reich to contextualize their subject through comparative work, that a recent collection of essays on Nazi violence ("La violence nazie," special issue of *Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine* 47 [April–June 2000]) fails to make a single comparison with other regimes or episodes. Similarly exclusive is a volume to which I am a contributor: Hannes Heer and Klaus Naumann, eds., *The German Army and Genocide: Crimes against War Prisoners, Jews and other Civilians in the East, 1939–1944* (New York, 1999). For a very recent example of a work on atrocities committed by the German army in World War I, showing the path to a more contextualized approach to this subject, see John N. Horne, *German Atrocities, 1914: A History of Denial* (New Haven, Conn., 2001). The pioneering dissertation by Richard Cavell Fattig, on the historical evolution of German military attitudes toward civilians, remains unpublished: Fattig, "Reprisal: The German Army and the Execution of Hostages during the Second World War" (PhD dissertation, University of California, San Diego, 1980).

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the partition of India in 1947, *la Violencia* in Cold War Colombia, or the expulsion of ethnic Germans from Eastern Europe after 1945. Before this can be done, we will need a more finely grained analysis of what is meant by the state and what role different agencies and different forms of the state may have played at different times. We will need to test hypotheses derived chiefly from historical sociology or political philosophy against the facts, scrutinize the power of ideology in its historical context, and reintroduce the role of historic contingency both in time—the catalytic impact of wars, civil wars, and other upheavals—and space—geopolitical location, the proximity of disputed borders—in understanding why such large numbers of non-combatants have been killed by official or semi-official agencies in the twentieth century.

Above all, it must be open to question how far we can understand numerous other episodes of modern mass violence if we insist on viewing them in the shadow of the Final Solution, the event that continues historiographically to loom even over the numerous mass murders carried out by communist regimes.[4] The issue here is not modernity: there can be little doubt that the genocide of European Jewry cannot be understood in terms of atavistic throwbacks to medieval hatreds: Nazi anti-Semitism did not merely represent a revival or continuation of earlier Christian attitudes but drew extensively on contemporary racial science for its authority and legitimacy. Sociologically, leading Nazi cadres included highly educated individuals. The technology employed, and the state that deployed it, had a fair claim to be among the most advanced in the world at that time. Yet most other states that have perpetrated acts of mass violence over the past century were less efficient, differently organized, and motivated by different sets of beliefs and strategies. Perhaps the time has come, as I shall seek to suggest in this essay, to reconsider the usefulness of the Holocaust as a historical benchmark for modern mass violence, and to ask how useful the categories most recently associated with it—namely, genocide and ethnic cleansing—are as instruments of historical analysis.

TAKE, TO START WITH, the two cases that most closely approximate—in scale and intention—the Nazi genocide. In 1915–1916, at least 800,000 Armenian civilians were killed in cold blood by Ottoman forces. There can be little doubt that the killings were deliberately planned and carried out at the highest reaches of the Ottoman state. The fact that the Armenian populations of Istanbul and Izmir were largely untouched simply means that the goal was not, as in the Nazi case vis-à-vis the Jews, complete extermination. But this is not the only difference between the two cases. The use of Ottoman rather than Nazi ethnic categories meant that some Armenians could escape death through conversion. Moreover, the structure of the Ottoman state differed sharply from that of the Third Reich: there was a cabal at the top rather than a single leader: we know far less about the Teskilât-i Mahsusa

[4] Symptomatic of the continuing power of the Holocaust as a historical category is the polemical extension of the term in works such as Horst Möller, *Der rote Holocaust und die Deutschen: Die Debatte um das "Schwarzbuch des Kommunismus"* (Munich, 1999), and the tendency of new scholarship on the USSR (as is discussed below) to "ethnicize" if not "racialize" the character of the Stalinist repression in the 1930s and 1940s. Compare too Patrick Raszelenberg, "The Khmers Rouges and the Final Solution," *History and Memory* 11 (Fall–Winter 1999): 62–93.

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than about the SS, and we still lack an analysis of who really held power in Istanbul in 1914–1915. Above all, while the Third Reich plotted the extermination of the Jews at the height of German supremacy, in the spring of 1915 the very existence of the Ottoman Empire had been thrown into question by Russian victory at Sarikamis, British victory at Suez, and the threat of seaborne invasion of the Dardanelles. Stretched to its limits, facing imminent extinction itself, the Ottoman state possessed nothing comparable to the industrialized killing machinery of the Reich.[5]

More murderously efficient, in terms of victims over time, than either of the above was the Hutu Power regime in Rwanda during the spring of 1994. Once again, it is not clear that the Nazi model of the state or of its geopolitical predicament is very helpful in understanding what occurred. Hutu Power did, of course, espouse an extremist ideology that depicted the Tutsi as a racial threat; many Hutus—like many Germans between the wars—saw themselves as victims of history and thus found it easier to turn their enemies into victims, too. But beyond this, it is hard to see what purpose the German comparison can serve. Sociologically, the key feature of Rwandan society was the pressure on land created by its extremely high population density and the vulnerability of a largely rural society to fluctuations in international markets. The regional context was all-important—with events in Rwanda closely linked both to political change in neighboring Burundi (where in 1972 there had been massacres of Hutus, memories awakened by the Tutsi army's killing of Burundi's first Hutu president in October 1993) and to the successful invasion of the country by the Tutsi-led Rwandan Patriotic Front from across the Ugandan border. There was thus a background of acute Hutu-Tutsi violence at the political and military levels already. Far from ruling the world, the government was about to be pushed out of power following the Arusha Accords. Faced with having to make the transition from one-party to coalition government, some Hutu Power extremists mobilized in defense of their privileges in a fashion not dissimilar to—though far more lethal than—Slobodan Milošević's reaction to the breakdown of one-party rule in Yugoslavia. Here is a case where genocide was a sign not so much of the extremists' strength as of their weakness—both at home and abroad—and an instrument for consolidating themselves in power. Nazi extermination took place in quasi-secrecy, at least so far as the German populace was concerned; in Rwanda—as in Anatolia earlier—it was ubiquitous and inescap-

[5] Yves Ternon, *Les Arméniens: Histoire d'un génocide* (Paris, 1977); Vahakn N. Dadrian, *The History of the Armenian Genocide: Ethnic Conflict from the Balkans to Anatolia to the Caucasus* (Providence, R.I., 1995); on the Teskilât, there is still only Philip Stoddard, "The Ottoman Government and the Arabs, 1911 to 1918: A Preliminary Study of the Teskilât-i Mahsusa" (PhD dissertation, Princeton University, 1963); and two articles by Dadrian, "The Role of the Special Organisation in the Armenian Genocide during the First World War," in Panikos Panayi, ed., *Minorities in Wartime: National and Racial Groupings in Europe, North America, and Australia during the Two World Wars* (London, 1993), 50–83; and "The Secret Young Turk-Ittihadist Conference and the Decision for the World War One Genocide of the Armenians," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 7 (Fall 1993). Richard G. Hovannisian, ed., *Remembrance and Denial: The Case of the Armenian Genocide* (Detroit, Mich., 1999), gives little attention to the broader Ottoman context. Useful from this point of view is Manoug Joseph Somakian, *Empires in Conflict: Armenia and the Great Powers, 1895–1920* (London, 1995); as well as the still unsurpassed W. E. D. Allen and Paul Muratoff, *Caucasian Battlefields* (Cambridge, 1953); for background, see Feroz Ahmed, "Unionist Relations with the Greek, Armenian and Jewish Communities of the Ottoman Empire, 1908–1914," in Benjamin Braude and Bernard Lewis, eds., *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, vol. 1 (New York, 1982), 387–434.

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ably public. And international powers played a much greater determining role than in the Nazi case, both in the past as colonial governors and at the time—France and the United States between them effectively prevented UN action at a time when it might have stopped the killings.[6]

All three cases—the Holocaust, the mass killing of the Ottoman Armenians, and Rwanda—count as episodes of genocide, if the term is to have any meaning at all. But genocide is a slippery term for historians, for several reasons. As its significance in international law becomes greater, its legal connotations start to complicate its historical usefulness. The definition embodied in the UN Genocide Convention is both too limited—it acknowledges ethnic, racial, and religious but not political or economic repression—and astonishingly open-ended. It does not confine itself to episodes of mass murder. Cultural repression also counts in certain circumstances as genocide according to the Convention, even when no one is killed as a result. What matters for the lawyers are not the numbers of victims but the proportion of an ethnic group that is affected: in 1996, for instance, five miners in Brazil were convicted of genocide after the killing of sixteen Yanomami Indians. The lawyer may focus on the similarities with what happened in Rwanda; the historian is struck by the differences. But above all, the historian must surely take into account the comparative rarity of the phenomenon, at least in the commonsense usage of the term. Very few regimes have tried to wipe out entire ethnic groups by killing them, and characterizations of the twentieth century as "the century of genocide" exaggerate the significance of what is in fact a rather rare occurrence. If we are going to explore modern mass violence, we must cast the net wider.[7]

More common throughout the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries as empires collapsed and nationalism gained ground have been those intermediate-range policies of violence known since the 1990s as "ethnic cleansing"—policies characterized by a combination of massacre and expulsion, deliberate acts of terror and looting, social humiliation and mass rape. Forced population movements themselves are no more a symptom of modernity than massacre; they have formed part of the repertoire of imperial rule at least since the early modern era. But just like mass killing, deportations also acquired new connotations in the twentieth century. And "ethnic cleansing" has come in the past decade to refer to a huge range of events, including the flight of Muslims from the Black Sea littoral into the shrinking Ottoman Empire, the Balkan Wars of 1912–1913, the expulsion of ethnic Germans from Eastern Europe, Palestinians from Israel in 1948, and members of the "captive nations" in the USSR under Joseph Stalin, right up to events during the 1990s in the Balkans and the Caucasus.[8]

[6] Howard Adelman and Astri Suhrke, eds., *The Path of a Genocide: The Rwanda Crisis from Uganda to Zaire* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1999); Philip Gourevitch, *We Wish to Inform You That Tomorrow We Will Be Killed with Our Families: Stories from Rwanda* (New York, 1998); Gérard Prunier, *The Rwanda Crisis: History of a Genocide* (1995; New York, 1997); Mahmood Mamdani, *When Victims Become Killers: Colonialism, Nativism, and the Genocide in Rwanda* (Princeton, N.J., 2001). For insight into French policy toward Rwanda during the genocide, see Gérard Prunier, "Operation Turquoise: A Humanitarian Escape from a Political Deadend," in Adelman and Suhrke, *Path of a Genocide*, 281–307.

[7] On the Yanomami, see Survival International, *Disinherited: Indians in Brazil* (London, 2000), 49–53. Mark Levene, "Why Is the Twentieth Century the Century of Genocide?" *Journal of World History* 11 (Fall 2000): 305–36.

[8] Andrew Bell-Fialkoff, "A Brief History of Ethnic Cleansing," *Foreign Affairs* 72 (Summer 1993);

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It was the wars in the former Yugoslavia from 1991 to 1999 that gained the term currency. In Bosnia, in particular, ethnic cleansing took the form of targeted assaults on isolated towns and villages by an overwhelming military force of regular troops, often backed by heavy artillery, from the Yugoslav People's Army, and associated paramilitary and irregular units. The latter were known to terrorize civilian populations by random shootings of non-Serbs (initially, later the practice spread on the Croat side as well), thereby prompting the rapid flight of the rest of the inhabitants. Often, the men were incarcerated in temporary camps, and women were raped. The result of this policy—and it clearly was a policy—was that hundreds of thousands of non-Serbs fled their homes within weeks. Ethnic cleansing, in other words, in this case, emptied the land of a very large proportion of the ethnic undesirables, who were turned into refugees. At least from the Bosnian Serb perspective, this was, or quickly became, the rationale for the war. Violence was needed, to force people to leave their homes. The goal was not their total extermination but their flight across the border into neighboring states. From the Serbian point of view, ethnic cleansing was an integral part of nation-building, or to be more precise nation-enlarging.

Like genocide, and indeed the term "Holocaust" itself, the label "ethnic cleansing" has since turned into a means of attracting attention to and claiming significance for various more or less neglected episodes in the past. Yet the parallels with the Bosnian case are frequently less striking than the differences, and reveal the difficulty of making a hard and fast connection between organized violence, the homogenization of populations, and nation or state-building. First, we need to establish intentionality, and to distinguish forced deportations, refugee movements fueled by deliberate public acts of terror, from panics and more voluntary migrations. It is often very difficult to distinguish between expulsion and panic, and the two may be intertwined, as the case of the Germans of East Prussia in 1944–1945 suggests. Although some historians refer to the flight of thousands of Crimean Tatars into Ottoman lands in the face of Russian advances during the nineteenth century as "ethnic cleansing," recent research suggests that this often took place despite the wishes of the imperial Russian authorities, not because of it: their flight meant the loss of a valuable agrarian labor force and the abandonment of their lands. In fact, many Tatars and Balkan Muslims fled once political control passed from Muslim into Christian hands because they did not wish to remain in a non-Muslim state, especially one where their sons might face conscription into an army that could be used against the Ottomans. On the other hand, the label ethnic cleansing provides a closer fit for Russian treatment of tribesmen in the Caucasus, where the imperial army decided to expel thousands of its former opponents once the Shamil uprising had been crushed. It is no coincidence that whereas the Tatar colonists who resettled in Ottoman Bulgaria got on peaceably enough with their

and Bell-Fialkoff, *Ethnic Cleansing* (New York, 1996); Naimark, *Fires of Hatred*; J. Otto Pohl, *Ethnic Cleansing in the USSR, 1937–1949* (New York, 1999). Robert M. Hayden, "Schindler's Fate: Genocide, Ethnic Cleansing, and Population Transfers," *Slavic Review* 55 (Winter 1996): 727–48, and subsequent replies, is as much about the hypocrisy of international attitudes toward the expulsion of the ethnic Germans as it is about the expulsions themselves. For useful cautionary remarks, see Rogers Brubaker and David D. Laitin, "Ethnic and Nationalist Violence," *Annual Review of Sociology* 24 (1998): 423–52.

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neighbors, the Circassians became a mainstay of the irregulars deployed across the Balkans to suppress Christian nationalist uprisings.[9]

More crucially, in cases of coercion, we need to ask *who* organized the violence and how they fitted into what passed for a state apparatus. In the Bosnian case, for instance, there was an intricate set of relations between the government of Serbia, the Yugoslav People's Army, and the makeshift paramilitary groups clustered around Radovan Karadžić and other notables. Violence was as much a means of making a *new* state, and laying claim to a prominent place within it, as of securing or expanding the power of an existing one. The anthropologist Cornelia Sorabji has suggested that "rather than an organisation of specific violent techniques, [the war in Bosnia] suggests the organisation of a context in which people are enabled to inflict whatever disorganised torture they may dream up. The context *is* organised, however." It would be worth relating this account of an over-stretched or incipient state, encouraging and inciting the collaboration and complicity of private individuals and groups, to Jan Gross's analysis of how totalitarian regimes of occupation in the Polish-Lithuanian borderlands similarly organized a *context* in which violence could be generated locally between 1939 and 1941. The process continued as Soviet power was reestablished amid the expulsion of ethnic Germans from Poland's western borderlands a few years later (and Ukrainians from its eastern borderlands), again offering an example of the way ethnic violence formed part of the establishment of a new system of state power. An analogous case is that of the Albanian Muslim Cham minority, expelled from northwestern Greece on charges of collaboration at the end of the war—an act initiated largely by local military powerbrokers and only afterwards ratified, as it were, by the beleaguered Greek state far away in Athens.[10]

One common feature of all the above cases is that they took place in Europe or on its fringes, a part of the world where state structures have been relatively well organized since the early modern era. Forcing peoples from their lands has happened, of course, on a much wider scale, and forms part of the history of global colonialism: prioritizing the state's role in the perpetration of large-scale violence has had the effect of marginalizing this kind of settler violence, whose victims have tended to be indigenous peoples leaving few historical records behind them. In

[9] Justin McCarthy, *Death and Exile: The Ethnic Cleansing of Ottoman Muslims, 1821–1922* (Princeton, N.J., 1995); less polemically, Alexandre Toumarkine, *Les migrations des populations musulmanes balkaniques en Anatolie (1876–1913)* (Istanbul, 1995); B. Glyn Williams, "*Hijra* and Forced Migration from 19th Century Russia to the Ottoman Empire: A Critical Analysis of the Great Crimean Tatar Emigration of 1860–1861," *Cahiers du monde russe* 41 (January–March 2000): 79–108; W. Brooks, "Russia's Conquest and Pacification of the Caucasus: Relocation Becomes a Pogrom in the Post-Crimean War Period," *Nationalities Papers* 23 (1995): 675–86; Stephen D. Shenfield, "The Circassians: A Forgotten Genocide?" in Mark Levene and Penny Roberts, eds., *The Massacre in History* (New York, 1999), 149–63; M. Pinson, "Ottoman Colonisation of the Circassians in Rumili," *Etudes balkaniques* 9 (1973). Compare A. Derslid, "Imperial Russification," in John Morison, ed., *Ethnic and National Issues in Russian and East European History* (London, 2000), chap. 3.

[10] Cornelia Sorabji, "A Very Modern War: War and Territory in Bosnia-Hercegovina," in Robert A. Hinde and Helen Watson, eds., *War: A Cruel Necessity? The Bases of Institutionalised Violence* (London, 1995), 80–99; Jan Tomasz Gross, *Neighbors: The Destruction of the Jewish Community in Jedwabne, Poland* (Princeton, N.J., 2001); Tim Snyder, "'To Resolve the Ukrainian Problem Once and for All': The Ethnic Cleansing of Ukrainians in Poland, 1943–1947," *Journal of Cold War Studies* 1 (Spring 1999); and T. Piotrowski, "Akcja 'Wisla': Operation 'Vistula,' 1947: Background and Assessment," *Polish Review* 43, no. 2 (1998): 219–38.

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areas such as Australia, Russia, Africa, and the Americas, violence against natives was perpetrated by mostly European colonists, sometimes backed from afar by the metropolitan power but often the result of local initiatives in these frontier societies, motivated by the colonists' desire to control land, water, and other resources. Whether this should count as ethnic cleansing is a moot point, an issue that hinges largely on what the political goals of the perpetrators were. But settler violence may well be connected with mainstream ethnic cleansing more closely than is commonly admitted, since it often established attitudes and practices for the policing of the indigenous inhabitants of colonial societies, which came in the early twentieth century to influence police and military behavior by European states vis-à-vis their own populations and those of adjacent conquered territories, too.[11]

The issue of how ethnic cleansing is organized is closely linked to the prior question of how and at what point the relevant policies were formulated and arrived at. The expulsion of 10–12 million ethnic Germans from Eastern Europe needs to be seen in the context of the previous six years of total war, initiated by a German regime that itself had brought unprecedented bloodshed and forced upheaval of populations to the region. There was unanimity on the part of most of the major actors—the Soviet Union, its Allies and satellites, and indeed popular opinion in the region—that short-term justice and long-term regional peace could not be gained without the expulsion of the Germans. Violence and mass rape at the hands of the Red Army accelerated the panic that had set in even before the Reich's defeat. But whereas in Eastern Europe, the ground had been laid for the expulsion of the Germans—an expulsion that took place largely after the fighting was over—by prior discussion of national and international leaders, in other cases of mass expulsions happening at the same time, the picture looks different.

In the 1948 war for Palestine, recent research has confirmed that Israel's war of independence was accompanied by several massacres and by the deliberate expulsions of civilians. Zionist statesmen such as David Ben-Gurion and Chaim Weizmann had speculated earlier about getting rid of Palestine's Arabs after the creation of the Jewish state. Nevertheless, the linkage between these statements and the actions that took place on the ground subsequently is difficult to prove. It seems likely that the idea of expelling Arab civilians in as large numbers as possible came in the course of the fighting itself and was, perhaps for that reason, realized in more haphazard and partial a fashion than in the German case. In the Israeli case, the state itself came into being in a rapidly changing environment in which military commanders found themselves able to make far-reaching decisions.[12]

All these ambiguities around the state's role as agent of mass expulsion are

[11] I return below to the relationship between colonial empire and Europe in this context. Dirk Moses of the University of Sydney is working on frontier violence in settler societies. For the Americas, see David E. Stannard, *American Holocaust: The Conquest of the New World* (New York, 1992). For an example from Africa, see Arthur Keppel-Jones, *Rhodes and Rhodesia: The White Conquest of Zimbabwe, 1884–1902* (Kingston, Ont., 1983), my thanks to Mark Levene for this reference.

[12] On the idea of expulsion, see Nur Masalha, *Expulsion of the Palestinians: The Concept of "Transfer" in Zionist Political Thought, 1882–1948* (Washington, D.C., 1992); Anita Shapira, *Land and Power: The Zionist Resort to Force, 1881–1948* (Stanford, Calif., 1992); Eugene L. Rogan and Avi Shlaim, eds., *The War for Palestine: Rewriting the History of 1948* (Cambridge, 2001); Benny Morris, *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem* (Cambridge, 1987); and Morris, "Operation Dani and the Palestinian Exodus from Lydda and Ramle in 1948," *Middle Eastern Journal* 40, no. 1 (1986): 82–109.

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redoubled in the case of the 1947 partition of India, where ethnic cleansing—if that is indeed what occurred—took place in something close to a political vacuum. In terms of sheer numbers, the scale of displacement was second only to the expulsion of ethnic Germans, going on at the same time. In terms of those killed, it was far more bloody and murderous. Yet the killings were triggered by the manifest incapacity of the colonial Indian state at all levels to control the situation in vital border areas, notably the Punjab. Once the new postcolonial states came into existence, on either side of the new border, they proved able to bring the killing to a halt relatively quickly, leaving a large Muslim population in India and a smaller Hindu minority across the border. The violence here is thus scarcely to be attributed to the all-powerful modern state—whether colonial or postcolonial—although its prime cause, of course, had been the partition policies shaped in New Delhi and London.[13]

Here, it is obvious that the logic of state interest is insufficient to account for violence. Must we turn to more individualistic and subjective factors? Not necessarily: between the level of the state and that of the individual perpetrator lies that of local and regional powerbrokers, whose importance is increasingly emphasized by scholars of communalism in India as well as by those of its Russian near-equivalent, the tsarist pogrom. According to Joya Chatterji's study of Bengal, for instance, the 1946 "Great Calcutta Killing," which left at least 5,000 dead, was "not a riot but a civil war," involving political imperatives and the organization of volunteer groups by local politicians and elites. The following year, virtual private armies and paramilitary organizations like the Sikh *jathas*, often including men with military expertise acquired in British service, outwitted the hard-pressed Punjab Boundary Force. But even such a smaller-scale instrumentalism needs to take into account the more subjective and emotional aspects of mass violence of this kind. For if violence sometimes served to terrorize populations and force them to flee, at others it betrayed a less rational motivation, as frequently massacres took place along roads and rail lines in which the victims were murdered precisely while they attempted to leave the area. "We simply went mad," recalls one Sikh who participated in a killing spree in a Muslim village during the Indian partitions. "We were swept away by this wild wave of hatred," were the words of a Muslim perpetrator in the same events. In like manner, Tambiah refers to "jubilant violence," and sees the 1983 anti-Tamil riots in Colombo and the 1984 anti-Sikh riots in Delhi as epicenters of mass emotion. Less jubilant perhaps, but the Nazi death marches displayed a similar irrationality. It is at this point perhaps, that Europeanists—whose state-centered approach has often hidden a reluctance to consider the idea that occasionally ordinary people enjoy or take pride in killing—could learn from scholars of South Asian communal violence. In the work of Veena Das and Sudhir Kakar, in particular, we see a subtly modulated

[13] S. Aiyar, "'August Anarchy': The Partition Massacres in Punjab, 1947," *South Asia* 28 (1995): 13–37; Ian Copland, "The Further Shores of Partition: Ethnic Cleansing in Rajasthan, 1947," *Past and Present*, no. 160 (1998): 203–39; David Gilmartin, "Partition, Pakistan and South Asian History: In Search of a Narrative," *Journal of Asian Studies* 57, no. 4 (1998): 1068–95.

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psychology at work that avoids the conceptual rigidities found in some well-known discussions of Nazi perpetrators.[14]

NO DOUBT BECAUSE THERE CAN BE LITTLE QUESTION of the Soviet state's ambition to organize society as effectively as possible, the terms "ethnic cleansing"—and indeed "genocide"—have been applied there, too. For some scholars, these categories provide a way of locating the experience of the USSR in a much broader context, linked to the Holocaust and other aspects of the darker side of modernity. Peter Holquist presents interwar Bolshevik political surveillance as "a subfunction of the modern form of politics," while Amir Weiner has sought to show that, in Ukraine in the 1940s, the Soviet leadership was carrying to an extreme the purifying and violently exclusionary elements inherent in the "aesthetic enterprise" of building a "better, purer and more beautiful community." In such arguments, one may discern the influence of Michel Foucault's thinking about governmentality as well as a vein of late twentieth-century anti-utopianism that points to the dangers inherent in all schemes for human improvement and social engineering.[15]

But although the state-directed character of political violence under the Bolsheviks cannot easily be questioned, the degree to which communist violence should be "ethnicized" may. The USSR did draw on ethnic categories in its political policing and began deportations of members of specific national groups in the 1930s. No other state had ever moved—or, for that matter, killed—people on a comparable scale. But most Soviet deportations were not directed against national groups in their totality: initially, they were designed to secure borders and thus possessed a quasi-military function of a kind that could be traced back to imperial Russian policy in World War I, and even earlier.[16]

Although the huge deportations of Polish and Baltic people in 1940–1941 did not aim at the displacement of anything close to entire nations, the treatment of Chechens, the Crimean Tatars, and others does take us much closer to the Yugoslav paradigm of ethnic cleansing. Nevertheless, there remains an important difference. The Soviet authorities envisaged deportation as collective punishment: however, it

[14] Joya Chatterji, *Bengal Divided: Hindu Communalism and Partition, 1932–1947* (Cambridge, 1994), 232; Veena Das, ed., *Mirrors of Violence: Communities, Riots and Survivors in South Asia* (Delhi, 1990), 25; Urvashi Butalia, *The Other Side of Silence: Voices from the Partition of India* (London, 2000), 58–59; Tambiah, *Leveling Crowds*; see also Sudhir Kakar, *The Colors of Violence: Cultural Identities, Religion, and Conflict* (Chicago, 1996), for an insightful study of the psychology of the "strong men" at the heart of these bouts of violence.

[15] Peter Holquist, "'Information Is the Alpha and Omega of Our Work': Bolshevik Surveillance in Its Pan-European Context," *Journal of Modern History* 69 (September 1997): 415–50; Amir Weiner, *Making Sense of War: The Second World War and the Fate of the Bolshevik Revolution* (Princeton, N.J., 2001). More generally, see Martin E. Malia, *The Soviet Tragedy: A History of Socialism in Russia, 1917–1991* (New York, 1994); and James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven, Conn., 1998).

[16] See Eric Lohr, "Enemy Alien Policies within the Russian Empire during World War One" (PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 1999); Terry Martin, "The Origins of Soviet Ethnic Cleansing," *Journal of Modern History* 70 (December 1998): 813–61; Michael Gelb, "The Western Finnic Minorities and the Origins of the Stalinist Nationalities Deportations," *Nationalities Papers* 24 (June 1996): 237–68; Gelb, "An Early Soviet Ethnic Deportation: The Far-Eastern Koreans," *Russian Review* 54 (July 1995): 389–412; Gelb, "Ethnicity during the Ezhovshchina: A Historiography," in Morison, *Ethnic and National Issues in Russian and East European History*, 190–99.

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was not deportation out of the country but farther into the interior. Thus the border—so crucial in both cases—had a very different function each time: point of no return, in the Yugoslav, German, or Palestinian cases, but for the Soviets, rather a neuralgic zone, whose security might demand the removal of suspect groups inland away from possible contact with enemy states: on the one hand, expulsion from the political community, but not on the other.

Does this count as ethnic cleansing? Yes, according to J. Otto Pohl, who sees Joseph Stalin drawing on older imperial Russian traditions of population displacement; yes, too, for different reasons, for Terry Martin, who argues that the mid-1930s saw a transition from class-based deportations to ethnic targeting as part of the state's modernization drive. Yet the extent to which the deportations reveal an underlying racial dimension to communist ideology is altogether harder to prove. Of the switch from an autonomist to a more repressive line toward nationalities in the 1930s there can be little doubt. Even during the Great Purge, nationality was not among the key target categories: but between the liquidation of "Polish spies" and the operations directed against entire peoples after 1937, when both the Koreans and the Black Sea Greeks were targeted en masse, there was clearly an important shift in official thinking. Yet unlike "ethnic cleansing" Yugoslav-style, this was not about destroying nations so much as targeting "counter-revolutionaries" in the context of Moscow's fear of imminent war. The need felt by some contemporary scholars to demonstrate a racial dimension to Soviet communist policies appears to derive from, or at least to reflect, the continued power of the Holocaust paradigm in discussions of European mass violence. Yet to the outside observer, it scarcely seems to make much difference from the ethical point of view whether Stalin connived in, or tolerated, the deaths of millions of Ukrainians during the famine years of the early 1930s because they were Ukrainians or whether, as seems more likely, because Ukrainian farmers held the key to the regime's control of the food supply: to that extent, the issue of genocide is a red herring, although it matters a good deal of course to Ukrainian nationalists anxious to ascertain their own relationship to their communist past.[17]

Whether or not the USSR went in for ethnic cleansing and genocide, it was certainly more murderous toward its own citizens—at least in peacetime—than any other country had been until that point. Was this perhaps because of its totalitarian character? Such a question suggests comparing its forms and levels of violence with those of the other great totalitarian regime of mid-century Europe: Adolf Hitler's Germany. Curiously, though, in view of the political salience of the issue (which fueled heated intellectual debates in both France and West Germany in the late twentieth century over the comparative criminality of the two regimes), there has been little in the way of sustained historical comparison. In fact, from the viewpoint of levels of political repression, the two systems before 1940 were rather different: the Gulag's interwar population soared far above 1 million, while the Nazi camps

[17] Pohl, *Ethnic Cleansing*; Keith Sword, ed., *Deportation and Exile: Poles in the Soviet Union, 1939–48* (London, 1994); and Z. Siemeszko, "The Mass Deportations of the Polish Population to the USSR, 1940–1941," in Keith Sword, ed., *The Soviet Takeover of the Polish Eastern Provinces, 1939–41* (London, 1991), 217–32. On the Ukrainian famine, and in particular the issue of whether or not it counts as "genocide," see David R. Marples, *Stalinism in the Ukraine in the 1940s* (London, 1992), 22–23.

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were generally well below 100,000 inmates; nor could the scale of mass shooting in and around the Great Terror be said to bear much resemblance to such relatively small beer as the Night of the Long Knives. Nothing in the pre-war experience of the Third Reich compared with such episodes as the shooting of 9,000 people by the NKVD in Vinnytsia alone in 1937–1938. In purely quantitative terms, it is clear which political system required a higher degree of coercion to maintain itself in power. The war, however, saw the numbers gap narrow quickly: for although the population of the Gulag rose to around 2 million, the Nazi camp system expanded much faster between 1939 and 1944, eventually attaining a population of around a million inmates. Like the OGPU/NKVD earlier, the SS was now transformed into a major industrial producer. One difference was that the Germans established several industrialized extermination camps for racial mass murder that had no Soviet equivalents. Another was that the Nazi system—largely a product of the war—was only closed down by military defeat. The fate of the Gulag was more complex: given a new lease on life, and indeed extended across Eastern Europe in Stalin's last years (in 1953, it held more than 2.7 million prisoners), the camp system shrank, and prisoners were given amnesty in the thaw that followed.[18]

Does the concept of totalitarianism gives us much purchase on the rise and fall of these two systems? Probably not: there are too many fluctuations, too many discrepancies: indeed, if we were to count Benito Mussolini's Italy—a country that passed fewer than fifty death sentences for political crimes before 1939—as a totalitarian state (a characterization espoused by the regime itself at various times and recently adopted by some of its historians), the heuristic value of the concept would seem even more doubtful. Moreover, totalitarianism itself suggests a kind of structural approach to a phenomenon that was clearly much influenced by highly conjunctural factors, above all, by war. The same conclusion emerges from a study of the even more highly charged terrain of mass deaths. Let us try to set aside an intellectually redundant if highly charged debate over whether Hitler or Stalin was responsible for more victims. (For what it is worth, a recent estimate suggests that while the Stalinist regime "may have caused the premature death of more people than Hitler's regime . . . [the evidence] does not show that it purposely killed more people.") The totalitarianism thesis offers no obvious explanation for the scale and chronology of killings in either case. For both the Nazi and the Soviet regimes, there were moments of escalation when the killing toll mounted very rapidly. For the Nazis, this was, again, the war, first in autumn 1939 and then, a new threshold, in June 1941, with the invasion of the USSR and the onset of a self-proclaimed "war of annihilation." For the Soviets, the invasion of the Baltic states and Poland in 1939–1940 was a similar such moment, though not the first: as Nicholas Werth has argued, there were at least four cycles of violence—starting with 1917 (thereby reinforcing the point that it was not only the Second but also the First World War that played a key role in escalating norms of violence). In particular, Werth alludes to the 1919–1920 "massive extermination" of the Cossacks as a precedent for future mass killings, and argues that what the Bolsheviks did after 1920 was to extend the

[18] David Rousset, *L'univers concentrationnaire* (Paris, 1946). The best comparative treatment of the political prisoner in the twentieth century—a badly neglected topic—is now Polymeris Voglis, *Becoming a Subject: Political Prisoners during the Greek Civil War, 1945–1950* (Oxford, 2001), chaps. 1–2.

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principle of civil war to their own society. This strikes me as a key insight that helps us understand why some states killed so readily. As the Italian anti-fascist Carlo Rosselli first pointed out, it was a feature of mid-twentieth-century ideological states that they rather readily blurred the boundary between internal and external enemies, and thus redrew the political dividing line within their own societies between those deemed loyal and thus regarded as in practice or potentially beyond the pale. In this respect, they differed sharply from their nineteenth-century predecessors, for whom disloyalty and treachery were two separate concepts.[19]

Yet it is worth noting that not all communist—or indeed totalitarian—regimes practice unremitting violence, or experience the same levels of violence as one another, as a more comparative survey of communism indicates. The sheer numbers involved in the Chinese state's tyranny over its own people dwarf even the Soviet case: a prison camp population of nearly 5 million by 1949, rising to nearly 10 million by the early 1980s; a huge death toll—estimates range from 20 to 43 million—in the 1959–1961 famine, a direct result of the Great Leap Forward. As in the Soviet case, alongside the unmistakable role of ideology (here intensified by Mao Zedong's rivalry with the USSR) must be set the impact of nearly two decades of war, colonial occupation (by the Japanese), and civil war. And just as Stalin's death saw the repression scaled down, so Mao's death led to a new moderation, as the army disbanded the Red Guards. Any explanation of communist violence must surely be able to encompass the termination as well as the genesis of episodes such as the Terror or the Cultural Revolution, and this is likely to require explanations that see ideology not so much as a causative factor in its own right but as an element in the political struggle within the state apparatus between different groups and factions, whose interests ride on the promotion or termination of violence.[20]

The bloodbath carried out by another communist movement, the Khmer Rouge, and brought to an end by the invasion of a communist neighbor, Vietnam, may be viewed in similar fashion. While China was moving away from revolutionary radicalism, perhaps the most radical experiment of all was being undertaken to the south in Cambodia, under the leadership of Pol Pot. His brief but almost unbelievably murderous reign involved a kind of competition to demonstrate the profundity of his achievement. "We are making a unique revolution," boasted one cadre. "We are much better than the Chinese who look up to us. They are trying to imitate us but they haven't managed it yet. We are a good model for the whole world." Jean-Louis Margolin sums up his achievements as follows: "Money was abolished in a week; total collectivisation was achieved in less than two years; social distinctions were suppressed by the elimination of entire classes of property owners,

[19] On Italian totalitarianism, see Alexander de Grand, "Cracks in the Facade: The Failure of Fascist Totalitarianism in Italy 1935–9," *European History Quarterly* 21 (1991); Stephen Wheatcroft, "The Scale and Nature of German and Soviet Repression and Mass Killings, 1940–1945," *Europe-Asia Studies* 48, no. 8 (1996): 1319–53; Nicholas Werth in Stéphane Courtois, *et al.*, *The Black Book of Communism: Crimes, Terror, Repression* (Cambridge, Mass., 1999). On a comparison of nineteenth and twentieth-century concepts of treachery, see Voglis, *Becoming a Subject*, chap.1; and Barton L. Ingraham, *Political Crime in Europe: A Comparative Study of France, Germany, and England* (Berkeley, Calif., 1979).

[20] Jean-Louis Margolin, "China: A Long March into Night," in Courtois, *Black Book of Communism*, 463–547; Lynn T. White, *Policies of Chaos: The Organizational Causes of Violence in China's Cultural Revolution* (Princeton, N.J., 1989); Jasper Becker, *Hungry Ghosts: China's Secret Famine* (London, 1996).

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intellectuals and businessmen; and the ancient antagonism between urban and rural areas was solved by emptying the cities in a single week." In just four years, perhaps a million people were executed and another 700,000 or more died from hunger and disease: some professions and some minorities were almost entirely wiped out. Nearly half the population of the capital may have perished.[21]

If death on this scale is hard to explain, a few factors seem obviously relevant: in the first place, the Khmer Rouge came to power in the midst of a war next door that had spilled over into Cambodia with catastrophic social and political effects, including pogroms against the Vietnamese, massive American bombing raids, and huge movements of population. (It should also be borne in mind that the Khmer Rouge fell from power once the war in Vietnam was over.) This tremendous wartime flux did not end with the arrival of the Khmer Rouge: on the contrary, they began their reign by massacres, "reeducation" campaigns, and, eventually, the total evacuation of the capital, Phnom Penh. This was a huge upheaval, which threw the traditional institutions of society into turmoil and facilitated the extreme social engineering of the country's new rulers. However, it was surely the combination of ideology and internal party politics that was chiefly responsible for the ensuing bloodbath. The very weakness of the Kampuchea Communist Party resulted in purges, massacres, and witch hunts; it was, moreover, locked in a bitter struggle to assert its autonomy from the Vietnamese party—the eastern part of the country, close to Vietnam, was where the worst massacres took place, in 1978. At the same time, famine, which had first attained serious dimensions in 1976, continued to plague the country. Impossible economic targets, poor planning, the rejection of technology, and a hostile attitude toward any criticism were the ingredients of disaster. The dehumanization created first by war and social destabilization in general, and by the famine in particular, helped erode the moral inhibitions against widespread killing. The regime aimed, for example, to weaken the family, which it saw as a threatening institution, and in fact it insisted on usurping family roles. It also deliberately disregarded traditional burial norms in the official treatment of the dead. Meanwhile, the death sentence was meted out for a wide range of crimes, and an atmosphere of paranoia and suspicion ensured its frequent use. Perhaps that paranoia had been there from the start: the national anthem started with heavy emphasis on the "bright red blood that covers towns and plains." But it was exaggerated both by the character of its mysterious leader and by the fact that his movement was rather weakly based and insecure and used terror in order to shore up its position.[22]

MUCH OF THE DISCUSSION OF COMMUNIST IDEOLOGY has focused on the degree to which socialism could ever have been made the subject of a political program *without* giving rise to massive bloodshed. But there was a geopolitical dimension to

[21] Jean-Louis Margolin, "Cambodia: The Country of Disconcerting Crimes," in Courtois, *Black Book of Communism*, 577–95.

[22] See in addition to Margolin, David P. Chandler, *The Tragedy of Cambodian History: Politics, War, and Society since 1945* (New Haven, Conn., 1995); Marie Alexandrine Martin, *Cambodia, a Shattered Society* (Berkeley, Calif., 1994); and Ben Kiernan, *The Pol Pot Regime: Race, Power, and Genocide in Cambodia under the Khmer Rouge, 1975–79* (New Haven, 1996).

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ideology too, which is less frequently highlighted in the literature. The Cold War in particular played an enormous role in creating a climate of mutual hostility and paranoiac suspicion between and within the two great power blocs that divided the world. Anti-communism identified enemies at home as allies of those abroad, and this, at the very least, provided a language that made mass killing permissible to the leaders of the Free World as well.

In the early postwar era, as America's international role grew rapidly, mass killings and repression increased under Washington's gaze. This began on a relatively small scale in Greece during its civil war (1947–1949) but moved to a different level in Central America and Southeast Asia. In Cuba, Venezuela, Peru, and elsewhere, anti-guerrilla campaigns were pursued through the 1950s and 1960s. The impact of state terror, aerial bombing of peasant areas, mass rape, execution, and massacre varied from country to country. In Bolivia, there were relatively few casualties; but in Colombia, *la Violencia* was responsible for roughly 200,000 deaths. In Peru, the bombing of guerrilla zones in the 1960s was the most intensive in South America until the Nicaraguan war of the late 1970s. In Guatemala, consistently among the most violent states in the region, the army killed roughly 100,000 people between 1980 and 1985 alone.[23]

Anti-communism offered a legitimizing language shared by South American elites and their patrons in Washington. But more important was the evolution of Western military thinking about counter-insurgency, developed on the basis of experience during and after World War II and then spread from the U.S. Army via instructors and advisers to senior army and police chiefs in client states. This is a complex and tangled piece of intellectual history that has not received as much attention from theorists of mass violence as it perhaps deserves. Its study has been pioneered by scholars of "Western state terror," and their work points the way to a clearer understanding of how far the counter-insurgency doctrines espoused by U.S. Army thinkers were actually taken up and followed by their clients and how far the latter were following their own inclinations.[24]

The role of the army as a key instrument of political violence in the apparatus of the Cold War state, its power bolstered by Washington's acquiescence, is illuminated by events in Indonesia in 1965. Nowhere is the oddly skewed character of the academic debate on mass violence more evident than in the extraordinary neglect of this case by historians outside the small number of area specialists concerned. The story, briefly told, is that a botched PKI coup was crushed by the army and civilian vigilantes, who went on to murder perhaps half a million people in a campaign to wipe out communism in the country. The army's role was both organizing and permissive. It inflamed public emotions by displaying publicly the bodies of six army generals assassinated by the coup plotters, and when senior army

[23] Dirk Krujit, "Exercises in State Terrorism: The Counter-Insurgency Campaigns in Guatemala and Peru," in Kees Koonings and Dirk Krujit, eds., *Societies of Fear: The Legacy of Civil War, Violence and Terror in Latin America* (London, 1999), 33–63; Timothy P. Wickham-Crowley, "Terror and Guerrilla Warfare in Latin America, 1956–1970," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 32, no. 2 (1990): 201–37.

[24] Michael McClintock, *The American Connection*, Vol. 2: *State Terror and Popular Resistance in Guatemala* (London, 1985); and McClintock, "American Doctrine and Counter-Insurgency State Terror," in Alexander George, ed., *Western State Terrorism* (Cambridge, 1991).

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officers indicated their approval of the initial revenge killings, in mid-October, only then did massacres spread across the country. Many people died under the guise of an ideological crusade for reasons that had little or nothing to do with ideology. But this was perhaps inevitable when, as one survivor described it, "the atmosphere of vengeance spread everywhere" and when a new figure—the local executioner—emerged, who needed to display his prowess and necessity. The same army—give or take a few purges—was responsible for further bloodletting in East Timor after the Portuguese pulled out a decade later, and it is tempting to see the first massacre as a laboratory for later violence. A crucial element in Indonesia was the stance of the United States (and later of Australia, too); the unapologetic memoir of former U.S. Ambassador Marshall Green makes clear the kind of mentality that guaranteed the Indonesian military a more or less free hand.[25]

Armies had not enjoyed such power in the totalitarian one-party state, which built on the bureaucratic traditions of its imperial Hohenzollern or Romanov predecessors, precisely by establishing civilian control through the party and a powerful secret police. Similarly, in Milošević's Serbia, the power of the Yugoslav People's Army was curbed by frequent purges and, even more important, by the creation of alternative private channels for Milošević through the Interior Ministry to special police and paramilitary units, whose relatively unrestrained use of violence against civilians both alarmed and challenged the army itself. From this point of view, postcommunist Yugoslavia, the Third Reich, and the USSR form a striking contrast with the far more common type of praetorian state found in many postcolonial countries outside Europe, where civilian politics remains weak and power is concentrated in the hands of a military apparatus that sees itself as the guardian of national values, especially where borders are fragile and societies are multi-confessional and multi-lingual.[26]

There were, of course, pre-war instances of such states even inside Europe: Poland and Bulgaria in the 1930s, or countries where generals established dictatorships, as in Greece, Romania, and Franco's Spain, which emerged with high levels of repression after a bitter civil war. (Hungary and Finland, both of whom experienced bitter civil wars in the aftermath of World War I, would make useful comparators.) In the postwar period, military dictatorships—or guided democracies—became far more common and were involved in some of the worst episodes of mass killing. When East Pakistan broke away from Pakistan to form Bangladesh in 1971, the Pakistani army killed hundreds of thousands of people. The Nigerian army in secessionist Biafra, the Indonesian army in East Timor, and the Turkish military in southeastern Anatolia all saw themselves as defending the unity of the new state from the forces of fragmentation and disintegration. In the Philippines, thirty years of fighting between government forces and the New People's Army and

[25] See the very useful essay by Robert Cribb, "The Indonesian Massacres," in Samuel Totten, William S. Parsons, and Israel W. Charny, eds., *Century of Genocide: Eyewitness Accounts and Critical Views* (New York, 1997), 236–47; and Robert Cribb, ed., *The Indonesian Killings of 1965–1966: Studies from Java and Bali* (Clayton, Victoria, 1990); Harold A. Crouch, *The Army and Politics in Indonesia* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1978); Marshall Green, *Indonesia: Crisis and Transformation, 1965–1968* (Washington, D.C., 1990), 68.

[26] Amos Perlmutter, *The Military and Politics in Modern Times: On Professionals, Praetorians, and Revolutionary Soldiers* (New Haven, Conn., 1977).

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National Liberation Front led to at least 70,000 deaths. In Algeria, some 80,000 to 100,000 people are estimated to have died in the 1990s alone, as the army struggles to keep Islamicists from power. In these cases, it is surely the *weakness* of the states concerned, not their strength—in particular, the weakness of their traditions of civilian politics—that helps explain the prominence of the military and their apparent impunity.

But not everything should be blamed on the military: as events in Algeria, southeastern Turkey, Sri Lanka, and South America demonstrate, terror also forms part of the repertoire of insurgent groups. States are often weak because others challenge their monopoly of the use of force in pursuit of religious, regional, or political ends. In the many insurgencies that proliferated in the postwar era, there emerged guerrilla organizations and insurgent armies that also deliberately deployed violence against civilians. Stathis Kalyvas has suggested, in a kind of rational-choice model of insurgent violence, that guerrillas seek to use terror against civilians in order to maximize their support, especially when their hold over the latter is weak, when peasants show signs of defecting to the other side, and when the general level of violence in the wider military confrontation escalates. He points out that cruelty and public displays of power may form part of the same overall strategy to secure loyalties and deter defections, as they do for the army. And, although Kalyvas does not make much of it, revolutionary ideology may be an important factor, too. In Peru, for instance, the violence of the state was matched and eventually exceeded by that of the Maoist insurgent group, Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path). As the army became more sophisticated and less crudely violent in its approach to the peasant highlanders, the insurgents became more uncompromising, talking of a revolutionary "river of blood" and a "radical intensification of violence." By the late 1980s, their leader, Abimael Guzmán, was promising to "exterminate whole communities" in the effort to stop them cooperating with the state authorities. Indeed, Guzmán's movement seemed to go beyond Mao in according violence an absolute value as a form of revolutionary purification. But he was also engaged in a competition with the army to show the peasantry who was tougher. The decision to concentrate on the urban areas, a decision that led eventually to Guzmán's arrest, was an indication that the army had won that particular competition.[27]

Finally, just as the Russian and Chinese civil wars may be seen as the seedbeds of a propensity for those running the state to wage war on their own society, so elsewhere the violence inherent in imperialism itself may have played a part in establishing norms of state violence after independence in post-imperial states. In post-imperial Eastern Europe, this process had already started with the Balkan Wars of 1912–1913, ramifying after 1918 into complex intra-ethnic struggles in Eastern Europe, and Central Asia, as well as into new major military conflicts such as the Russian civil war, the Russo-Polish war, the Greco-Turkish war, and the struggle for control of Lebanon and Syria. It was this decade—lasting until

[27] Wickham-Crowley, "Terror and Guerrilla Warfare in Latin America," 201–37; Stathis Kalyvas, "Wanton and Senseless? The Logic of Massacres in Algeria," *Rationality and Society* 11, no. 3 (1999): 243–85; for an earlier version of this argument, as applied to the Greek civil war, see Kalyvas, "Red Terror: Leftist Violence during the Occupation," in Mark Mazower, ed., *After the War Was Over: Reconstructing the Family, Nation, and State in Greece, 1943–1960* (Princeton, N.J., 2000), 142–84.

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1922–1923—that was the catalyst for genocide, ethnic cleansing, and massive forced population movements for the first time in history. As Aviel Roshwald argues in a recent, very valuable work of synthesis entitled *Ethnic Nationalism and the Fall of Empires*, the whole area from the Baltic states to the Middle East constituted one vast arc caught up in this dynamic of imperial collapse and nationalist struggles. What expanded the scale of the violence was that war had also led to a substantial enlargement of the state's powers over its citizens. Propaganda, welfare, and martial law were among the manifestations of this; so, too, was the rise of special services and paramilitary units allied informally to political centers of power. Detention camps, internal exile, and forced labor units for suspected subversives were employed from France to tsarist Russia.[28]

These policies reflected the shifting balance of administrative power from civilian to military authorities. Entire populations were deported on the grounds that they were not trustworthy: tsarist forces deported communities of Jews from the Pale, fearing their pro-German sentiments; Habsburg, especially Hungarian troops, targeted Serb villages in Habsburg lands adjacent to the border with Serbia, burned houses and killed some civilians, and imprisoned others. Greek males were sent inland to labor details by Ottoman troops in the summer of 1914. The militarization of state bureaucracies also meant tougher treatment of suspected spies, the incarceration of aliens in special camps and the extension of censorship. Karl Kraus's satires on the Habsburg war machine and its lethal inefficiency should perhaps be read less metaphorically than is customary and more as warnings of the potential for bureaucratic violence that had been exposed in 1914. Where civilians did resist military occupation forces, as in Belgium, Serbia, and eastern Anatolia, for example, exemplary executions and reprisals took place and were often deliberately photographed and publicized to increase their deterrent effect. A thread of continuity of policy and attitude runs from the Habsburg reprisals against Slav civilians in Serbia in 1915–1916 and the policies of the Wehrmacht field commanders there twenty-five years later. Out of this turmoil emerged not only the Bolshevik state but also the Kemalist state in republican Turkey and the new heavily militarized state structures of the post-mandatory Middle East.[29]

Outside Europe, the death agony of empire was more protracted and the struggle to hang on more violent: as resistance and protest escalated, imperial policemen in defensive mode developed counter-insurgency doctrines of their own. The British, influenced by fiscal constraints and by their own distinctive policing traditions, defined a doctrine of "minimum force," although they did not always live up to it in Ireland, Palestine, Iraq, or Kenya. In Algeria and Madagascar, the mass killings of thousands of civilians accompanied the French effort to retain power. In Angola, Congo, and Mozambique, long-running anticolonial wars turned into ongoing civil wars after Belgian and Portuguese colonialists pulled out. It would be absurd to attribute the power of armies in politics across the Third World entirely

[28] Mark Levene, "Frontiers of Genocide: Jews in Eastern War Zones," in Panayi, *Minorities in Wartime*, 83–118; Aviel Roshwald, *Ethnic Nationalism and the Fall of Empires: Central Europe, Russia, and the Middle East, 1914–1923* (London, 2001); Mark Cornwall, *The Undermining of Austria-Hungary: The Battle for Hearts and Minds* (Basingstoke, 2000).

[29] Roshwald, *Ethnic Nationalism and the Fall of Empires*; Arnold J. Toynbee, *The Western Question in Greece and Turkey* (London, 1922); Horne, *German Atrocities*.

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to the violence of colonialism; the weakness of civilian party politics, the impact of the Cold War, and indeed the growth of the modern arms trade must all have played a crucial role. Nevertheless, it would be wrong for historians to take imperialism's historical legacy of violence for granted: it was, after all, the Europeans who had exported modern warfare across the globe to build those empires in the first place, although the Japanese and others learned fast.[30]

And that legacy of violence may also have contributed in its way to the militarization of Europe itself. Drawing on Hannah Arendt and others, we can discern continuities in the practice of organized violence between European policing of the colonies in the late nineteenth century and the later shift to total war on the continent itself. Military and policing doctrines, more or less imbued with a racist contempt for the enemy, emerged in a colonial context that would help shape the new brutality displayed by European armies toward non-combatants on the Old Continent after 1914: thus precursors for the Wehrmacht's brutality toward civilians in World War II have been found in the expeditionary force sent to crush the Boxer Rebellion, as well as in the 1904 war against the Herero in South West Africa (now Namibia), where the military commander, Adolf von Trotha, insisted unequivocally that "the nation must be annihilated as such." But it would be premature to see such behavior as a peculiarly German issue before far more research has been undertaken into the comparative development of colonial policing tactics among the various European Great Powers. One advantage of such research is that it might open up a perspective that allows us to link the violence unleashed by major states in Europe itself between 1930 and 1950 with both an earlier history of imperial violence *and* a subsequent history of violent decolonization and postcolonization globally during the Cold War.[31]

IN CONCLUSION, it is striking how much the debate about mass violence has been dominated by a small number of decontextualized European exemplars—notably, the Holocaust and Stalin's USSR. I have tried to suggest in this essay that generalizations based on the handful of emblematic mid-twentieth-century cases of mass killing may be of only limited usefulness in understanding other episodes in

[30] David M. Anderson and David Killingray, eds., *Policing and Decolonisation: Politics, Nationalism, and the Police, 1917–65* (Manchester, 1992); Thomas R. Mockaitis, *British Counterinsurgency, 1919–60* (Basingstoke, 1990); Alistair Horne, *A Savage War of Peace: Algeria, 1954–1962* (London, 1977); Jacques Tronchon, *L'insurrection malgache de 1947: Essai d'interprétation historique* (Paris, 1986).

[31] Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (New York, 1951), chaps. 6–9; also relevant in this connection are Wolfe W. Schmokel, *Dream of Empire: German Colonialism, 1919–1945* (New Haven, Conn., 1964); Sven Lindqvist, *Exterminate All the Brutes*, Joan Tate, trans. (New York, 1996); and Michael Geyer, "The Militarization of Europe, 1914–1945," in John R. Gillis, ed., *The Militarization of the Western World* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1989). On the aftermath of the Boxer Rebellion, see F. Laritier, "La guerre des Boxers: Une expédition internationale, 1900," *Revue historique des armées* 1 (1992): 115–23; and Diana Preston, *Besieged in Peking: The Story of the 1900 Boxer Rising* (London, 1999), 215–17. Suzanne Kuss of the University of Freiburg is working on a comparison of the behavior of German and British soldiers during the uprising. On the Herero, see Tilman Dedering, "'A Certain Rigorous Treatment of All Parts of the Nation': The Annihilation of the Herero in German South West Africa, 1904," in Levene and Roberts, *Massacre in History*, 205–23. G. Spraul, "Der 'Volkermord' an der Herero: Untersuchungen zu einer neuen Kontinuitätsthese," *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht* 34 (1988): 713–39.

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which large numbers of people have been murdered, imprisoned, or forced to leave their homes. Structural or systemic forms of explanation need to be able to encompass the contingency of geopolitical location and the impact of wars. And both the Holocaust and the experience of Soviet communism may be better understood in a historical context that stretches back to the age of empire and forward to encompass the spread of independent, more or less violent, states across the globe.

In this story, war is evidently a crucial catalyst. In cases such as the Third Reich, total war led directly to an exponential increase in the murderousness of its policies. This is one important difference with the Soviet Union, which did not need an actual war to kill large numbers of its own civilians. On the other hand, the experience of total war—whether in 1914–1918 or in the subsequent civil war—did clearly have an enormous impact on the way the Soviet state regarded its own citizens. And "dirty wars" more generally, which blurred the distinction between combatant and civilians—whether civil wars, colonial policing operations, or later "liberation struggles"—helped generate new military doctrines and practices that increased the state's readiness to use violence against its own subjects, whether that state was being run by communist party cadres or military men.

And who exactly controlled the state turns out to be the crucial issue: Hitler's Germany and Stalin's Russia—for all that historians and political scientists have sought to demonstrate the apparently anarchic character of their bureaucracies—differed from most other countries in the past precisely because of the relative orderliness, ambit, and coherence of their state machinery. There are, at the other end of the spectrum, instances of mass violence where the state is either entirely absent or an onlooker. The state, for instance, was often virtually absent in settler colonies, leaving settlers to battle it out with indigenous peoples for control of land and resources. As we can see in the case of North America and Australia, the great technological imbalance between European colonists and their opponents often resulted in massacres or forced population movements, which the colonial state then had to respond to, after the event, through its judicial or administrative machinery. Nor is the situation entirely different today in some of the more remote and inaccessible parts of South America and South Asia, where indigenous peoples continue to find themselves faced with violence at the hands of settlers and the agents of economic interest groups. Indeed, the neglect by most historians of the whole issue of political violence directed against indigenous peoples underscores the need to move away from an overtly state-dominated understanding of mass violence.[32]

Rather more common, and more lethal, is the situation in which a weak state vies to preserve its existence in the face of the threat of organized violence from armed insurgents. There, both sides utilize violence and may generate their own doctrines or rationales for it. During the Cold War, such struggles were often described in terms of the broader cosmic conflict then under way between communism and anticommunism. But the problem of weak states has not disappeared with the collapse of European or Soviet communism, and the high levels of

[32] A case study is Mark Levene, "The Chittagong Hill Tracts as a Case Study in the Political Economy of Creeping Genocide," *Third World Quarterly* 20 (Spring 1999): 339–69.

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violence against civilians that result remain a fact of life in eastern Africa, the Philippines, and elsewhere.

Although events since September 11 have reinforced elite fears in the West—already visible since the end of the Cold War—that future political challenges are indeed going to emanate not so much from established states as from fissiporous and unstable states that offer refuge to, or may indeed be taken over by, groups of terrorists, writing the state's obituary, as some are already doing, is surely also premature. The war against Afghanistan has been justified largely in such terms. Is it possible, then, that we stand at the beginning of a new era, in which the capacity to commit violence on a large scale passes from states to terrorists? Amid all the hype, it may be prudent to recall the difference between violence and terror: it may well be that more civilians have been killed in Afghanistan by military forces allied to the United States in the war against the Taliban than were killed on September 11 in the USA; more Palestinians have certainly been killed by the Israeli Defense Forces in the past two years than Israelis have been killed by suicide bombers. Terrorists rely on terror, such as that spread—more effectively than death—by the anthrax attacks in the USA, but the ability to use overwhelming force still remains in the hands of technologically advanced states. We need not to write off the violent state but to understand better what it does and how it behaves. And to do this, we will need to abandon the very partial and highly Eurocentric version that still dominates the agenda in contemporary history of what counted in the century that has just passed.[33]

[33] On the transformation of the contemporary state in the international order, see Philip Bobbitt, *The Shield of Achilles: War, Peace, and the Course of History* (London, 2002). On Israeli/Palestinian casualty totals, see B'Tselem, *Fatalities in the Al-Aqsa Intifada, Data by Month: 29 September 2000–11 August 2002*, available on the World Wide Web at http://www.btselem.org under "Statistics," Monthly Tables. On civilian casualties in Afghanistan, see Marc W. Herold, *A Dossier on Civilian Victims of United States' Aerial Bombing of Afghanistan* (revised version available online at http://www.cursor.org/stories/civilian_deaths.htm); and Carl Conetta, "Operation Enduring Freedom: Why a Higher Rate of Civilian Bombing Casualties," Project on Defense Alternatives (PDA), *Briefing Report* 11, revised, January 24, 2002, available online at www.comw.org/pda/0201oef.html.

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Reviews of Books

METHODS/THEORY

MARC VAN DE MIEROOP. *Cuneiform Texts and the Writing of History*. (Approaching the Ancient World.) New York: Routledge. 1999. Pp. vi, 196. Cloth $65.00, paper $22.99.

Since his early work on the craft texts from Isin, Marc Van de Mieroop has gradually moved away from the primary publication of cuneiform tablets to a far more reflective form of scholarship, as exemplified in his treatise on *The Ancient Mesopotamian City* (1997). In this book, he aims to "point out some of the current approaches" to "various areas of historical research," "and indicate what ways of investigation seem promising . . . in yielding historical insight" (p. 4). After a brief introduction to the main literary genres represented in the cuneiform sources, Van de Mieroop tackles "history from above," where he concerns himself with political history, as told mainly from annalistic accounts. The redaction of those accounts—"Narratives of campaigns were . . . constantly rewritten," he reminds us (p. 47)—was anything but straightforward, and contradictions between different editions abound. Van de Mieroop skillfully shows how the traditions associated with the third millennium ruler Sargon of Agade "were . . . manipulated in the first millennium to reflect contemporary events" (p. 74), and how more than one modern scholar has been led to ascribe a certain veracity to these late traditions simply because of the narrative form in which they appear. Since Western scholars, in particlar, often express a predilection for narrative history, Van de Mieroop argues (p. 78), the late traditions about Sargon's birth and life are not considered suspect, even though annalistic accounts—terse statements reporting an event in a given year of a king's reign—are far more common in ancient Mesopotamian sources and far less susceptible to literary embellishment than narrative ones.

"History from below" is another approach examined by Van de Mieroop. Acknowledging that the vast majority of Mesopotamia's ancient inhabitants were illiterate, he argues that "The silent subjects of history can be seen only when their lives intersected with those of writers" (p. 89). Here Van de Mieroop shows how rich economic texts and archives are, many of which are dated. He singles out, as an exemplum, the case of an Assyrian merchant resident in Anatolia. The family correspondence between the Assyrian trading post at Kanesh and the merchant's associates at the Assyrian capital of Assur provides a wealth of detail about the merchant's movements, property, family, and personal problems. Economic texts also throw into relief the lives of individuals touched by war, imprisonment, and subsequent hardship. Debt and inheritance can be traced in individual families over time. But as Van de Mieroop argues, the lacunae in the documentation are such that the scholar who would seek to reconstruct such "history from below" must operate with certain models in mind. "For instance, in the case of the Murashu archive [a fifth-century family firm at Nippur, in southern Mesopotamia, which flourished from 455 to 416 B.C.], one has to assume that warfare based on a system of military levies of tenant farmers would cause disruption of these people's lives when troops were raised. This presupposes a certain rationality behind the system of military levy combined with agricultural tenancy, a logic that cannot be documented" (p. 104).

Economic history per se is also examined in detail, particularly the Marxist and non-Marxist as well as "primitivist" and "modernist" perspectives variously applied, consciously or otherwise, to the analysis of the ancient Mesopotamian economy. Max Weber, Karl Polanyi, Leopold von Ranke, M. I. Finley, and other economic theorists are all discussed, but there are no easy answers—rather a plethora of contradictions. As Van de Mieroop suggests, "The wish to promote the free entrepreneurs of Mesopotamia [i.e. by modern historians] as the driving force of that economy is, I believe, driven by a desire to see in the past a fulfillment of present dreams. On the other hand . . . economic actors could, and did, behave in ways we see as similar to contemporary capitalist behavior" (p. 122). As an example, Van de Mieroop offers an extended discussion of cereal agriculture at Lagash during the Ur III period [2100–2000 B.C.] (pp. 123–37).

Van de Mieroop's final topic is "gender and Mesopotamian history." While there have been any number of fairly straightforward attempts to document the

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presence of women in one or another domain—from burials to artistic representations—Van de Mieroop's discussion shows a far greater familiarity with feminist literature and gender issues than most of what was available on this subject prior to the appearance of *Women of Babylon: Gender and Representation in Mesopotamia* by Zainab Bahrani (2001).

In conclusion, Van de Mieroop has written a stimulating book that historians will find as interesting as Assyriologists, ancient historians, and archaeologists do. His reflections are always worth pondering, and he continues to grow in depth as one of our most important scholars of ancient Mesopotamia.

D. T. Potts
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José Rabasa. *Writing Violence on the Northern Frontier: The Historiography of Sixteenth-Century New Mexico and Florida and the Legacy of Conquest.* (Latin America Otherwise: Languages, Empires, Nations.) Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2000. Pp. xiv, 359. Cloth $59.95, paper $19.95.

José Rabasa here brings together six essays on different topics of sixteenth-century conquest and cross-cultural encounters in northern New Spain. The introduction and epilogue provide thematic continuity to these historiographical commentaries, which focus on the problem of violence in historical acts and in the texts and images that convey its import for literary, philosophical, and juridical purposes. Four of these essays were published in earlier versions; the two original compositions constitute the second essay on "The Mediation of the Law in the New Mexico Corpus" and the sixth, "Of Massacre and Representation: Painting Hatred and Ceremonies of Possession in Protestant Anti-Spanish Pamphleteering." Together, these six chapters cluster around two geographical nodes of Spain's northern frontier: New Mexico and Florida. Each is an important site of borderlands encounters—New Mexico, because of its enduring Pueblo cultural legacy, and Florida, because it was the scene of early and violent European rivalries among Spanish, French, and British agents—but both remain outside the main arena of colonial formation in northern New Spain, where the mining industry, mission pueblos, and presidios supported a sustained history of settlement and cultural hybridity across multiple, contested frontiers.

Rabasa's essays provide thoughtful interpretations of both textual and pictorial artifacts of this formative period of European-Amerindian encounters in the Americas. He offers an exegetical and comparative critique of six different texts, each well known but not typically studied in tandem. Rabasa's study of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca's *Naufragios* and *Comentarios* is focused on "How We Perpetuate the Culture of Conquest." Culling Cabeza de Vaca's rendering of his experiences (and failings) in both northern New Spain and Río de la Plata, Rabasa attempts to dismiss the legitimate use of violence associated with the legal formulation of the *Requerimiento* and the treatises of Bartolomé de las Casas as well as the notion of peaceful conquest ascribed to the narratives of Cabeza de Vaca. An interesting argument, which he develops at some length in this chapter and the following one on the mediation of the law in the early conquest narratives of New Mexico, is that the New Laws of 1542, framed by the *Ordenanzas* of 1526 and 1573, informed the structure and even the language of the chronicles in both their literary and historical content.

Rabasa's third essay on "The Massacre of Acoma in Gaspar de Villagra's *Historia de la Nueva México*" shifts his focus to "aesthetic" descriptions of violent acts, drawing on a wide range of literary references. In this and the two succeeding chapters that are centered on the narratives of the Hernando de Soto expedition and the stark images of horror and destruction they convey, Rabasa elaborates on the purpose of this book, which is best explained in the epilogue. The book's focus is on "writing with violence" and exerting violence on subject peoples. The author critiques selected texts "to examine how writing produces subalternity" and to denaturalize the codes of chronicles and pictorial images of European-American encounters (pp. 278–79). The final essay opens a new dimension of both the aesthetics and the violence of history, as it centers on the textual and pictorial representations of torture attributed to the de Soto and Francisco Pizarro conquests of the Mississippian and Andean polities, respectively, and on Spanish-French violence in the destruction of a Huguenot settlement in Florida, as these figured in the literature of the Black Legend.

All six essays operate at several levels, as Rabasa engages in debate with other postcolonial writers, pointedly with Dipesh Chakrabarty on "The Time of History and the Times of the Gods" (in Lisa Lowe and David Lloyd, editors, *The Politics of Culture in the Shadow of Capital* [1997]), at the same time that he addresses the historical content of the conquest of northern New Spain. To that end, Rabasa requires the reader to follow him through numerous literary and historical citations, including anachronistic references to contemporary episodes of racializing stereotypes, in order to state his particular critique of a given author or literary genre. Such digressions do not strengthen his argument or bestow universal applicability to this collection of essays; rather these asides unravel the historical context and dilute Rabasa's thesis on the uses of violence in historical texts. This remains a historiography of texts, not a history of peoples and cultural processes. As such, Rabasa's lens focuses more on Europeans than on the Native Americans whom he seeks to dignify through a revisionist reading of conquest narratives.

Cynthia Radding
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Pier M. Larson. *History and Memory in the Age of Enslavement: Becoming Merina in Highland Madagascar, 1770–1822.* (Social History of Africa.) Portsmouth: Heinemann. 2000. Pp. xxxii, 414. Cloth $65.00, paper $24.95.

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Pier M. Larson undertakes two tasks: the first, which he thinks of as "the traditional sort," is using archival sources to write a "guild" history of the Madagascar slave trade. The second, much closer to Larson's heart, is taking popular Malagasy *Tantara* narratives as "social memory" and using this evidence "creatively and critically" (p. 164) to account for the emergence of the Merina kingdom and a Merina collective identity at the time of the slave trade. Larson's preference for social memory reflects his wish to reverse the trend in the writing of African history that he claims, fairly, has been based almost exclusively on archival (i.e. European) evidence to the neglect of Africans' own "memories" or "memorial evidence." Larson regards archival and memorial evidence as "complementary, not equivalent" representations of the past (p. 263), both necessary to reconstruct African history as are "quantitative assessment" and "qualitative work" (p. 282). Larson claims, too, that social memory is the only evidence available to reclaim the past of Africa's own massive, internal slave populations. Their history has been largely omitted from studies of the African diaspora, which, Larson states, "has always privileged the experience of Africans in the Americas over the continent [of Africa]" (p. 269).

The Madagascar slave trade, which between 1770 and 1820 delivered an estimated 70,000 slaves to the French sugar plantations on the Mascarene Islands (Mauritius, Réunion, Rodriguez), drew its slaves mainly from the central Malagasy highlands. Brought down to the eastern coastal belt by French and Malagasy traders, about 1,400 slaves annually were exported from a half-dozen small ports. Most slaves were young men in their late teens or twenties who had been captured in raids by rival entities or rendered up by increasingly corrupt elites. Women and children churned up by the same process, as well as imported in a west-coast-to-east-coast trade drawing slaves from the East African mainland into Madagascar's highland commerce, explain the "dramatic increase in the number of slaves held domestically" in the highlands (p. 122).

During this half-century of human traffic, the highland kingdom of Imerina (Merina) became a major raiding state. Founded by King Andrianampoinimerina, with his capital at Antananarivo, Merina's emergence is regarded by Larson as a response to the breakdown in the moral order occasioned by slave trading and represents a successful attempt at protecting its citizens from rival states, prohibiting their enslavement or exploitation by wealthier internal elites themselves capitalizing on silver-based commercial opportunities, enforcing a uniform legal/moral code that respected territorial descent groups (*firinema*), and creating a new notion of being Merina based on a "new and socially conscious ancestral order within the kingdom" (p. 177). Andrianampoinimerina was popular because his reign addressed the moral dilemma caused by the trade and enabled his followers to create a moral community while participating in the trade itself. In Larson's view, Merina represents a rejection of slavery and belongs in the discussion of abolitionist thought, another Western scholarly preserve.

Paradoxically, the Malagasy have suppressed any mention of slavery or the slave trade in their voluminous *Tantara*, in which Andrianampoinimerina looms mythically like his contemporary, George Washington (and whom Larson likens to the Merina king). Larson explains the *Tantara*'s "historically produced silence" (p. 37) as necessary in order to press the "narrative of Andrianampoinimerina into the services of *firinema* interests and autonomy" (p. 264). In other words, *firinema* were reshaped and revitalized as a result of domestic slavery and slave trading, whereas before Andrianampoinimerina, *firinema* were losing their members and territories. The difference appears to have been made up with slaves. But Larson does not say so.

Larson cannot use the *Tantara*, or archival sources either, to describe domestic slavery in Imerina. What interests him rather are social transformations within the Merina kingdom during the slave-trade era. Free women who went from being craft-based producers to agriculturists are a particularly interesting case. The reader is left to imagine, however, what differentiated free women in this regard or any other from the female domestic slave population. Apart from his reference to *mainty* (slaves, lit. blacks) as a lowly social status, Larson provides no information or discussion of what it meant to be a slave (male or female) in Merina. His claim, therefore, that his book will help to "exorcise historical amnesia . . . in memory of the forgotten" (p. 46) is compromised by the invisibility of slaves in his work. Such a shortfall weakens, too, his criticism of Africa's historians for having neglected slaves' stories because they have produced archival-based studies.

Where Larson's study does break valuable ground is in demonstrating convincingly how in precolonial Madagascar ethnicity was constructed. His is a major challenge to the prevailing notion that "tribalism" was a colonial phenomenon.

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WILLIAM M. REDDY. *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2001. Pp. xiv, 380. $Cloth 69.95, paper $24.95.

In this ambitious, brave, and important book, William M. Reddy addresses three disciplines: psychology, anthropology, and history. He is kindest to the psychologists, one strand of whose recent work on the cognitive nature of emotions he incorporates into his own theory of feeling. The anthropologists come in for some affectionate reprimands: their social constructionist stance does not allow them to account for change, while their relativism prevents them from judging societies and advocating political goals. As for the historians, Reddy reproaches them for an in-

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grained Cartesian dualism that pits reason against feelings, allowing "reason" to win. Reddy's book shows how this very stance of modern historians is itself historically determined, part of the French postrevolutionary "erasure" of a theory of the emotions ("sentimentalism") that saw reason and emotion working together, but in such a way as to lead to deleterious consequences and thus to emotion's rejection.

Reddy begins with a dense introduction to some of the recent issues and trends of cognitive psychology. He is particularly influenced by a 1989 article by psychologists Alice Isen and Gregory Diamond that concluded that "[affect] can be understood as a deeply ingrained, overlearned habit" (quoted on p. 16). (In Reddy's hands, affect, feeling, and emotion are interchangeable terms.) The emphasis here is on "learned": for Reddy, emotions are not just cognitive "appraisals" leading to "action readiness" (a simplified version of the definition adopted in the most recent *Handbook of Emotions*, ed. Michael Lewis and Jeannette M. Haviland-Jones, 2d ed. [2000], pp. 62–64) but rather are "goal-relevant activations of thought material that exceed the translating capacity of attention within a short time horizon" (p. 128). Reddy thus emphasizes emotions' relationship to individual (and collective) goals as well as their capaciousness. No one can ever at any one time fully know the content of an emotion, because emotions are always protean and in the process of formation.

Reddy's major contribution to the theory of emotion is his concept of "emotives." If "performatives" are words that *do* things ("I now pronounce you man and wife"), emotives—the words that we use to talk about our emotions—are terms with transformative impact on both the self and others. A declaration of love will reinforce the very feeling, or call it into question, or lead to other feelings; it will quite certainly move the listener. The concept of emotives allows Reddy to slip the hold of relativism: if emotions are real and if they are expressed through emotives, then we can (and must) evaluate social and political regimes by the emotives they permit. The best societies tolerate emotional experiment and indeterminacy, while the worst induce "emotional suffering" by insisting that emotions be expressed in a certain way or mean a certain thing.

Turning from theory to history, Reddy looks at the period bracketing the French Revolution. In the eighteenth century, he argues, Enlightenment rationalism did not hold sway; rather "sentimentalism" was the order of the day. Sentimentalism saw emotions as the purest and highest of human expressions, the source of moral thought and action. Born in reaction against the highly constricted politesse of the court, sentimentalism flourished in what Reddy calls "emotional refuges": salons, Masonic lodges, affectionate marriages (see p. 149), as well as on the stage and in popular novels. When the French Revolution swept away the court, people drew on the habits learned (or, indeed, "overlearned") in these refuges; they shared goals and thoughts—hence feelings—that allowed them to, for example, establish almost overnight an effective volunteer army inspired by "ardent patriotism." At the same time, however, the notion that "natural" emotion and virtue were united gave a dualist cast to every political decision. There could be no compromise; policies had to stem from "the heart," and those who opposed any such policy must be evil. Hence the Terror. Nor was the horror of this period just the guillotine; the horror was the emotional suffering that people felt as the idiom of sentimentalism—the only emotives the new regime allowed—seemed more and more hollow in the face of fear, guilt, and doubt.

The reaction after 1794–1795, then, was a rejection of sentimentalism, at least in the political arena. Now (masculine) reason became the official motivator of public action, and the old emotional idiom was relegated to the home or to art and literature. Emotions were associated with the sublime on the one hand, weakness and frailty on the other. But this allowed emotives freer play; one could explore the self and feelings without fear of being "wrong." Reddy sees in this fact the foundation of both the stability (relatively speaking) of the nineteenth-century social and political order and the reduced "emotional suffering" that it caused. The revolution ultimately did usher in a new era of liberty: the emotional liberty that all human beings need to navigate through life.

This is an original argument, one that should suggest new issues and conceptual tools to historians of every sort. Nevertheless, as Reddy's approach is absorbed into the historian's craft, it will no doubt require some tinkering. The slippery character of emotions themselves suggests that no one theory is going to work for all periods and all modes of expression. Reddy's "emotives" privilege words over other forms of emotional behavior, but in some cultures (for example, that of medieval Iceland) reddening, trembling, and swelling play a more important role than utterances. Moreover, Reddy's postulate of "emotional regimes"—eased only by "emotional refuges"—is problematic. It seems tailor-made for modern centralized states, but even here it may overlook varieties and localisms. Is it not likely, for example, that eighteenth-century salons, marital beds, and law courts—let alone the homes of the laboring poor (the latter a point raised by Reddy himself)—constituted their own emotional communities, whose relations to the emotives prescribed by "sentimentalism" (or courtly civility, for that matter) varied? That Reddy's book invites such questions—and new research to answer them—is, however, no weakness but a mark of its signal value to the historical profession.

BARBARA ROSENWEIN
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ROSEMARY MITCHELL. *Picturing the Past: English History in Text and Image 1830–1870.* (Oxford Historical

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Monographs.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2000. Pp. xi, 314. $85.00.

Rosemary Mitchell's impressive study of nineteenth-century popular history and historical fiction provides a welcome reminder of their significance in the formation of contemporary British national identity. Historians of British political culture have tended to ignore the impact of popular history on the construction of the Victorian vision of the national past, but Mitchell convincingly argues that the existence of a broader readership for history—in both factual and fictional forms—led to the "development of a historically-minded mass audience" by century's end (p. 2). We must, she asserts, approach Victorian perceptions of the past in a more "catholic" way, looking at illustrations as well as texts, fiction as well as nonfiction, low-brow books as well as high-brow ones, if we are truly to understand how ordinary middle-class people saw the evolution of their nation. This approach allows Mitchell to give new stature to works such as William Harrison Ainsworth's *The Tower of London* (1840) and *Windsor Castle* (1843), which served as the advance guard for the heritage and historic preservation movements. Charles Knight's *Popular History of England* (1855–1862) and Agnes and Elizabeth Strickland's *The Lives of the Queens of England* (1840–1848), meanwhile, become precursors to the development of social history and women's history respectively.

The chapter encompassing the Stricklands along with a number of other works by female authors and by and large about female historical figures is particularly strong, dovetailing nicely with recent scholarly efforts to complicate the "separate spheres" model that once dominated Victorian women's history. Although women writers were frequently forced to acknowledge the supposed weaknesses of the female sex in order for their works to see the light of publishing day, they also "exploited the idea of separate spheres to . . . write women into national history and even to mount a criticism of male historical roles and values." Women authors were thus able "simultaneously to conform to and to subvert both the domestic ideal of womanhood and the traditional historical narrative, in which women played only a marginal role" (p. 168).

In dealing with such relatively unfamiliar material, Mitchell does not overstate her case: she assesses her authors forthrightly, promoting a reconsideration of their strengths but also taking into account their weaknesses. Only occasionally is she guilty of making too sweeping a claim, such as when she announces that, in reference to Knight's works, "there can be no doubt . . . that they reflected and refuelled the dominant political, social, and economic preconceptions of the early Victorian middle classes" (p. 116). Mitchell is also able to convey a genuine, and in many ways well-founded, sense of regret for the decline of the "picturesque" reconstructions of the past embraced by mid-Victorian readers that depended on evocative narratives to create a feeling of immediacy and empathy. The rise of "scientific" history in the second half of the nineteenth century, she suggests, offered greater accuracy and objectivity, but at a price: the loss of interest in much historical scholarship on the part of a broad, nonacademic audience. The heavy burden of the demand for authenticity continues to weigh historians down; potentially compelling narrative must be qualified, quantified, and extensively footnoted in order to demonstrate the archival diligence and scholarly attainments of its authors.

Valuable as most of Mitchell's work is, there are a few difficulties. Two middle chapters—on John Lingard's pro-Catholic *History of England* (1819) and William Makepeace Thackeray's cynical attitude toward the contemporary vogue for historical fiction—seem out of place, focusing as they do on the subversion rather than the construction of mainstream Protestant, bourgeois values. (At the very least, their iconoclasm should have been better explained and accounted for.) The relationship of text and image, for all of Mitchell's efforts to illuminate it, remains stubbornly murky: she is able to establish that illustrations often reflected authorial intentions and changing trends in the publication of historical fiction and nonfiction, but she cannot show them shaping the works to which they were attached in any significant way.

Mitchell, however, has opened up a rich vein for future scholars interested in questions of Victorian national identity, a subject often described as in need of further study but rarely pursued. She has given us much to consider by providing cogent analysis of the genre and form of nineteenth-century popular history. What should follow her efforts are more studies that examine the content of these works. We now know where and how the Victorians got their images—visual and verbal—of the past, but we still need to know what those images looked like.

Stephanie L. Barczewski
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Ann Fabian. *The Unvarnished Truth: Personal Narratives in Nineteenth-Century America*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2000. Pp. xiii, 255. $39.95.

The recent discovery and publication of *The Bondwoman's Narrative*—a nineteenth-century novel that may be the earliest by an African American and the only one written by a former slave—has drawn considerable public attention. In his attempts to document the novel's authenticity and to place it in its historical context, editor Henry Louis Gates, Jr., turned to several scholars for advice, among them Ann Fabian. Fabian provided Gates considerable expertise in analyzing the text's mode of narration, a skill she applies to less glamorous but equally important texts in this book, a cultural history of how ordinary Americans crafted and sold their stories of hardship during the nineteenth century.

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Fabian's book examines the tales of beggars, convicts, ex-slaves, prisoners, and others to explore cultural authority, veracity, and the nature and function of print media as the United States was shifting to a market economy. The origin of Fabian's work lies in her fascination with "Long Island Lolita" Amy Fisher, a recent tabloid sensation who discovered that the only asset she could hawk from jail was her story. Fabain links this contemporary instance to the nineteenth-century past, showing how "the very possibility of telling tales based on experience has been a refuge for the weak and ruined, a means for those deprived of power, authority, and education to come before the great public" (p. xii).

Her text, therefore, serves several goals. As a historical treatise, it points us to neglected sources for locating versions of America's past, providing a "key to both our myths about ourselves . . . and to our national literature." As a work of literary analysis, Fabian's text uncovers multiple and competing strategies in narrative discourse. And as a work of cultural commentary, it "provides us with an opportunity to explore conflicts over truth and authority, art and honesty, assertion and deference" (p. 7) as it unpacks the social consequences of literary acts when seen from the perspective of those who are not traditionally accorded the status of history makers. Fabian shows us how history is made from the bottom up and that to neglect these stories is to miss a crucial aspect of American character.

The economies of survival link all the narratives that Fabian examines. Turning their misadventures into commodities helped beggars, convicts, slaves, and prisoners not just to transform their practical lives but also to acquire a kind of provisional cultural authority. By bringing the experience of socially marginal folk into the realm of the culturally central act of writing, the texts Fabian explores force us to reconsider modes of representation and sources of authority in American life. She also demonstrates how these stories changed not just the lives of the particular individuals involved but acted on public consciousness, encouraging society to reconsider its perceptions. The results of this change were surprisingly wide ranging, from crude (generating the realm of tawdry talk shows and tabloids) to sublime (sustaining and illustrating the goals of the abolitionist movement). Fabain even demonstrates how unvarnished tales that "supported writers and moved readers" (p. 174) left their mark on classic literature, citing Herman Melville, Jack London, and John Greenleaf Whittier as examples.

Among the genres of popular writing considered by Fabian, the best known is the slave narrative. Here the issues that come into play when considering "unvarnished" tales achieve their most dramatic and consequential expression. While Fabian does not significantly extend our knowledge of the amply documented slave narrative tradition, her illustrations support and amplify the scholarly record and provide a provocative connection between the slave narrative tradition and minstrelsy.

Fabian, however well she exposes and explores the social and historical consequences of tales by ordinary folk, nonetheless acknowledges that in each instance the power valences that were temporarily disrupted eventually reassert themselves. "With every successful exchange of a story, they managed to wrest a little cultural authority from readers, but it was a vexed and contingent authority, dependant on a pose of humility and a pledge to forego art. To be taken as true, every story had to be ratified by those with more evident social or cultural power" (p. 173).

This book is meticulously researched and provides helpful and well-documented commentary. Fabian's writing is clear, precise, and utterly engaging. Her prose style commands both academic authority and literary style. She has created a solid work of scholarship that reads like a page-turner, thereby mimicking in her own text the very point she is making about the works she considers: history is not found in the domain of the elite but in the home of every American. The final truth about American lives—and the power to declare it—resides in the reader who decides if a story can change the world.

KIMBERLY RAE CONNOR
University of San Francisco

REBECCA CONARD. *Benjamin Shambaugh and the Intellectual Foundations of Public History*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press. 2002. Pp. xv, 247. $32.95.

U.S. public history has a complicated relationship to the historical profession. Public historians work both outside and inside academe, as scholars who do original research and as interpreters who prepare exhibits and studies for public audiences. Wherever they are employed, public historians design materials for audiences that range from the most sophisticated reader to the casual visitor or viewer.

In this book, Rebecca Conard examines the historical career of the longtime head of the State Historical Society of Iowa and professor of political science at the University of Iowa. Conard argues that Benjamin Shambaugh's biography provides a lens through which to view the development of the profession of history in the twentieth-century U.S. She places him among the New Historians of the Progressive period. He participated in the work of the American Historical Association's (AHA) Public Archives Commission and the Conference of State and Local Historical Societies, the precursor of the American Association of State and Local History. Conard deftly weaves the early history of the AHA, particularly as it relates to public history and local history, into the context for Shambaugh's life. Shambaugh was also a founding member of both the American Political Science Association (1903) and the Mississippi Valley Historical Association (1907), the predecessor group of the Organization of Ameri-

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can Historians. He edited the journals of both the latter organizations and served each as president.

In addition to his national, predominantly academic activities, Shambaugh was committed to promoting the study of local and regional history, and the ideas of applied history and commonwealth history. Those terms, which he used at different times, Conard notes, "meant essentially the same thing: collecting, preserving, publishing, and using history for the greater good of the state" (p. 4). Shambaugh became a member of the Board of Curators of the State Historical Society of Iowa (SHSI), based in Iowa City, in 1896, and became its superintendent or director in 1907. Shambaugh applied the professional models he had helped to develop on the national level to institutions in his home state. He edited journals and other publications and lobbied for funds, both for his organization and for the State Department of History and Archives in Des Moines. He organized a series of "Commonwealth Conferences," a sort of town hall for the state of Iowa where academics, politicians, business people, and the public formed, in Conard's words, a "complete union of scholarship and public service" (p. 101). Over a period of forty years, he transformed the SHSI from an antiquarian society to a professional, engaged historical organization.

Conard takes an innovative approach to the Shambaugh materials. The central portion of the book is based on direct quotations from a manuscript biography of Shambaugh written by a staff member of the SHSI in the 1940s. In order to preserve the manuscript's immediacy, Conard uses it as a primary document, as if it were a diary, with annotations, explanations, observations, and context supplied by Conard. This works extremely well for the chapters that deal directly with Shambaugh but makes the chapters without such a primary voice a little less lively and immediate.

Conard uses Shambaugh's life and undertakings to map the broader strands of the historical profession as it developed in the twentieth century. She uses Shambaugh's New History approach to the fusing of academic and applied historical work both to discuss the early history of the AHA and its offshoots and to contextualize the further development of public history from the late 1960s to the present. Conard, who is the president of the National Council on Public History, layers disparate strands of public history, including local historians, federal historians, consulting historians, and others. She is very clear about the lack of unanimity among public history practitioners about their relationships with each other and with the wider profession, and she uses Shambaugh's' life as a model for bridging some of the most obvious gaps. As a result, Conard has provided the history profession with a layered narrative of its development and fragmentation or redevelopment over time, and has explored some of the meanings of its own histories.

JANNELLE WARREN-FINDLEY
Arizona State University

PAUL A. SHACKEL, editor. *Myth, Memory, and the Making of the American Landscape*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2001. Pp. xiii, 286. $59.95.

For this collection, editor Paul A. Shackel invited a group of fellow archaeologists and public historians to consider a dozen nationally significant historic sites or monuments with two questions in mind: how has the public meaning of each site changed over time? And how have different groups struggled to impose their particular interpretations on the landscape in question? The result is a lively and accessible collection of case studies that lays bare the ongoing politics of American heritage presentation.

Shackel divides these essays into three, admittedly overlapping categories of collective historical memory, which he terms "exclusionary," "patriotic," and "nostalgic." Exclusionary interpretations come at the expense of subordinate groups whose experiences are masked by mainstream narratives. Patriotic commemorations promote the ideals of cultural leaders and are particularly concerned with advancing the interests of the nation as a whole. Nostalgic renderings of the past may use false or quite selective notions of history to create and sustain a national mythology. All three categories erase or distort aspects of history in the name of group cohesion.

Audrey Horning leads off consideration of exclusionary commemoration with a comparison of two mythic Virginia landscapes: Jamestown Island and Shenandoah National Park. At Jamestown, she argues, archaeological evidence is minutely scrutinized for what it reveals about America's founding moment, although this emphasis obscures the site's long prehistoric past as well as the international character of Jamestown's early population. At Shenandoah, on the other hand, the National Park Service has until recently ignored (or worked to destroy) physical traces left by residents moved from their homes in the 1930s to make way for an artificial wilderness. In a similar vein, Erika Seibert explores the failure of Manassas National Battlefield Park to present an inclusive history of the large and diverse community of black and white farmers who lived within the confines of the now-memorialized battlefield, despite good evidence about their lives. She suggests that tourist stereotypes and an influential southern heritage lobby have kept the park's interpretation firmly focused on the romance of battle rather than the broader social context of the war.

Three further cases in this section illustrate the slow progress of subordinate groups in achieving commemorative recognition. Courtney Workman tells the story of one of the most abused monuments in American national life: the statue commemorating the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment enfranchising American women in 1920. Hampered by an extremely awkward design, the monument has spent much of its existence literally out of sight, hidden away in a Capitol storage room. Janice Dubel documents the struggle of Japa-

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nese Americans to preserve the Manzanar concentration camp in California as a memorial to their internment during World War II, while Gail Brown discusses the stalled efforts to create a national memorial for those killed at Wounded Knee in 1890.

In the next section, three essays analyzing patriotic renderings of the past also suggest how interpretive ambiguity permits multiple readings. Shackel explores the multivalent meanings attached to the Robert Gould Shaw Memorial in Boston, which serves as a tribute to both a white officer and (more recently) the African-American soldiers who fought under his command. Laurie Burgess similarly demonstrates that Arlington National Cemetery can be seen both as a monument to Robert E. Lee and as a dramatic defilement of his home. Rounding out this trio of Civil War case studies is Martha Temkin's discussion of the as-yet unrealized plan to "time-freeze" the landscape of Antietam Battlefield on the eve of the battle, which would radically strip of the site of many on its time-layered references.

The book concludes with four essays that illustrate the power of nostalgia in overwhelming historical complexities. Erin Donovan discusses the recent transformation of Camden Yards in Baltimore from the site of one of the most violent strikes in labor history to a feel-good monument to baseball and the "good old days." Similarly, Matthew Palus explores the intersection of nostalgia, tourism, and class exclusion in the creation and preservation of carriage roads in Acadia National Park. Essays on the birthplaces of George Washington and Abraham Lincoln, by Joy Beasley and Dwight Pitcaithley, show how even patently false renditions of the past can be treasured for the sustaining myths they communicate.

Short capsule summaries cannot do justice to these varied essays, although they may hint at the range of issues raised by the authors. This collection should be of interest to a variety of audiences, ranging from professionals on the front lines of public history battles to scholars interested in vernacular conceptions of the past. It is virtually jargon free and could easily be used with an undergraduate class or a public audience to introduce the complexities of historical interpretation in a pluralistic society.

ELIZABETH A. PERKINS
Centre College

CECELIA TICHI. *Embodiment of a Nation: Human Form in American Places*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2001. Pp. xii, 303. $39.95.

Cecelia Tichi's accomplished interdisciplinary study examines the way in which the human body becomes implicated in American geographical experience at a variety of different levels: as embedded representation; as organizing metaphor, often lurking beneath the surface of representation; and as a theoretical construct receiving conscious treatment. It ranges chronologically from the first flickerings of the national parks movement in the 1830s to recent debates on pollution and social segregation; its sources include topographical pamphlets, medical treatises, educational materials, and environmental tracts as well as autobiographies, novels, poems, paintings, photographs, music, and media appearances. Successive chapters deal with Mount Rushmore (white male monumentality and the sublime); Walden Pond ("earth's eye," the icon of counter-cultural America); Yellowstone (at once "nature's heart" and, in the clockwork pulsations of "Old Faithful," a simulacrum of industrial America); "America's Moon" (the technological imperialism of the lunar landings); the Arkansas Hot Springs and the management and containment of the feminine flow of waters; and, finally, Love Canal, a famous pollution hotspot in upstate New York, read as complicating ecofeminist figurations of the maternal ocean.

In ranging so widely, Tichi risks a certain looseness of connection. The chapter on Henry David Thoreau and 1960s counterculture, for example, connects itself to the previous chapter on Mount Rushmore via the notion of a "phrenological" tradition that celebrates white fathers; this is in turn linked to the passing of the kind of consensus politics typified by Henry Steele Commager's *The American Mind* (1950) and its replacement by disrespect for traditional authority in the work of Malcolm X and Allen Ginsberg. By the end of this chain of argument, one may feel that the notion of embodiment has become something of an allegorical makeshift. But it is a tribute to this book that most of its linkages are more clearly motivated and contextualized. Moreover, it works cumulatively, certain strands of its thinking emerging slowly across different chapters: in particular its engagement with the ecological discourses of the 1960s and beyond, and its exploration of how certain (black) bodies have been excluded from America's geographical self-representation.

Tichi declares in the introduction that her conceptual starting point was her early reading of Perry Miller and Norman O. Brown. The psychoanalytic inflection of the latter, and his constant negotiation between the personal and the political, are less visible in this book, and one can read much of it as a critique of Miller's idea of a geographical imagination that emerges reflexively from the American landscape. Tichi shows instead how often America's geographical imagination is the product of commodification: the Arkansas Hot Springs and the "Craters of the Moon" in Idaho were both packaged as tourist destinations even as they became part of a geographical Columbiad. A closer model for the book, invoked on a number of occasions, is Annette Kolodny's *The Lay of the Land: Metaphor as Experience and History in American Life and Letters* (1975), with its pioneering examination of the gendering of environment description. Tichi's work is richer in its range of reference and in its exploration of the complexity of issues of gendering, race, and embodiment. In fact, where she is closest to Kolodny, her work

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seems less interesting—one hardly needs to be reminded that hunting, shooting, and fishing are "masculinist" activities—and risks a version of Manichean allegory. This danger is particularly evident in the chapter on the Apollo missions, which are depicted as displacing the feminine satellite of love with a masculine, rational worldview. This discussion is followed by an account of Norman Mailer that, while amusing on Mailer's anxieties about the space program's WASP heroes, seems like a free shot at a target who might himself be declared a national monument. The argument here also seems to sidestep questions of what investments women have in technology and the scientific worldview.

But to say this is to risk misrepresenting Tichi's method: the gendering of the moon missions is in fact elicited from the cultural material, however crude, which they generated. In the final chapter, the ecofeminist assumption that the modern, technological world is a man-made creation, and that environmental defense occurs under the sign of the feminine, is itself explored, historicized, and its tropes subjected to examination. In this, the most intricately argued chapter, Tichi discusses Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* (1962) and other texts that meditate on the waters of a feminized ecosphere, figuring Love Canal as a wound that Mother Nature will heal. Tichi places this alongside the more alienated discourse of toxicity, in which the "fix" is itself seen as unavoidably technological, and in which the notion of Mother Nature comes to a point of crisis.

TIM ARMSTRONG
Royal Holloway, University of London

DAVID GLASSBERG. *Sense of History: The Place of the Past in American Life*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 2001. Pp. xvii, 267. Cloth $50.00, paper $18.95.

American culture has been consistently understood in terms of its mobility and its disconnection to place. In this characterization, the United States is a nation driven by restlessness, steeped not in history but in amnesia. Over the past few decades, work by historians and other scholars on questions of collective memory and place has challenged this image. David Glassberg's book takes its place among contemporary histories that emphasize the local and struggle with the questions of the profession itself. What is the relationship of historians to their communities? In what ways do average Americans engage with the past? What do we mean by a "sense of history," and how do people acquire it? How is this different from history as defined by historians?

Glassberg is interested in the grass-roots level at which people understand themselves to be engaging with questions of history and to feel invested in history. His book is a meditation on the meaningfulness of the profession, in which he often speaks of "we" to his fellow historians. He defines a "sense of history" as reflecting "the intersection of the intimate and the historical—the way that past events of a personal and public nature are intertwined, so that public histories often forcefully, and surprisingly, hit home" (p. 6).

Glassberg looks at a range of local engagements with history and has a careful and attentive relationship to local debates and the details of community history. In the best chapters of this book, he examines how a sense of history was created over time in small New England towns or in the early historical societies in California. The book opens with a chapter on a World War I memorial in the small and poor town of Orange, Massachusetts. A statue of a soldier talking to a young boy, the memorial is a pacifist statement that has, over the years, meant different things to its residents and played an important role in local identity. In another chapter, Glassberg examines, through a set of public forums, the ways that residents in several small New England communities understand their towns' character and the organization of place within their towns, and how this differs from that of regional planners. In a final chapter, he examines the early historical societies of California and the movement to create a sense of history in a place that perhaps epitomizes American restlessness and rootlessness. At the turn of the century, Californians such as the Native Sons and Daughters of the Golden West created monuments to the pioneers, but others historicized the Indians. Glassberg shows how these groups created a white history and attempted to negate California's Spanish past. Indeed, in most of these essays, he pays careful attention to the complex roles of race in how the past is constructed and how history is understood.

In many ways, this book is a collection of disparate essays that Glassberg wrote over a ten-year period, and that only marginally cohere. There is some arbitrariness to the selection of these particular places and topics. A short essay on the letters that Ken Burns received in response to his epic PBS series, *The Civil War*, is mildly interesting for what it reveals about the differences between viewers' responses to the show and the criticism it received from historians, but it does not fit well into Glassberg's overall thesis of the role of place in creating a sense of history. Similarly, a short essay on the San Francisco Portolá Festival of 1909 seems to speak to a different set of concerns. I would have liked the author to engage more with some of the broader debates about the politics of history and representation than he does (he is, for instance, dismissive of criticisms of figurative memorials, without fully acknowledging the importance of the debates of representation surrounding such memorials).

At the end of this book, Glassberg talks movingly about the changes in the historical profession that have made the connection of the professional historian to the local more difficult. He discusses how, from the mid-1970s onward, the lack of jobs for new Ph.D.s created a rootlessness in the profession, and it became more difficult for historians to "write from a home

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place" or to identify with a region. This book aims to give a sense of what was lost in the process, and in its attention to what history means at the level of community is testimony to the importance of small gestures, local meaning.

MARITA STURKEN
University of Southern California

JAN SHIPPS. *Sojourner in the Promised Land: Forty Years among the Mormons*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2000. Pp. xiii, 400. $34.95.

Denominational history may seem a benign field from the outside, but once one steps onto the hallowed ground of Methodist, Baptist, or Jewish history, it can become a minefield for the unwary. There are few American groups with a more contentious national and religious history than the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, popularly known as the Mormons. From their early formative days in New York, to their battle-worn days in Illinois, to their heroic trek across the continent, the sect (now an international church based in Utah) has generated tremendous interest and controversy.

Jan Shipps has spent her entire professional career wandering over the Mormon landscape (littered with books and bodies), and this collection of short journalistic pieces and longer scholarly essays attests to her errand into the wilderness. Shipps, a Methodist, is one of a handful of non-Mormon scholars (Mario S. DePillis and Lawrence Foster the others) whose work has found acceptance by believers and nonbelievers alike. She is a self-confessed "Mormon-watcher," and during her forty years observing and writing about the Latter Day Saints she has seen them grow from an insular and parochial body of believers to a cosmopolitan and outward-looking international movement.

For example, in "From Satyrs to Saints," Shipps traces that transformation (from 1860 to 1960) by surveying a broad range of periodicals to show how American perceptions of the church went from negative to positive. In a complementary essay, "From Gentile to Non-Mormon," she shows how the Mormons, not surprisingly, underwent a similar transformation when their adversaries and outside critics cut them more slack and they were forced into closer relations with the world beyond their stronghold in Utah. The most sparkling essay in the collection is Shipps's own reflection on "method" in the scholarly writing of religion, "Remembering, Recovering, and Inventing What Being A People of God Means." In it she ranges widely and eloquently over the "insider-outsider" question, making a plea for careful listening to what the "others" are saying. It must be said, however, that both communicants and historians have been known to lie and that historians have to be wary of both self and subject.

This collection has a curiously postmodern feel about it because Shipps is often preoccupied with "perceptions" and the "media" view of the church. Many of these essays were directed toward a general public quite ignorant of the doctrinal, historical, and internal disputes (the minefield) that have absorbed scholarly interest. Both Mormons and the general public have benefited from her efforts to "explain" these odd fellows to a doubting and often hostile world. To be sure, there are gaps: she has not taken up the "Quinn affair"—the expulsion of the scholar D. Michael Quinn from the church because of his own writings and controversial interpretations, particularly his book on same-sex relations within the church—but she does explore the tortured response of the Mormons to Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, a Mormon and distinguished scholar of colonial America, and to John Brooke's *Refiner's Fire: The Making of Mormon Cosmology, 1644–1844* (1994), a book that rekindled older Mormon suspicions about outsider scholarship even though it won the Bancroft Prize. There is a certain repetition in these essays, with the twin themes of personal journey and professional exploration coming back at the reader all too often.

For Shipps, these forty years of commentary and critical scholarship have convinced her that living with contradictions is at the heart of writing denominational history, and both of her audiences have benefited mightily from her observations and her steadfast scholarship. Her editing of *The Journals of William E. McLellin* (1994), an early Mormon missionary and an important figure in early Mormon councils, stands as a landmark work of scholarship, and this latest book should find a ready audience among the general public and interested scholars.

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COMPARATIVE/WORLD

JOAN-PAU RUBIÉS. *Travel and Ethnology in the Renaissance: South India through European Eyes, 1250–1625*. (Past and Present.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2000. Pp. xxii, 443. $74.95.

In this significant work, Joan-Pau Rubiés takes us back to the European Renaissance and poses questions that have become alarmingly and urgently relevant again at the outset of the twenty-first century. In reflecting on why Europeans in Asia saw what they saw—how they perceived and interpreted human cultural diversity—Rubiés successfully argues that "the rationalist transformation of European culture during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries cannot be explained without the structuring agency of the discourses of travel literature, in all their moral and empirical diversity" (p. 398). Contrary to the book's subtitle, and as Rubieś himself admits, his study is less about southern India than about the European Renaissance from a new perspective, "emphasizing the growth of an analytical discourse about human diversity" (p. x). What makes the book at once unusual and important is Rubiés's inclusion of non-European discourses on travel,

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thereby offering the reader a truly comparatist frame. Consequently, at the core of Rubiés's study is his discontent with the notion that European engagement with the "other" or the geographical non-West was merely hegemonic. Rubiés discards the notion that Europeans travelers were universally voyeuristic and tended to reduce Indians to a purely passive state of being observed.

Rubiés calls his own study a "history of language-games." Unusual as the term is, it proved very useful for this reader, since it accomplished precisely what Rubiés had set out to do: namely, to make wider and more focused the scope of a history of culture or a history of mentalities (p. xiv). In talking about "language-games," he achieves a much more differentiated understanding of travel, seeing it as a complex negotiation of images, whether prejudicial or unfettered by preconceptions.

Rubiés's painstakingly thorough and excellent discussion of the divergent trajectories of religious and secular groups of travelers overcomes the limitations of so-called empirical objectivity. By including and comparing the narratives of missionaries, "curious" travelers, and erudite travelers, he shows their contributions to a distinct discourse within the European system of knowledge. Whereas the more erudite traveler could cast "a net of cosmographical self-referentiality within the body of travel literature," the common travelers could "place the city on a local map and contribute to a reconstruction of native history from native sources, oral or written" (p. 394). The "language-games" that these various travelers played thus led to a complex weave of differences and similarities, both real and invented, between the European world and the non-European.

Significantly, Rubiés investigates how travelers found similarities in kingship structures to serve as an organizing focus for them, albeit within the logic of European tradition. For example, Ludovico de Varthema ("the curious traveler") concludes that the king of Narsinga is good because "the aim of political power is the peace that brings prosperity, and because the king of Narsinga offers that . . . despite the fact that the human community he governs is idolatrous and worships the devil" (p. 150). European travelers were thus both impressed and repulsed by the recognition of similar structures of power such as those manifested in the royal courts of southern India. Despite a willingness to adjust and, if necessary, change their preconceptions and prejudices about another culture, these European travelers were guided by the fact that "there was no safe alternative to the universalistic claims of Christianity" (p. 160).

Some of Rubiés's observations merit more detailed mention here because they add to the rich complexity of postcolonialist discourse. In one of them, he talks about the important difference between India and other non-European countries from the European traveler's point of view: namely, that India was very fragmented, unstable, and had a great diversity of kingdoms and provinces, and hence it was impossible for the sixteenth-century European traveler to gain a clear, coherent image of this region. In another observation, he explains why Indians were depicted so negatively in the earlier Renaissance narratives about Asians. The answer lay partly in the difficulties that European missionaries encountered when attempting to proselytize Hindus. Those Indians who allowed themselves to be evangelized came more often than not from very poor communities or very "low" castes, and hence their conversion was regarded as a limited success: "A success so limited that in many ways it amounted to failure was an important problem for European identity, especially for the missionaries themselves" (p. 8).

Rubiés defines travel narratives of the European Renaissance as "pre-orientalistic," precisely because in them there were no universal claims about the unchallenged supremacy of the European Christian tradition. Thus, fundamentally similar naturalistic and historical narrative assumptions could be found in Muslim, Hindu, and Christian sources alike (p. 396). One of the many achievements of Rubiés's book is that it does not close the debate but rather furthers it, leaving the reader with ample pointers to follow up on those questions. The one caveat this reader has is that Rubiés does not include gender as a category of analysis; there is no interrogation of the politics of construction of gendered narrative and its reception. Given the almost unmanageable vastness of the material that Rubiés has analyzed with such thoughtfulness and erudition, however, this caveat is extremely minor!

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Middlebury College

DAVID R. ABERNETHY. *The Dynamics of Global Dominance: European Overseas Empires, 1415–1980*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2000. Pp. viii, 524. $35.00.

It has been nearly four decades since any author has attempted a serious and systematic historical overview of the processes by which the states of Western Europe were transformed from peripheral regions flanking the great agrarian core civilizations of Afro-Eurasia into global hegemons. In view of the truly daunting number of first-rate studies on colonialism that have appeared since the British historian D. K. Fieldhouse published *The Colonial Empires: A Comparative Survey* in 1965, David B. Abernethy's extended exploration is both impressive in its ambitious coverage and path breaking in its rigorous, and much more fully comparative, analysis of some of the central themes in early modern and modern global history. Rather than being intimidated by the size, diversity, and complexity of the historiography on colonialism, Abernethy puts to good use the many fine surveys of each of the colonial empires and the wealth of more specialized, monographic studies on specific areas that have been pro-

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duced since Fieldhouse wrote his at times polemical—but largely narrative—account.

Abernethy considerably extends the temporal and geographical reach of his analysis to encompass the early centuries of Western European expansionism, where he stresses developments in the settlement colonies of the Americas, and the decades of decolonization from roughly the beginning of the twentieth century, in which he focuses on the tropical dependencies in Africa and Asia. Rather than the standard division of this half millennium into an age of overseas expansion and an era of high imperialism, Abernethy identifies five major periods of alternating colonial advance and retreat on the part of the European powers. Each phase is demarcated by what he argues, with varying degrees of persuasiveness, were decisive political and (often) military turning points. Rather than a descriptive history of the myriad permutations of the colonial experience in different regions in each of these periods, Abernethy, whose disciplinary grounding is in political science rather than history, strives—with considerable success—to discern broad patterns within each time frame and, perhaps more importantly, among phases and across the epoch of European global expansionism as a whole. Particularly revealing are his comparisons of the patterns of colonial contraction in phases two and five, where he demonstrates often striking underlying similarities between sources of dissent and modes of resistance in quite distinct colonial settings, such as British North America and Britain's empire in South Asia.

Although Abernethy's comparisons are systematic and carefully thought out, his five-stage framework and his fundamentally Eurocentric approach to colonial dynamics raise problems at a variety of levels. To begin with, the scant attention he devotes to the global watersheds of the First and Second Industrial Revolutions results in the neglect of critical organizational, material (including epidemiological), and ideological factors that, as much as and often more than those he stresses, account for variations over time, particularly between the early centuries of expansion and the postindustrial nineteenth and twentieth centuries. His European orientation causes him to miss the expansive nature of numerous imperial systems, from China to Mesoamerica, from the fourteenth to the seventeenth and even into the eighteenth century, which is so cogently detailed in David Ringrose's recent study of *Expansion and Global Interaction, 1200–1700* (2001). Abernethy's neglect of non-European colonial powers, including the United States, Japan, and Russia, in the later phases results in a rather skewed and incomplete survey of the age of high imperialism and the highly variable trajectories of decolonization. His somewhat surprising emphasis on class markers means that racial issues and especially gender factors are frequently marginalized or altogether ignored.

Most of the case study examples and broad patterns of the colonial interaction that are the persisting and defining features of this book will be familiar to historians who specialize in the history of colonialism. But Abernethy's original approach to periodization and his often novel juxtaposition of events and themes seldom connected should prompt reflection and reassessments on the part of even the most seasoned observer. Above all, his wide-ranging and often imaginative analysis of recurring dynamics in seemingly discrete historical encounters should prove invaluable to nonspecialists striving to incorporate European overseas expansion and colonial hegemony into courses on early modern and modern global history.

MICHAEL ADAS
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PATRICK GRIFFIN. *The People With No Name: Ireland's Ulster Scots, America's Scots Irish, and the Creation of a British Atlantic World, 1689–1764*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2001. Pp. xv, 244. Cloth $55.00, paper $19.95.

Among the noncanonical "three traditions" of Irish culture, the Anglo-Irish have done best in the literature on the Irish diaspora, as they have been almost completely ignored. The Catholic Irish have been next: the subject of a huge literature, mostly sectarian and blinkered but containing some gems of scholarship. The Ulster Scots (the Scots-Irish of U.S. historiography) have been the worst treated. Either they have been excluded on the basis of their religion from the Irish diaspora texts, or their own material, especially in the United States, has been notable for its narrowness of vision and meanness of spirit. Thus, this small book, really a primer, by Patrick Griffin is a much-needed lifeline. It provides both an explicit conspectus of the Ulster Scots in America and an implicit prospectus of work that needs to be done. That Griffin is able to accomplish this without wasting a word and with tough, sensible interpretations makes his achievement all the more remarkable.

In part, Griffin's book is so successful because he understands that the historian of any diaspora has a dual responsibility: to the homeland and to the new land. Privileging either of these distorts the picture. Thus, he gives nearly half of his study to dealing with the Ulster Scots on their own ground: not as Americans in waiting but as members of an Irish culture that had an integrity of its own, and one that maintained its character even with the migrants gone. He is particularly good in dealing with the east Antrim and east Down Presbyterians, using church records very effectively. In America, he concentrates on the Pennsylvania settlers as they roll awkwardly along the retreating frontier. Moreover, Griffin is admirably sensitive to and respectful of the protean identity of these people. He does not use apodictic categories of nationality—Scottish, Irish—to categorize them. Instead, he shows that they had multiple identities both in the homeland and in America, and that the kaleidoscope of these identities rotated frequently. Finally, this book works

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so well because Griffin is not afraid to deal with religion as an agent and reagent of ethnic identity. His story on the American frontier is especially fascinating, for he gives us the first part of the story of how the Ulster Presbyterians eventually became the spine of the Southern Baptists.

As a prospectus for future work, Griffin, in (quite sensibly) focusing on the period between the Glorious Revolution of the British Isles and the American Revolution, implicitly tells us that the next stages will bracket this book. The first, pre-1690 work on the Ulster Scots and their diaspora will be very difficult. They were part of the flow to the British West Indies in the era when that, rather than mainland America, was the chief destination of out migrants; and so there was a stream of Ulster Presbyterians who entered mainland American society as Caribbeans.

They are a fascinating bunch, although hard to trace. The second, post-1790 work is easier but still remains to be done. Despite the claims of much "Irish-American" historiography, the Ulster Scots continued to migrate to the United States well into the twentieth century, in numbers roughly proportional to their numbers in the home population. Their continuing history demands attention.

Griffin's fine book will stand as a fundamental building block of Ulster Scots and of Scots-Irish historical study if it, and the studies it stimulates, are viewed within a set of related paradoxes: that, despite the seeming identity of "Ulster" and "Presbyterians," the largest religious denomination in Ulster from 1600 to the present has been Catholic; and that, in the United States, recent large data base studies have shown that the majority of people who consider their ethnicity to be Irish—fifty-five percent or more—are Protestant. And it probably has always been that way. Thus, the Ulster Presbyterians on both sides of the Atlantic should only be approached by the most nimble of historians, such as Griffin.

Donald Harman Akenson
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Canada

J. Matthew Gallman. *Receiving Erin's Children: Philadelphia, Liverpool, and the Irish Famine Migration, 1845–1855.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2000. Pp. xii, 306. Cloth $55.00, paper $19.95.

I once had the experience of working with an editor who insisted on selecting a photograph for the dust jacket of my book that was quite at variance with the book's argument. I cannot help but wonder whether J. Matthew Gallman faced something similar. After all, the sesquicentennial of the Great Famine emigration has provided the occasion for a wave of new book titles relating to mid-nineteenth-century Ireland, Irish emigration, and the Irish in the lands that received them. From a publisher's perspective, this is an opportunity not to be missed, and a market-savvy editor may have guided the choice of a title for Gallman's book.

I say this because, beginning with the acknowledgements, the author goes to great pains to clarify that this is not really a book about the Irish famine emigrants. In fact, in just the first chapter or so, Gallman moves Irish immigrants to Liverpool and to Philadelphia farther and farther from the center of his study. He puts this different ways as he seeks to clarify what his book *is* about. This is a book about two cities on either side of the Atlantic addressing "emerging policy dilemmas in the midst of the Irish famine" (p. ix). Or it is an effort "to compare two societies at a crucial moment in their history" (p. 5). Or it is about cities "addressing similar problems at roughly the same time" (p. 5). And do the Irish even have a role to play in this story? Gallman himself asks, "Were the Irish immigrants an *impetus* for reform, or did their presence in fact slow—or divert—processes that were already underway?" (p. 21).

If the centrality of Irish famine immigrants to this study is suspect, the author's research objective is not. Gallman is forthright in indicating that his principal interest is "in the way cities and national governments address a variety of social ills, particularly those affecting the materially disadvantaged" (p. ix). This is a worthwhile object of study whether the Irish were the most prominent among the "materially disadvantaged" or not. In fact, mid-nineteenth-century Philadelphia and Liverpool were accommodating growth anyway, dealing with industrialization, and experiencing new levels of citizen political engagement apart from the arrival of the famine emigrants. Gallman, however, has selected them for comparison not only because of developmental and demographic similarities but because he believes that the "cultures" of the two cities embraced similar views of property and enterprise, of poverty and personal worthiness, and even of disease and the proper arrangement of prisons.

In fact, culture seems be at the heart of Gallman's interests. He wants to know whether Liverpool and Philadelphia responded differently to similar mid-nineteenth-century urban challenges and, if so, whether that was primarily a consequence of "political culture." Gallman makes this inquiry sound a little more complicated than it really is. He offers some discussion of models of historical change in Derek Fraser's The *Evolution of the British Welfare State* (1973) but never really puts them to work. He names another four or five "causal agents hypothesizing links between different circumstances and distinctive national characteristics" (p. 18) but does not develop more than a couple of these. In the end, Gallman really calls upon Alexis de Tocqueville and Frederick Jackson Turner for an interpretive framework. Philadelphia relied more than Liverpool on localism and voluntarism to address urban issues. And the ability to distribute problematic populations—the poor, immigrants, the criminal—out into the hinterland of North America gave Philadelphians an optimism that they could solve problems locally without recourse to the power of the national government that Liverpudlians

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could scarcely imagine. From this, Gallman concludes that "national distinctions" ultimately explain the differences between urban problem-solving in Liverpool and Philadelphia.

The heart of this volume is more informational than interpretive. Gallman deals, serially, with passenger regulation and medical quarantines, poverty and poor relief, epidemics and medical care, sanitary reform, and street violence and public order. Typically, he treats a phenomenon in one city and then moves to the other. There is solid sleuthing in the archives of two cities behind this, and the informational value of the work is real, although the overall interpretation is not remarkable.

Some of the most interesting ideas in this book are buried in asides. Gallman notes that it was not just Anglo-Americans who were adept at voluntarism but that the experience of the immigrant populations in the two cities was materially affected by the superior organizing skills of the Irish and Germans of Philadelphia. Likewise, he offers a brief but pregnant observation about the way in which ethnic and sectarian conflict seems to have been absorbed into the existing English political system but disrupted the American. On the whole, the book makes a useful contribution, but I wonder if there is not as much in these asides as in the catalogue of reformist activities.

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MARY B. ROSE. *Firms, Networks and Business Values: The British and American Cotton Industries since 1750.* (Cambridge Studies in Modern Economic History, number 8.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2000. pp. xii, 352. $64.95.

Mary B. Rose has written a comprehensive and thoughtful overview of the British and American cotton industries from the middle of the eighteenth century until the late twentieth century. Her work is decidedly comparative and argues persuasively that the United States should not be the presumed standard by which to judge British industrial development and decline. Rather than assuming convergence over time in the highly competitive international cotton industry, Rose analyzes the remarkably resilient diversity between American and British manufacturers.

The title of Rose's book highlights the importance she places on understanding the ways in which family ties, social (class) connections, and community cultural values influence business history. She insists that scholars pay careful attention not only to economic factors such as raw material and labor costs, market penetration, and pricing schemes but also to political systems, government policies, and laws. By placing industries and individual firms in this broader cultural and political context, Rose is able to explore key differences in British and American economic development.

One crucial distinction is the vastly different market orientation of the cotton industries on both sides of the Atlantic. The British textile magnates were tied to extensive markets throughout their empire (and later the Commonwealth) for purchasing raw materials and selling finished goods, and thereby subject to all the complexities and uncertainties of imperial foreign policy. The Americans were focused on domestic markets for purchasing raw cotton and selling finished cloth; therefore, they were deeply involved in the machinations of tariff protection and party politics.

Rose also highlights another important difference in the two nations' political systems, governments, and legal codes. The American government, with its federal union of individual states, and a Congress directly elected by popular vote, is far more decentralized and responsive to local interests than the British parliamentary system. And, when local business interests—such as the Boston Associates in antebellum Massachusetts—organize formally or informally and link up with regional voting blocs, these industrialists can expand their ability to influence national economic policy. Meanwhile, the British cotton industry was concentrated in Lancashire and had less leverage to influence the more centralized government in London.

Rose's book, especially its conclusion, is a model of clarity and insight into the many economic, political, social, and cultural distinctions between the British and American cotton industries. As a comparative national survey of a major industry, however, this is a book that works mainly on the macro level of analysis. Much of the research is based on secondary and published primary sources, and Rose does not get her hands dirty in the archival details of specific firms or industrialists. The narrative can be rather bloodless at times; there are few individual historical actors or agents in this monograph. Although Rose maintains her focus on family firms, community networks, and political struggles, the human drama of business culture and strategic decision making is often stated in terms of broad forces and influences without exploring the actions of particular individuals and firms.

In the end, specialists will find many familiar stories in Rose's overview of how the American and British cotton industries emerged, flourished, and eventually declined. And many readers may find some of her discussion of politics, culture, and society frustratingly indeterminate. Yet, as an exercise in synthetic thinking about how a major industry has developed over nearly 250 years, and the forces behind that historical evolution that stretch far beyond the balance sheet, the book offers analytical explanations that are more complex and more sensible than those of most previous scholars. Rose's broad view of the economic, political, social, and cultural contexts of industrial change should certainly encourage other historians to apply this same intellectual vision to other businesses in modern Britain and America.

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ROBERT J. STEINFELD. *Coercion, Contract, and Free Labor in the Nineteenth Century*. (Cambridge Historical Studies in American Law and Society.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2001. Pp. xi, 329. Cloth $59.95, paper $22.95.

Robert J. Steinfeld's new book begins with a stimulating attack on the typology that separates different legal forms of labor—chattel slave, serf, contract, and "free" wage—into discrete, timeless historical types. It proposes that all forms of labor are forcibly exacted by a scale of "combined pecuniary/nonpecuniary . . . coercive pressures running from severe to mild" that, whether legal or economic, are all commensurable and differ mainly in degree (p. 25). Coercive pressures include penal sanctions, wage forfeiture, hunger, and homelessness, which confront the workers with a choice between work and more or less "disagreeable alternatives" (p. 26).

This thesis promises a work that makes a significant advance on Steinfeld's earlier, innovative *The Invention of Free Labor: The Employment Relation in English and American Law and Culture,1350–1870* (1991), which argued that wage workers were "free" only when they were not compelled to fufill their contracts by penal sanctions. The new thesis, however, incorporates penal sanctions in a spectrum of techniques and conditions that coerce the production of labor.

It is disappointing to find that this boldy asserted and challenging thesis is not the focus of the book, which expands instead on Steinfeld's earlier work; it provides an account of the removal (1823–1875) of penal sanctions in Britain together with an overview of parallel legal struggles in the eighteenth through the early twentieth-century United States.

As Steinfeld's footnotes make clear, this aspect of British labor history is not exactly pioneer research territory. It was brought to light in a masterly article by Daphne Simon, "Master and Servant" (*Democracy and the Labour Movement: Essays in Honor of Dona Tor*, ed. John Saville [1954]) and developed by successive generations of British labor historians. Steinfeld's contribution provides an updated, expansively detailed, discursive account substantially based on the same material, spiced by engaging questions and incorporating new research in parliamentary and judicial records. His conclusion (inescapably) concurs with Simon's: penal sanctions were removed through the pressure of organized labor. What are lost are the voices of this all-important labor movement reflected in its press. This is history as generated primarily by the professional classes.

Steinfeld's focus, however, reveals in gruesome detail just how closely allied MP's, common law court judges, and magistrates were with the employers' own perceived self-interest in maintaining criminal sanctions, thereby keeping the workers unequal before the law "as a different inferior species" to other British citizens (p. 229). The law exposed most manual workers to punishments of up to three months imprisonment with hard labor for breach of contract. The limited official statistics discussed in detail here demonstrate that on average 10,000 workers a year were prosecuted; those convicted were frequently imprisoned and occasionally whipped.

Steinfeld's innovative researches into judicial records show that the magistrates' ready application of these powers, particularly in industrial counties, was firmly backed up for most of the period by the common law courts where contesting interpretations of the Master and Servant Act were adjudicated. Only in the 1840s, a period of intense political and labor agitation, were some liberal interpretations (e.g. to exempt task and piece workers from penal sanctions) made. But employer influence in Parliament secured new legislation to reverse these decisions, and by 1850 the liberal tendencies were all snuffed out. Subsequent rulings expanded the law's application and fostered an interpretation of "mutuality" that relieved employers of any obligation to provide work.

Steinfeld posits that worker frustration with the common law courts helped fuel the attack on penal sanctions. But, as Simon demonstrates, pressure on the workers came primarily from the magistrates, often ignorant of the law and usually prejudiced against them, and from employers keen to suppress trade union activity.

Workers hammered out some solutions under the existing law, bargaining with employers at the workplace, and by the 1860s these included short-term and, in the Scottish coal fields, even "minute" contracts, implementing in effect employment at will, one form of modern free wage labor. But the abolition of penal sanctions was essential to establishing equality before the law and reducing the employers' power.

Steinfeld gives a full account of the complex legal and political battles initiated by Scottish trade unionists in 1863, which generated the massive expansion of the trade union movement crucial to achieving abolition in 1875. It was a significant triumph. By juxtaposing his account of this nineteenth-century struggle with a definition of penal sanctions as one element in a spectrum of coercive methods used to exact labor, Steinfeld implicitly asks: "what is to be done now about all the other 'disagreeable alternitives' currently in use to coerce the workers?"

MARY TURNER
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DONNA R. GABACCIA and FRASER OTTANELLI, editors. *Italian Workers of the World: Labor Migration and the Formation of Multiethnic States*. (Statue of Liberty-Ellis Island Centennial Series.) Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2001. Pp. xvi, 248. $35.00.

This is a collaborative work by eleven scholars, the result of an international project extending over several years and culminating in 1996 with a conference held in Tampa, Florida. The essays reflect scholarship on Italian worker solidarity in Europe, Latin America,

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and the United States and simultaneously address issues of migration, nation building, class structure, and, to a limited degree, gender. (The last will have its own collection in a future volume, edited by Donna R. Gabaccia and Franca Iacovetta.) While most of the essays in the present work are grounded in a specific country, a global perspective runs throughout as the authors show the impact of movements and events that transcend borders. These linkages, plus the careful selection and sequencing of essays by editors Gabaccia and Fraser M. Ottanelli, result in a volume noteworthy for its overall cohesiveness, a quality not always found in edited works. An introduction by the editors provides a concise overview of the volume introducing the three parts that separate the essays along chronological and thematic lines.

The first section relates Italian nationalism and migration and begins with an essay in which Gabaccia examines the migration of political refugees and migrant laborers to Argentina and Brazil before and during the Risorgimento. It was there that they gained an identity with Italy, rather than in the homeland. Giuseppe Garibaldi recruited among them for soldiers in the nation-forming phase of the countries of the La Plata region. Thus began the alliance between republican exiles and laborers. An essay by Fernando J. Devoto follows showing the split among Italians in Argentina, which mirrored the republican-monarchist split in Italy. Only in the 1870s did an Italian community form in Buenos Aires, due in part to the increasing number of Italian migrants, their origin, and a growing Italian business community that necessitated increased contact between the classes.

With this groundwork established, the second section looks at the simultaneous factors of nation building and internationalization of workers as the numbers of migrant laborers increased rapidly in Argentina, Brazil, and the United States. Mirta Zaida Lobato uses *La Patria degli Italiani*, an Italian newspaper in Buenos Aires, to explain and interpret the rapid changes Argentina went through between 1870 and 1920. Nearly three million Italians entered Argentina in the first two decades of the twentieth century. Most settled in the urban areas of Buenos Aires and cities along the Rio de la Plata, providing a receptive environment for socialists, anarchists, and syndicalists. *La Patria* detailed the numerous strikes that followed. It would have been helpful had the author noted how the newspaper covered the victory of Hipólito Yrigoyen, the Radical Party's presidential candidate in 1916, his dialogue with Italian workers, and their role in the "Tragic Week" of 1919. While *La Patria* served as a voice for workers, it also tried to shape their behavior into that of "model citizens."

Carina Frid de Silberstein examines the neglected Argentine countryside and the development of rural unrest, carefully noting its heterogeneous nature, which made political organization difficult. She links her discussion to the previous study with frequent references to *La Patria*'s coverage of rural protests. Labor groups in rural Argentina were heavily influenced by foreign-born activists and constantly split among anarchists, socialists, and moderates. However, after 1930 agricultural issues became irrelevant as Italians flocked to urban areas, soon to be embraced by Juan Perón.

Angelo Trento's essay compliments Silberstein's by reviewing the grim conditions in rural Brazil that caused workers to flee to São Paulo, where Italians made up the country's largest immigrant group in 1900 and "became the backbone of the country's political Left" (p. 102). Among the immigrants were socialists, anarcho-syndicalists, and anarchists, and all played an active role in labor unrest. Trento's focus is on anarchists, and his careful analysis calls attention to their nativist and racist behavior toward Brazilians of African descent. Leftists of varying degrees finally united in opposition to the war in 1917 and the Bolshevik Revolution. But the end for the anarchists was near with a drop in Italian migration, the emergence of the rival Communist Party, and the rise of the authoritarian, populist government of Getulio Vargas.

The two remaining essays in this section focus on the United States. Elisabetta Vezzosi presents four vignettes of "radical ethnic brokers" who left Italy for the United States after the turn of the century. The themes of class, ethnicity, gender, and Americanization emerge in her discussion of Giuseppe Bertelli, Alberico Molinari, Arturo Caroti, and Girolano Valenti. The issues of gender and Americanization continue in Michael Miller Topp's commentary on the Lawrence Strike in January 1912 and the subsequent strike in September. The International Workers of the World (IWW) and syndicalists led a multi-ethnic work force of 20,000, half of whom were women. Gradually an alienation grew between syndicalist leaders and workers, exacerbated by leaders who ignored the vital contributions of women. Syndicalists further hurt their cause with their negative attitude toward the United States at a time when immigrants embraced efforts to Americanize.

In the book's final section, the focus changes to the interwar struggle between fascists and antifascists. Some observers have linked Latin American authoritarian governments of the 1930s and 1940s to a popular approval of fascism. Pietro Rinaldo Fanesi counters this idea by showing how Italians in the La Plata River area maintained their national identity by invoking Garibaldi and rejecting Benito Mussolini's efforts to gain their support. Similarly, Ottanelli demonstrates how antifascism united the several waves of radical Italian immigrants in the United States, giving them a sense of cultural identity at the same time that they identified with the multi-ethnic American working class.

In contrast to Ottanelli's comprehensive piece is Nadia Venturini's focused essay on antifascism in Harlem, an African-American community with a "Little Italy" in its eastern section. Already suffering from socioeconomic tensions arising from the juxtaposition

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of two ethnic groups. Italy's invasion of Ethiopia caused another fracture. African-Americans supported Ethiopia, while the Italian community split between fascists and a small, vocal minority of antifascists. Appropriately, the final essay returns to Europe. Antonio Bechelloni examines the sacrifice made by two generations of Italian Communists who fought in the French Resistance, many becoming martyrs for the cause of justice, equality, and freedom.

This well-balanced collection suggests new areas for scholars as they begin to view other immigrant groups through a transnational lens. As migration continues and ethnic groups join native populations, race will become an increasingly important factor—as Venturini suggests in her essay on Harlem, a model case study for future scholars. For many, the challenge will be the ability to use multilingual sources. Editors Gabaccia and Ottanelli are to be commended for accepting essays in several languages, styles, and formats. They have avoided duplication among the essays and provide variety in scope from the comprehensive work by Ottanelli to the specialized studies of Topp and Venturini. Notes follow each essay giving readers access to sources in Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, French, and English. A consolidated index is included but not a consolidated bibliography of notes.

This stimulating collection suggests new approaches adaptable to several disciplines and provides model essays for the next generation of migration scholars. Its companion volume on the gender issue is eagerly awaited.

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Michael Miller Topp. *Those without a Country: The Political Culture of Italian American Syndicalists.* (Critical American Studies Series.) Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 2001. Pp. ix, 319. Cloth $57.95, paper $22.95.

The generation of Italian radical activists who emigrated, or fled, to the United States during the Progressive era has long been a topic of historical inquiry on both sides of the Atlantic. Having left their country during a particularly conflict-ridden period of Italian history, and reflecting the entire spectrum of radical ideologies that animated the Italian workers' movement, their experiences in the United States intersected with virtually all the organizations that made up the American Left and with the major attempts to organize Italian immigrant workers. Not surprisingly, they have been high on the research agenda of some of Italy's leading Americanists, while at the same time receiving extensive treatment in the works of prominent U.S. immigration historians such as Rudolph J. Vecoli, George E. Pozzetta, and Donna R. Gabaccia, among others.

Students who are familiar with this transnational body of historical literature are not likely to find in Michael Miller Topp's book any major new revelation; his study is based on essentially the same primary and secondary sources used by previous historians. What justifies a new monograph on this subject is the author's in-depth analysis of one subgroup of that generation of radicals: those who sought to keep their home-grown syndicalist principles alive and operative as they confronted the class struggle U.S. style. Moreover, by recasting the experiences of these militants into what he calls "a transnational paradigm," the author has tried to shed new light into the complex behavior of activists constantly in need of redefining their identities as men, as "ethnics," and as revolutionaries. In an important sense, Topp's book compliments very nicely Elisabetta Vezzosi's *Il Socialismo indifferente* (1991), a monograph devoted to the larger and better acculturated component of that generation that converged into the Socialist Party of America.

Who were, then, these men "without a country"? Though never numbering more than a few dozen, their historical visibility in the U.S. political landscape was largely made possible by the organizational vehicle they helped to create, the Federazione Socialista Italiana (FSI), as well as by its official publication, *Il Proletario*. Moreover, the presence in their midst of such charismatic leaders as Carlo Tresca and Arturo Giovannitti, coupled with their key role in the successful and well-publicized 1912 Lawrence strike, certainly enhanced their status within the broader American labor movement. As members of the FSI, these syndicalists participated in some of the major ideological and organizational disputes afflicting the American Left in those years, disputes that regularly spilled over into their own circles and chapters, resulting in schisms, defections, and bitter rivalries.

But if, ultimately, the Industrial Workers of the World afforded these men the organizational structure within which to act out their syndicalist vision, more often than not it was political events unfolding in Italy that engaged their hearts and minds. Perhaps the book's major strength lies in Topp's skillful analysis of the passionate debates carried on by these syndicalists around momentous developments such as Italy's colonial exploits in North Africa, Italian intervention in the Great War, and the dramatic rise of fascism. Topp pays special attention to the language of masculinity in which these debates were often couched, for it allows him to point to a key cultural component of Italian syndicalism that severely hampered organizational practice and that, in his view, was largely responsible for the implosion of the FSI and its subsequent marginalization. Not surprisingly, as Topp and other historians have shown, the virile and increasingly nationalistic ethos of some of those syndicalists found its fulfilment in the Italian fascist movement. Following more critically and insightfully the political itinerary of this latter component of syndicalists might have given Topp the opportunity to test more fully his "transnational paradigm" by applying it as well to immigrants who made use of their political experience

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in America to gain positions of power within the Italian "fascist revolution."

Following the dissolution of the FSI, and in the wake of the ideological havoc the Bolshevik Revolution produced on the American Left, Topp's attempt to treat his group of syndicalists as "a movement" becomes more arduous. As the author shows in part two of his book, while most syndicalists persevered in their commitment to the class struggle, now ideological choices, political necessity, and personal allegiances led them to militate in a variety of initiatives and organizations, often alongside reformists and even American Federation of Labor leaders.

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NICHOLAS CLIFFORD. *"A Truthful Impression of the Country": British and American Travel Writing in China, 1880–1949*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 2001. Pp. xxi, 231. $39.50.

This beautifully written volume takes its title from an 1899 travelogue by one of its principal subjects, Isabella Bird. While Nicholas Clifford nods in the direction of "scholarship" on travel from the field of literary criticism, he is ultimately less concerned with discourse analyses or with the biographies of travel writers (although these are impossible to ignore) than with the people and places observed. This, then, is a book about China from the last decades of the Qing dynasty through the founding of the People's Republic, not solely about the "Western representations" of same. The seventy years covered here witnessed dramatic transformations on all fronts.

In his introduction, Clifford offers some interesting observations on why the genre of travel writing continues to enjoy such popularity. It gives readers an immediacy and a feeling for the subject that journalists and scholars either cannot or do not wish to convey. In a sense, it is the next best thing to actually traveling—and it is much safer. But while Clifford's travelers form a group by their nationalities and, to a certain extent, their predilections, they nonetheless offer a wide panoply of views, for they never marched in lockstep as a single group gazing upon the Chinese.

In the 1880s and 1890s, British and American travelers described China as a country either without history or with too much of it. But this did not necessarily mean that it was backward and ignorant. What all agreed was that China lacked modern knowledge (and, it should be added, many Chinese reformers at the time and later concurred). Observations of Chinese hygienic conditions, or the perceived lack of them, pervade travelogues of these years, as filth became a metonym for late nineteenth-century China. This observation, though, did not lead to uniform "Orientalist" derision but rather to a mixture of criticism and admiration. Change was necessary, observers opined, and it should follow the example of the recent West. In nicely nuanced prose, Clifford shows that postcolonial dismissal of such travel writing may itself be overly essentialist.

World War I was an important turning point for Western travel writing about China. By the early 1920s, one finds a great deal more sympathy for China and much less security in a sense of Western superiority. The horrific bloodshed of the Great War led to less self-confidence among Western travel writers, some even adopting a view of China's cultural superiority to the West. In any event, the judgmentalism of earlier accounts evaporates. This new recognition of Chinese culture and its enhanced popularity in the West influenced travelers to seek the "real" China, unspoiled by modern conveniences and rampant tourism. By the late 1920s and 1930s, the search for authenticity led travel writers out of Shanghai and other such places blighted by contact with the West. In an especially fine section of chapter six of his book, Clifford looks specificially at writing about Shanghai. Its earlier image as the goal toward which China should aspire was completely transformed into its opposite; now condemned for its excessive amorality, Shanghai was seen as the product of interaction with the West.

I found the author's treatment of Edgar Snow's classic, *Red Star Over China* (published in 1938 with countless reprints), as a travel book superb reading. As Clifford shows, Snow tapped into older "Orientalist" lines on China (old, evil, cruel, and definitely other) when treating that part of the continent under the Nationalists, but when he came to "Red China," he found an idyllic oasis reminiscent of Tao Yuanming (my comparison, not Clifford's). The latter was presented as a familiar China, not really all that different from what America aspired to be at its best.

By the late 1930s, the "war book" overcomes the travel narrative, and of necessity the latter dies out as a genre. Although he got to Yan'an first, many British and American travelers now followed a pattern set by Snow. They found in Mao Zedong and his colleagues the authentic "new China" they had been searching for. Not all were as enthusiastic as Snow or Ilona Sues, but Chiang Kai-shek and the Nationalists rapidly lost their appeal once a "magic bullet" for China's enormous woes had been discovered.

Although Clifford tries valiantly to steer clear of focusing on the writers and not their subject matter, he (perhaps inevitably) finds that he does have much to say about the former. It would have been interesting to compare his travel writers from Britain and the United States with travel writers from elsewhere in Europe or from Japan who were in China during the same seventy-year period. How different were their takes on China through this period and why? As the secondary literature in this field develops, such comparisons are becoming possible.

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HENRY BURKE WEND. *Recovery and Restoration: U.S. Foreign Policy and the Politics of Reconstruction of West Germany's Shipbuilding Industry, 1945–1955.* (International History.) Westport, Conn.: Praeger. 2001. Pp. xxxii, 255. $70.00.

At the end of World War II, Germany's shipbuilding industry was all but ruined. Harbors were clogged with rubble and littered with mines, internal waterways were destroyed, and shipbuilding firms were scheduled for destruction. Yet barely ten years later, the Federal Republic's port cities, notably Hamburg and Bremen, were churning out merchant ships, freighters, oil tankers, and military vessels. By 1954, shipbuilding was one of West Germany's largest exporting industries, and Henry Burke Wend has written a meticulous study of its postwar revival. His book complements existing literature on postwar Germany by offering not a sweeping survey of the "Economic Miracle" but a careful study of one industry from the perspective of American and German policy makers.

To readers only generally familiar with postwar Germany, it may be surprising that the United States, and not Great Britain or the USSR, is the subject of Wend's study, given that the ports and coastal areas of northern Germany fell into the British and Soviet zones of occupation after World War II. Yet under the terms of a 1944 agreement, the United States was granted administrative control over the city and port of Bremen and, consequently, its largest shipbuilding firm A.G. Weser. By tracing the vicissitudes of American economic policy and A.G. Weser's rebirth after 1945, Wend hopes to redress what he sees as a weakness in American scholars' approach to international relations: namely their neglect of "local actors" in determining foreign policy. In the case of West Germany, Wend demonstrates how U.S. policy makers balanced the needs of German workers, industrial organizations, and politicians against the policy prescriptions coming from Washington, D.C.

This interplay comes through most forcefully in Wend's exploration of industrial dismantling. In 1945, Germany's shipbuilding industry was slated for extinction, and the Allies employed tens of thousands of workers to disassemble shipyards. But the United States soon recognized dismantling as harmful to the reconstructive aims of the Marshall Plan. The Americans were tearing down factories while spending billions of dollars to turn West Germany into a self-sufficient, exporting nation. By the time of the founding of the Federal Republic in 1949, A.G. Weser was totally dismantled, with residue machinery sitting idle and thousands of workers looking for employment. However, the Korean War helped move U.S. policy beyond this quasi-reconstructive/quasi-deconstructive chaos. The United States now sponsored the remilitarization of West Germany and the lifting of industrial restrictions, often against the inclinations of the more wary France and Britain. Companies like A.G. Weser were granted shipbuilding rights in the name of an anticommunist Western alliance.

This story of reconstruction and rearmament is, on the surface, very familiar to scholars of postwar Germany. Yet by consulting an impressive array of archival collections in Germany and the United States, Wend deepens our understanding of one essential industry and the multiyear negotiations that affected its fate. The book's strength as a careful work of policy history, however, is also the source of its shortcomings, for despite the author's declared interest in the "views and motivations" of local actors, important individuals, particularly in the shipbuilding industry itself, barely make an appearance. Missing are industrialists and company managers, as well as representatives of American shipping interests, many of whom feared competition from renewed German shipbuilding. The absence of these players is particularly significant when we consider the time period under consideration. During the years after World War II, many businessmen moved from tribunals to jail cells to their old companies, while the American and West German publics debated the complicity of these individuals in Nazi crimes. Wend alludes to this legacy, but he does not address the fear, both in Europe and America, that the shipbuilding industry might again be populated by ex-Nazis like steel and shipping magnate Willy Schlieker.

Wend introduces, but fails to develop fully, other themes significant to our understanding of industrial reconstruction: Allied concerns about the stability of West German democracy; the shipping industry's ties to controversial firms (Krupp owned eighty percent of A.G. Weser by 1955); "Americanizing" of the shipbuilding industry through the use of prefabricated materials; and debates over German rearmament in the early 1950s. These major themes are present, but their significance is lost amid the detailed policy negotiations. Indeed, while Wend deftly reconstructs the interactions between Allied and German organizations, he at times loses the reader in the dense bureaucratic matrix. For example, on a single page (p. 130), the reader must keep track of the relationships among the OSP, the PTAD, the ECA, the MSA, the OEEC, and the RKW.

Ultimately, Wend must be applauded for his careful examination of the technological and policy considerations that are absent from much of the literature on the West German economy. At the same time, Wend deprives his readers of a more expansive story, one filled with the conflicted voices of Germans and Americans at the crossroads of a world war and a cold war.

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SEBASTIAN CONRAD. *Auf der Suche nach der verlorenen Nation: Geschichtsschreibung in Westdeutschland und Japan, 1945–1960.* (Kritische Studien zur Geschichts-

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wissenschaft, number 134.) Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 1999. Pp. 485.

In his comparative study of post-World War II Japanese and West German historiography, Sebastian Conrad counters two common misperceptions: namely, that after 1945 Japanese and West Germans repressed discussions of Japanese fascism and National Socialism, and that by the 1960s the Germans did a better job than the Japanese of coming to terms with their violent authoritarian past. Focusing on the years 1945 to 1960, Conrad shows that much controversy existed in Japan, where Marxist historians produced a more critical view of modern Japanese history than did their largely conservative counterparts in West Germany. Conrad is not only interested in the differences between the social historical approaches that dominated Japanese Marxist historiography and the political histories that West German historicists produced. Through careful analysis of historiography as a discursive formation, he also seeks to find common assumptions.

As the book's title suggests, the nation remained the focal point of historical inquiry in both Japan and West Germany. In both countries, scholars researched the decades from the founding of the modern nation in the nineteenth century to defeat in 1945; the Meiji Restoration in Japan and Bismarckian unification in Germany, the nature of Japanese and German fascism, and the location of Japan and Germany between East and West were historians' main concerns. In all these arenas, interpretations of fascism and the rehabilitation of the nation in the postfascist present were ultimately at stake. In spite of different methods and politics, both Japanese and West German historians concluded that the Japanese and German people were largely victims of fascism and war. Neither the Nanking Massacre nor the Holocaust became the focus of research.

Only some of the insights of Conrad's exhaustive account can be summarized here. Conrad does not see 1945 as a caesura in Japanese or West German historiography, either in terms of personnel or method. In spite of some repression, Japanese Marxists had been developing their frameworks since the 1920s; after 1945, they came to dominate Japanese historiography and made social history acceptable there. The dominant *kôzaka* school, for example, criticized the Meiji Restoration as an "incomplete transition from feudalism to modernity . . . a failed bourgeois revolution, and the establishment of absolutism" (p. 108). By the late 1950s, as Marxism lost its dominance, more conservative historians employed modernization theory imported from the United States to reevaluate Japanese traditions and the Meiji Restoration in a more positive light. In West Germany, by contrast, modernization theory became important in the 1960s for a "critical social history" that searched for the roots of German authoritarianism in a failed bourgeois revolution. In the 1950s, however, the profession was dominated by conservatives, especially since few émigrés returned. Whereas Japanese historian Maruyama Masao evaluated Japanese culture as deeply implicated in fascism, West German historians saw German culture as a "balm" (p. 169) against the forces of modernity and Nazism. The analysis of modern mass society, which had roots in the 1930s, became increasingly acceptable in the subdiscipline of *Zeitgeschichte* (contemporary history) that dealt with the Nazi past in special research institutes. The definition of "structure" employed by these historians was a rejection of Marxism, and of East German historiography, and did not fundamentally challenge conservative historicist assumptions that separated the German people from responsibility for National Socialism.

Conrad interprets discursive formations in relation to institutional developments and political contexts, such as the influence of the U.S. Occupation, the founding of new research centers, and the Cold War. In some compelling passages, he also relates biography and historiography. Perhaps Conrad's most intriguing insights come in his last chapter on the "temporalization of space." In an explicit engagement with Edward Said's "Orientalism" paradigm, Conrad traces how Japanese and German historians treated the history of their nations' "others": China, Korea, and Western Europe in the Japanese case, and Western and Eastern Europe in the West German case. Japanese historians took up a vision of history that made Great Britain and France into models of modern development to which Japan was catching up. China, by contrast, appeared despotic, stagnating, "an incarnation of the 'Orient'" (p. 379). Marxists and non-Marxists alike failed to full "emancipate themselves from the imperialist discourse of the war" (p. 382). In a Cold War logic likewise not devoid of imperialist undertones, West German historians identified special German responsibilities in fostering a unified Europe as center of a "Christian West" and in fending off "Asian hordes" in the past and Soviet communism in the present. In several instances, National Socialism appeared as bulwark against the East gone awry. While Conrad mentions the most obvious omission in postwar German and Japanese historiography—the lack of engagement with racist population policies—one wishes that he had taken up this issue more explicitly, especially in his analysis of "Orientalist" constructions of "others." Overall, the book is important for anyone interested in interpretations of Japanese fascism and German National Socialism and in the various ways in which history as a discipline relates to the (re)formations of nations.

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Ian Jackson. *The Economic Cold War: America, Britain and East-West Trade, 1948–63.* (Cold War History Series.) New York: Palgrave. 2001. Pp. ix, 239.

A reader might be forgiven for presuming that somehow the description of this book on the inside dust

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jacket has been transposed with that of a different book on the economic Cold War. The blurb tells us firmly that "few studies of the Cold War have considered the economic dimension" and that this volume, a detailed study of the subject, therefore "fills an important gap in the historiography of the Cold War." One therefore settles back and prepares to read a well-researched book of the gap-filling variety.

Happily, these assertions are wide of the mark. First, a considerable amount has been written about the economic Cold War. Some of the earlier writing was submerged within volumes on the Marshall Plan, but even if we focus on trade and technology transfer, much research has been published, beginning with Robert A. Pollard's *Economic Security and the Origins of the Cold War, 1945–1950* (1985). Second, while Ian Jackson's study is indeed scholarly and detailed, its main virtue is not gap-filling but instead the skillful way in which material is deployed in order to situate the study within distinct schools of interpretation—indeed an ongoing debate—regarding the economic Cold War in Europe. Jackson surveys a fairly dense area with model clarity, and for this reason, as well as the exemplary research in both British and American archives over an extended period, this book will be required reading.

A Scandinavian school of historians has argued that the United States pursued an aggressive economic Cold War designed to damage the Soviet Union and sought to coerce reluctant European allies into complying with its stern requirements. A second school, of British and American historians, drawing in particular on new material from British archives, argues that the United States simply sought to deny the Soviets obvious advantages from technology transfer and that the United States was receptive to Allied request for changes to the agreed Western program of restrictions. Jackson has aligned himself with the second school and emphasizes the consistent success of Allied policy makers in London, Paris, and Bonn in modifying the American economic warfare program.

Much of the controversy over Coordinating Committee (CO-COM) trade restrictions in the 1950s followed the broad outlines of the transatlantic Cold War debate on other issues. Dwight D. Eisenhower is depicted as successfully mediating between American domestic pressures for a more vigorous Cold War program and the British modus vivendi approach, which conversely tended to argue that a fat Russian would be a more peaceful Russian. Eisenhower's responsiveness to European concerns on trade seems to mirror his willingness to listen to Europe on other containment issues: for example, his policy on the Volunteer Freedom Corps. While Eisenhower was initially highly enthusiastic about this scheme, which involved the recruitment of Eastern European exiles and escapees into a kind of Cold War foreign legion, his sensitivity to West German anxieties prompted him to draw this program down.

Opponents of Jackson's interpretation might argue that this study is persuasive because of its constrained field. The study focuses primarily on economic policies toward the Eastern Bloc, while China merits only a brief excursion of six pages and Cuba is little mentioned. This is problematic because Asia constituted a region of long-standing "unspecial" relations between London and Washington, D.C., not least because of the important status of Hong Kong as an entrepôt port. The economic Cold War in Asia had a higher priority for Americans because it was hotter here. Luke warm British attitudes on issues like tire-smuggling in Hong Kong seemed of a piece with Commonwealth attitudes that sought compromise rather than victory in Korea. The economic Cold War in Asia has been explored in some detail by several scholars, most recently Shu guang Zhang (*Economic Cold War: America's Embargo against China and the Sino-Soviet Alliance, 1949–1963* [2001]). Regrettably, their work is not taken account of by this study and might well have changed its findings. Nor does the book connect much with wider issues, such as GATT or monetary policy, explored respectively in Donna Lee's *Middle Powers and Commercial Diplomacy: British Influence at the Kennedy Trade Round* (1999) and Dianne B. Kunz's *Butter and Guns: America's Cold War Economic Diplomacy* (1997).

Looking further ahead, what remains for research students who are looking for new subjects in this economic realm? The approach that connects all these economic Cold War studies, whether they focus on Europe or Asia, is their determination to examine high policy and to give sustained attention to the much-venerated National Security Council (NSC) paper. But as Henry Kissinger once reminded us, there are NSC papers, and then there is real policy. The economic Cold War, together with the propaganda Cold War, enjoyed extensive operational and tactical dimensions that lent them a depth and reality that is quite distinctive. Students of the propaganda Cold War have recently begun to probe these depths and have given us some memorable studies that change our outlook. But the reality of workaday economic warfare remains relatively untouched. Nevertheless, it was there, with watchers stationed at every port and illegal cargoes heading for the Eastern bloc impounded and confiscated by naval action. Here, on the high seas, a substantial unexplored area of the Cold War remains to be charted.

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GERARD J. DEGROOT and CORINNA PENISTON-BIRD, editors. *A Soldier and a Woman: Sexual Integration in the Military*. (Women and Men in History.) New York: Longman. 2000. Pp. xii, 384.

This stimulating collection of nineteen articles on women and their martial roles edited by Gerard J. DeGroot and Corinna Peniston-Bird is divided into two chronological sections: pre and post-World War

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II. Most contributions focus on Europe, but there are a sprinkling of essays on the United States, Asia, the Middle East, and North Africa. Some authors focus on women in combat, but most analyze their vital work as camp followers or in other military support capacities during war and in peacetime. A central theme of the essays is how military service is so strongly identified with masculinity and the rights of full citizenship that it obscures the fact that women have historically performed invaluable military service, including combat, in different ages and cultures across the world. As Peniston-Bird puts it, "the identification of the male as the warrior and protector has proved resilient to re-interpretation" (p. 177). While most contributors note that women in many cultures have achieved new opportunities and rights by performing military service, they generally conclude that these openings fall far short of approximating equality with men. Furthermore, to succeed in military institutions, many women find they are pressured to renounce their femininity.

Prominent beliefs that women were not reliable combat troops have led leaders to bar women from the frontlines of battle, making it impossible for them to dispel this view. This is even true of armed forces touted as innovators of sexual integration, like those of Israel (the only national army that conscripts women), China, and Vietnam. Even when the First Russian Women's Battalion of Death proved itself a capable all-woman infantry force in World War I, Soviet authorities urged them not to speak of their battlefield services at war's end, and their combat feats were not celebrated in patriotic Soviet military histories.

It is impossible to touch on all of the fine scholarship and topics covered in this diverse volume, but I will note briefly that I found the essays by Kathryn Coughlin and Nicole Ladewig on Muslim women in military service particularly intriguing. Perhaps given the recent developments in Afghanistan, Sri Lanka, and the West Bank (to mention just a few), these articles seem particularly timely because women are such important actors and symbols in these military and civil struggles. From the emergence of Palestinian women as suicide bombers, whose image has electrified the Western media, to the women of Afghanistan, whom Western leaders mobilized as a powerful justification for deposing the Taliban, gender roles continually color the imagined lines of "Orient" and "West." As Coughlin asks, "How is it that in societies that do not grant meaningful political and economic rights to women, they are accepted in the bastion of male exclusivity—the military?" (p. 227). Coughlin and other contributors adroitly show how gender bias can be creatively used by women to make them more effective wartime operatives, particular in clandestine warfare. For instance, many Algerian women worked as domestics for French families, and they were able to move much more freely than men in French neighborhoods (veiled or unveiled) without generating suspicions. She also utilizes the paradoxical symbol of the veil (long a symbol of female oppression in the eyes of the West) to illuminate how women who supported the Algerian liberation struggle against France reappropriated it as a badge of resistance. In 1958, the wives of French officers publicly unveiled a number of Algerian women in attempt to point out their oppression in Muslim Algerian society and to win them over to the French cause. The strategy ultimately backfired, but the episode is especially intriguing because before the nationalist struggle of liberation many Algerian women never used the veil. Despite their wartime services, few female Algerian veterans received benefits or, beyond the work of Frantz Fanon, recognition. Translating this service into greater legal and political rights for women and an independent Algeria has also proved frustrating.

One issue that remains latent here and deserves greater emphasis in a comparative context is changing attitudes toward natalism and national defense. By the 1960s and 1970s, declining infant mortality rates and fears of overpopulation reversed natalist policies in most industrialized and many densely populated industrializing nations. Simultaneously, revitalized international women's movements surged, and most advocated strongly for feminine reproductive rights. Authorities no longer encouraged women to have numerous children for the motherland's defense, but now admonished or, as Karen Turner notes in the case of Vietnam, penalized families that had more than a few children. This trend alone facilitated a more inclusive attitude toward women in the armed forces as their reproductive roles in the eyes of many state authorities were more restricted.

This Latin Americanist reviewer feels that the volume's comparative perspective would have been enhanced by the inclusion of the history of women-in-arms from Latin America (the only major region not represented). A few prominent examples that might be pursued in a future volume are the mythic images of the Amazon warriors in the New World, Francisco Solano López's mobilization of women during the Paraguayan War (1864–1870), the *soldaderas* of the Mexican Revolution, and women in Cuba and Nicaragua's revolutionary militaries (not to mention the prominent role of women in less successful guerilla forces like Sendero Luminoso). "Macho" has become an international reference word only in the late twentieth century to describe sometimes favorable but mostly pejorative male traits and behaviors related to the abuse of social sanctioned male prerogatives. One wonders why Latin America has historically been such a fulcrum for international musings on changing ideas of "civilized" and "primitive," "modern" and "underdeveloped" gender roles.

This collection will be ideal for seminars that emphasize new comparative approaches to gender, institutional, and political history because the chapters illustrate how central military mobilization and service is to the development of disputed ideals of appropriate citizenship, family and state relations, and femininity and masculinity. Students and scholars will also find

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helpful the annotated bibliographic guide to further reading for each chapter. This volume is the first of its kind, to my knowledge, that addresses some of the historical silences that have shrouded the role of women as soldiers. From the United States to Argentina and France, many Western nations have suspended or soon will suspend obligatory military draft lotteries for men. Thus, it seems a fitting moment to ponder what this transition could mean for the myth of the male citizen as soldier and protector, and this volume should stimulate critical and historically grounded reassessments.

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ASIA

JONATHAN D. SPENCE. *Treason by the Book*. New York: Viking. 2001. Pp. xvi, 300. $24.95.

This well-crafted book is about a famous incident that began in 1728 during the Yongzheng emperor's reign when a local teacher from Hunan named Zeng Jing relayed a secret letter via his disciple to the governor general of Shanxi province in Xi'an. Zeng alleged that, to gain the throne, the emperor had ruthlessly murdered his father and several of his brothers in power struggles in Beijing. Time was ripe for overthrow of the dynasty, Zeng thought. He appealed to Yue Zhongqi in Xi'an to lead a revolt against the Manchus and thus add honor to his ancestor Yue Fei, who in the twelfth century had fought against Jurchen invaders, the forebears of the current rulers.

Spreading a wide net, the emperor's officials captured the motley crew involved and tracked down every possible rumor and bit of classical scholarship that might have been the source of Zeng Jing's charges. The Yongzheng emperor publicly used the incident to overawe Zeng with his moral legitimacy and to put the rumors concerning his succession to rest. Zeng in turn gained his life, for a time, and returned to Hunan to live comfortably and thereby provide proof of the emperor's clemency. When the Qianlong emperor took power in 1735, however, he immediately set in motion proceedings to have Zeng executed for the licentious charges against his father.

Jonathan D. Spence presents his meticulous account as a "story about words" created by an emperor trying to clear his name and a local teacher trying to live up to the teachings of the sages. Between the lines of the thousands of "words" that were constructed to ameliorate this political dance between a struggling local examination failure and an emperor concerned about his public image, Spence ingeniously works in the vast investigative procedures that the Qing bureaucracy brought to bear on this single incident. From Hunan and Shanxi to Zhejiang province, thousands of local scholars, teachers, and officials became embroiled in the emperor's unrelenting quest for the living and textual sources surrounding rumors about him. The power of an autocratic ruler to mobilize all his political resources to root out the fundamental traces and causes of the incident are for Spence both alarming and instructive.

Spence graciously acknowledges earlier work on the Zeng Jing case, particularly Fang Chao-ying's 1943 biography in *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (1644–1912)*, edited by Arthur W. Hummel, and Thomas Fisher's 1974 dissertation on the role of Lü Liuliang's classical scholarship, which inspired Zeng Jing's classical visions. In addition, Spence and his research aides have combed through a vast amount of new documentary sources in the Palace Museum in Taiwan and from the Beijing Imperial Palace Museum to ascertain the exact chronology for the emperor's actions during the incident. These new sources contain the complete, original memorials, reports, and edicts that were later "cut and pasted" into the summary documents used in the past to reconstruct the events. Spence thus refines the chilling details that make this "story of words" read like a mystery story.

Along the way, Spence provides us with a unique window on the lesser intellectual lights of late imperial China, local teachers and civil examination candidates who rarely advanced beyond the lowest level county tests. Growing from half a million licentiates *circa* 1650, such local men increased to about one million licentiates and some two million hapless candidates by 1800. Their travail "as failures within elite literary and official circles" provided breeding grounds for the political rumors, classical visions, and social discontent that the Zeng Jing incident represented. Although they both tried, neither the Yongzheng nor the Qianlong emperor could solve the problems of corruption, degree purchasing, or declining moral standards that overtook the local examination marketplace in the eighteenth century.

We specialists should thank Spence for bringing this unsettling incident to a more popular, English-speaking audience. Historians will learn more than they knew before about the incident, such as the merciless and ultimately counter-productive self-promotions that saturated the Yongzheng emperor's bizarre efforts to purify his name. Fang Chao-ying read the emperor's response as a sign of his "guilty conscience." Pamela Kyle Crossley contrasts the Yongzheng emperor's ideal of cultural transformation for both Manchus and Han Chinese with the Qianlong emperor's appeal to a vision of emperorship unique to the Manchus. For Qianlong, Zeng Jing was not an opportunity for turning the emperor into a classical sage-king but an affront to Manchu imperial dignity. Through this single incident, Spence has vividly presented how a Manchu emperor directed his full bureaucratic ensemble to a single purpose, in vain.

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GINGER CHENG-CHI HSÜ. *A. Bushel of Pearls: Painting for Sale in Eighteenth-Century Yangchow*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2001. Pp. xiii, 314. $49.50.

A recent claim that art history has made on the attentions of a larger historical community comes from its refocusing of attention away from the actions of artists to the role of audiences in the wider reception of their work. The "social history of art" has sought to shift the burden of meaning away from makers to viewers, and to see the work of art as one commodity among many. In this vein, Ginger Cheng-chi Hsü's work on eighteenth-century Yangchow seeks an integrative approach, binding together a study of makers and consumers, focusing on "the negotiations between the two parties, as revealed in the paintings themselves" (p. 11). This is pursued through case studies of artists active in the city. They are (in the Wade-Giles romanization that the book employs): Fang Shih-shu (1692–1751), Huang Shen (1687–1765), Cheng Hsieh (1693–1765), and Chin Nung (1687–1763). Although all are canonical figures, and hence have a presence in the literature, the account given of their careers here has some fresh insights. At the same time, juxtaposing different types of artistic practice certainly points up the complexity of the Yangchow setting, with its distinctive culture built on the riches generated by the salt monopoly. There is throughout, however, a relatively uncritical approach to sources, which for example sees an early nineteenth-century gazetteer as an unproblematic "primary source" for events one hundred years earlier. Quite a lot of the discussion is similarly underpinned by secondary literature, where a skepticism about the interpretative framework of the writers cited might have served the author better.

Historians of the Ch'ing may well feel that the book is marked by a number of problems, which means it can be assigned to students only with caution. The statement "Although during the Ming-Ch'ing transition Yangchow suffered from the raids of Manchu troops, the local merchants and elite were motivated to cooperate with the newly established Manchu government in hopes of reclaiming and reestablishing order in their city" (p. 4) will be thought by some to gloss over too blandly one of the very distinctive components of a local historical memory, the traumatic and exemplary sack of the city in 1645. Others may be pained by the reference to the Ch'ien-lung emperor as a "foreign ruler," a locution that seems to come from a much older stratum of scholarship and that anachronistically sees the Ch'ing period in terms of bounded racial identities.

Art historians, on the other hand, may well be disappointed at the paucity of actual works (all reproduced in fairly grainy black and white). Here, too, there is a sense that some of the most recent scholarship has not been fully absorbed, or rather has overtaken the discussion. Shih-t'ao still appears as "Tao-chi," the Ming writer on taste Kao Lien appears as a member of "high society in Soochow" (he lived and worked in Hang-chou), and an unfortunate discussion of Lo P'ing's famous and distinctive painting of skeletons misses the fact (demonstrated by Jonathan Hay) that this is one of the few Ch'ing paintings that can be shown, incontrovertibly, to depend on a European prototype. Some of the arguments are rather forced and unconvincing. For example, a red herring of a discussion as to whether Huang Shen's *men-jen* (a common Ming and Ch'ing term for subordinate members of a household, students, or disciples) were in fact a sort of proto-guild peters out in an acceptance that there is no evidence that any such organization existed among painters at this period. Along the way, this discussion also manages to misconstrue the point of Ch'ing court craftsmen's regulations, which it mistakes for a sort of guild statutes (p. 112).

But perhaps the largest problem with this book is its acceptance of its categories of analysis as existing a priori, and its unwillingness to examine ways in which the negotiations between patrons and clients did not merely reflect, but served to create, social and class identities, or qualities like "elegant" and "vulgar," or "the values and tastes of the educated elite." All of these are seen as somehow preexistent, independent of the actions of artists and audiences, actions that merely illustrate and exemplify them. Given the author's familiarity with the material, which ought to ensure this volume a place in serious studies of the world of the Chinese artist, this is an opportunity missed, and one that also misses the chance to make social historians of Ch'ing China take the social history of art more seriously than they have sometimes done.

CRAIG CLUNAS
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ANDREW F. JONES. *Yellow Music: Media Culture and Colonial Modernity in the Chinese Jazz Age*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2001. Pp. ix, 213. Cloth $49.95, paper $17.95.

This pioneering work on music history and media culture in China during the interwar years is theoretically engaging and ambitious, probing as it does a variety of questions concerning the global diffusion of new media technologies, transnational cultural appreciation and confusion, colonial modernity and national salvation, and the politics of gender, class, and race. Although dialoguing with "characteristically postcolonial" works in the field, the author has managed to avoid engulfing readers in a cloud of jargon. This is a highly readable work that is empirically grounded and written with flair.

Andrew F. Jones's overview of modern Chinese music life starts with the arrival of European music on Chinese shores in the seventeenth century, brought as part of the baggage of Jesuit missionaries, and quickly advances to the early twentieth century, where developments included Japanese-style school songs promoted by reformists like Liang Qichao, the idea of music being part of "aesthetic education" advocated by

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Peking University president Cai Yuanpei and the cartoonist Feng Zikai, and a seminal speech on the relationship between music and political power given by the German-trained musician Xiao Youmei. The book also includes discussions of records, popular magazines, cinema, and institutes. In particular, it depicts in some detail what Jones calls "gramophone culture" and argues that the advent of the gramophone and allied technologies such as radio broadcasting and sound films "served to fundamentally alter the political economy and social meaning of music consumption" (p. 55).

Jones's encounter with the experience of the African-American jazz musician Buck Clayton in Shanghai in the 1930s provides an intriguing prelude to the book. Clayton's ability to transcribe and play music composed by Chinese is seen in the book as evidence that "Chinese music [had] entered into a relationship of commensurability with that of the West" (p. 20). The bulk of Jones's account centers on two Chinese musicians, Li Jinhui and Nie Er. Li, a forefather of modern Chinese popular music, recorded, composed songs and music, founded music schools, and trained and helped launch the careers of Republican China's most notable singers. Yet he was attacked and criticized by people of virtually all political convictions in China—from liberal May Fourth intellectuals, to the Nationalists (Kuomintang, or KMT), to the Communists—as a purveyor of decadent "yellow" or pornographic music. Jones, however, argues that Li's music represented "one of the most cherished dreams of the May 4th era: the creation of a new musical idiom both modern and distinctly Chinese" (p. 104), and he suggests that his account of Li's fusion of jazz and Chinese folk melodies avoids the "neat binary division between elite literary production and the domain of popular media culture" that has been the norm in the writing of modern Chinese cultural history (p. 76). Li's most prominent student, Nie Er, was China's best-known leftist musician. His new mass music gave voice to the disadvantaged subalterns and all those who yearned for national salvation in the wake of Japanese aggression, forming what Jones calls "political ventriloquism" (p. 123).

Li Jinhui proclaimed that the mission of his ensemble, the Bright Moon, was to play music for the common people, "like the bright moon in the sky, shining across the land for all the people to enjoy" (p. 81). The statement might sound rhetorical, but it does address a theme that is central to mass music. Jones aptly interprets a 1937 promotional still, picturing a Chinese crow eyeing a gramophone demonstrated by a foreigner, as a showcase of the leftist anticolonial critique of foreign encroachment on China (pp. 70–72). However, to this reviewer the photograph may raise a more fundamental question for scholars of Chinese cultural history.

The scene, presumably a Shanghai street corner, quite graphically reveals a critical but largely unanswered question: did "media culture and colonial modernity" really became part of Chinese popular culture? Or, were they, like the gramophone, just luxury toys for the urban middle classes but, for the masses, nothing more than a peculiar Western-style peep show? The fact that the author had to draw most of his empirical evidence from Shanghai and that he builds much of his discussion around that city tells us that the so-called Chinese jazz age was largely a treaty port (if not a Shanghai) phenomenon. At a time when average working class families in the city spent merely 0.3 percent of their income on amusement (including theatricals and movies), and when—up to the 1970s—residents in vast rural areas of China's more developed coastal provinces did not even have access to electricity, it is essential to ask what "colonial modernity" and cultural industry meant to the common people of China. In other words, it is a question of just how "popular" was what we generally label as "popular culture" in China. This question, of course, is addressed more to the field of cultural history in general than to this slim but richly detailed work per se. Buck Clayton may have been able to appreciate and play Li's music with ease; for academics, however, only when the lives of the inquisitive, eager, and puzzled Chinese passersby surrounding the gramophone are understood will we begin truly to comprehend, to paraphrase Jones's words, how in modern times Chinese "noise" may have ascended to the status of Chinese music.

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A. JAMES GREGOR. *A Place in the Sun: Marxism and Fascism in China's Long Revolution*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview. 2000. Pp. xv, 231. $45.00.

This survey offers an interpretation of the role played by Marxism and fascism in the unfolding of the Chinese Revolution. A. James Gregor's thesis is that Marxist influences have been overestimated (p. xi), whereas fascist influences have been neglected or misunderstood. Gregor is not the first author to remark that Marxist theory does not help much to account for the complex sequences of China's revolutionary struggles. More original are his views about fascism in China and his comparative analysis of the Chinese and Italian experiences. Fascism is presented as a brand of reactive and developmental nationalism with such specific features added as charismatic leadership, mass mobilization, totalitarian control of an emerging revolutionary society, and irredentist claims over "lost territories."

Gregor claims that both Sun Yat-sen's "Three Principles of the People" and Chiang Kai-shek's regime pertained to the reactive and developmental kind of nationalism but that neither could be branded fascist, even though the Guomindang government was often denounced as such by a number of Chinese Marxists and Western scholars. (Curiously, the author makes no reference to the contributions by Lloyd Eastman or Frederic Wakeman, Jr., to this debate.) Because of its

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commitment to the command economy and to class struggle, the Maoist regime (1949–1976) cannot be considered "fascist" either. According to Gregor, the only true fascist regime to be born in twentieth-century China is that of Deng Xiaoping and his reformist heirs, who called for economic development through market economy, social and political control, and national grandeur.

The book is well organized (although sometimes a little repetitive). Complex issues are given a clear and synthetic treatment. Covering so many complicated developments in this rather slim volume (231 pages) comes with a price, however. A historian's feathers cannot be but ruffled by some broad generalizations and systematic reconstructions. For example, one could well call into question points such as the consistency granted to Sun Yat-sen's ideas and actions, or the presentation of Deng Xiaoping as a constant opponent of leftism, or the assessment of Denguist China society as "totalitarian."

Even if we accept the unavoidable divergences between historians' and social scientists' approaches, the fact remains that contemporary Chinese history can hardly be understood simply by referring to foreign ideologies without taking into account the distortions/adaptations inherent to intercultural communication, the symbolic and ritual use of political vocabulary, the essentially pragmatic postures of the Chinese leadership, and, last but not least, the impact of the Chinese tradition that cannot be disposed of to make room for "the incursion of Western imperialism into politically and economically primitive Asia" (p. 128).

Gregor concludes that fascism, in its Chinese version, may well cast its shadow over our time. To this reviewer, it seems unlikely. If China cannot maintain its economic development and integration and thus make its transition toward a more liberal political regime, as most people hope, how could the alternative be fascism? Fascism indeed implies national unity, mass mobilization, charismatic leadership, and other ingredients hardly to be found now in China and even more difficult to find if the current modernization drive were going to fail. Such a failure would more likely translate into political chaos, social disruption, warlords' power, and general corruption—all of which do not make for any ideological pattern but evoke recurrent experiences in Chinese history.

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JIAN CHEN. *Mao's China and the Cold War.* (The New Cold War History.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2001. Pp. x, 400. Cloth $49.95, paper $19.95.

As the 2002 elections for the Sixteenth Congress of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) bring forth a new generation of Chinese leaders, China watchers are anticipating the further development of China's political and economic role in the global community. Jian Chen's book outlines the historical context from which China is emerging as a world leader. Based on a rich variety of primary and secondary sources, many newly available from Chinese national and regional archives, Chen's study offers new and provocative interpretations of China's Cold War experience.

Using a "domestic-politics-centered approach" (p. 49), Chen analyzes the role of Chairman Mao Zedong in major Cold War events such as the Korean War, the Indochina wars, the end of the Sino-Soviet alliance, the Taiwan Straits crises, and revolutions in Eastern Europe. His conclusion that "China's external behavior has been primarily shaped by domestic concerns—both under Mao and continuously in the post-Mao era" (p. 279) potentially offers a way to predict the behavior of China's new leaders. Chen is optimistic about China's future now that both the Cold War and "Mao's revolutionary enterprise" (p. 277) are finished.

Chen's study is a groundbreaking contribution to Cold War literature because it focuses on the active role played by China's leaders, while many earlier studies based primarily on Western sources tend to describe CCP policy simply as a reaction to Western policies toward China. He suggests, not surprisingly, that Mao was Cold War China's sole significant policy maker. The underlying concept behind Mao's relationships with other countries was his "'post-revolution anxiety,' a psychological-conceptual force" (p. 10) constantly pushing Mao to transform China and the world based on his personal revolutionary vision and insecurities. According to Chen, one of Mao's most noteworthy insecurities was an extreme sensitivity concerning issues of China's sovereignty. Underlying that sensitivity was a "victim mentality" (p. 75) that pushed Mao, often without the consensus of his peers, to suspect all foreign leaders of harboring ulterior, even evil, intentions toward China.

Because Chen assumes that the historical-cultural environment was the primary factor in the formulation of Mao's policies, his interpretations are not without controversy. For example, he challenges the prevailing opinion held for decades by some American foreign policy specialists that the administration of Harry S. Truman "lost a chance" to secure relations with Mao's government. While Chen admits that the academic debate is "far from over" (p. 296), he concludes that America's lost chance in China must be regarded as a myth because underlying Mao's anti-American policy at the time were plans for transforming China according to revolutionary ideals. Specifically, "Mao used anti-American discourse as a means of mobilizing the masses" (p. 48). Chen also discusses the inadequacies of conventional geopolitics-centered interpretations for many Cold War events, including the U.S.-China rapprochement. He argues that strategic considerations played only a minor role for Mao, who was deeply concerned with the "fading status" (p. 239) of his continuous revolution during the years following the Cultural Revolution. The analysis of the period

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from 1969 to 1972 offers new insight into Sino-American negotiations from a Chinese perspective. Chen even answers questions about Chinese motives asked by National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger in his memoirs (p. 368).

One of the more controversial conclusions offered by the study is the assertion that the beginning of the collapse of the Soviet Union and the subsequent end of the Cold War occurred with the U.S.-China rapprochement. Chen traces the rise and fall of the Sino-Soviet alliance, stressing the primary role Mao played in its evolution. He argues that there existed an intense "psychological rift" (p. 75) between Soviet and Chinese leaders that resulted from Mao's suspicions of Soviet imperialist intentions toward China. According to Chen, Mao decided in 1958 that a working relationship with the Soviet Union was no longer possible, having reached this conclusion following discussions about Soviet technical assistance for China's navy. Apparently, a proposal by Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev for a joint submarine flotilla led Mao to react harshly, accusing a baffled Khrushchev of "big-power chauvinism" (p. 74). Chen concludes that this episode caused Mao to redefine the concept of imperialism, identifying the Soviet Union as a "social-imperialist country" and replacing Washington with Moscow as the "bastion of reactionary forces in the world" (p. 242). Mao thereafter looked for opportunities to improve relations with the United States, thus playing a pivotal role in weakening the Soviet Union and helping to end the Cold War.

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REINIER H. HESSELINK. *Prisoners from Nambu: Reality and Make-Believe in Seventeenth-Century Japanese Diplomacy*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 2002. Pp. xii, 215. $24.95.

Reinier H. Hesselink explores a neglected but fascinating episode in the history of Dutch-Japanese diplomatic relations. In July 1643, Japanese authorities from the northeastern domain of Morioka (overseen by the Nambu family) cleverly lured ashore and then incarcerated ten crew members of the *Breskens*, a yacht out of Batavia that Dutch officials had dispatched along with the fluyt *Castricom* to search out the legendary "Gold and Silver Islands." In theory, the Dutch were allies of the Japanese, but officials in Edo, the capital of the Tokugawa shoguns, viewed all foreigners, particularly Christians, with contempt bordering on paranoia, and so Morioka authorities, nervous about attracting shogun Tokugawa Iemitsu's displeasure, sent the ten Dutch to Edo for a series of interrogations at the hands of the notorious Christian-hunter, Inoue Masashige. Only after surviving the twin tortures of bureaucratic ineptitude and *anatsurushi* (the infamous "pit torture," which Hesselink describes in lurid detail) were the Dutch granted permission to return home in December 1643. What transpired in those six months, and a later Dutch embassy to Japan in 1649, make up the bulk of this interesting story.

Hesselink divides the book into eight chapters, plus an introduction and conclusion. The introduction provides a helpful primer on the complex mechanics of early modern Japanese politics and diplomacy within the East Asian world order, while chapter one situates the Dutch in Asia and explains how the *Breskens* came to arrive in northeastern Japan in the first place. In chapters two through seven, Hesselink takes us to the heart of his story: the capture of the ten Dutch sailors, their lengthy interrogation in Edo, the haunting torture chambers where Inoue and his men made Portuguese missionaries apostasize, and the diplomatic maneuvering that led to the Dutch sailors' release. Chapter eight then investigates the 1649 Dutch embassy. Finally, in the conclusion—the title of which asks "Was Japan Isolated during the Edo Period?"—Hesselink makes some of his most forceful, if also rather thinly substantiated, historiographical points.

Hesselink paints a colorful picture of life in seventeenth-century Japan. He reminds us that even after the crackdown against Christianity and the expulsion of most Europeans, Japanese in the coastal provinces remained friendly toward foreigners and curious about their culture, as illustrated when Japanese fishermen rowed out to the *Castricom* in May 1643 and, despite Tokugawa prohibitions against such practices, traded fish for rice and liquor and drank heartily with Dutch sailors. Even Hesselink's descriptions of the seating arrangements in Chiyoda Castle, of samurai honorific titles and names, and of other rituals surrounding Tokugawa politics offer colorfully dramatic perspectives on early modern Japan. Still, the book's most memorable scene must be the death of Ambassador Peter Blokhof en route to Nagasaki. We learn that even though Dutch sailors had carefully preserved his body aboard ship with herbs, the rotting corpse became so rancid that it scared away the nosey Japanese inspectors, who could not bear to open the coffin once it had arrived in Nagasaki.

Hesselink is at his best when he is describing events related to the *Breskens* affair. When he gets down to analyzing these events in the context of important debates in the field, however, he too often indulges in speculation. Hesselink's discussion of the religious impact of the Dutch arrival at Yamada (pp. 42–48), which builds to the conclusion that this single Dutch visit had "considerable impact on the religious life of the people around the bay," serves as only one example of such speculation. More importantly, Hesselink's focus on "the personal nature of the power structure" in Edo leads to a kind of psychoanalysis of Tokugawa leaders, including speculation that Iemitsu's campaign against Christianity was the product of a "personal obsession" and a desire to torture people (although Hesselink never exactly defines Iemitsu's problem), a conclusion primarily based on the fact that Iemitsu often visited the mansions of his trusted advisors Sakai Tadakatsu and Hotta Masamori. Hesselink does paint

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a compelling picture of the autocratic power structure surrounding Iemitsu; but when he turns to how Sakai and Hotta represented aspects of Iemitsu's "mental makeup," the discussion degenerates into armchair psychology (p. 103). Even if one could probe Iemitsu's mind and prove that he and his men liked to hurt people, such information would hardly provide the history required to overturn the landmark scholarship of Asao Nobuhiro, Ronald Toby, and Arano Yasunori (misspelled throughout the book as "Yoshinori") on the role of "maritime prohibitions" (*kaikin*) and diplomacy in shaping early modern Japanese politics (pp. 166–70).

BRETT L. WALKER
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BRETT L. WALKER. *The Conquest of Ainu Lands: Ecology and Culture in Japanese Expansion, 1590–1800.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2001. Pp. xii, 332. $40.00.

At the start of the seventeenth century, most Ainu were politically autonomous and economically self-reliant. They occupied areas beyond the pale of Japanese military or political control: most of the island of Hokkaidō as well as lands farther north. Two centuries later, most Ainu lands had fallen to de facto Japanese conquest, which sometimes took the form of overt military action. More commonly, however, coercive force remained in the background, enabling the shrewd manipulation of trade conditions. Brett L. Walker closely examines this two-century period of Japanese expansion into Ainu lands, explaining its mechanisms and logic. In the process, he also casts new and useful light on the nature of Japan's early modern state.

A secondary aim of Walker's book is to confer upon the Ainu some measure of agency. Walker takes the common nineteenth-century image of Ainu as a passive, primitive, backward people in need of Japanese assistance and points out that it was exploitative Japanese policies backed by military force that reduced this once thriving people to poverty and dependence. He argues that Ainu resisted Japanese conquest, sometimes even at the cost of their lives, and thus places great emphasis on Shakushain's War of 1669. On the whole, however, I was struck more by the comparative lack of overt Ainu resistance during the period of Walker's study. I am not suggesting that Ainu willingly acquiesced to Japanese encroachment but rather that Japanese methods of subjugation proved so effective that overt military action was minimal.

Unintended circumstances ended up augmenting these methods of subjugation, with disease being the most important example. Epidemic diseases from contact with Japanese contributed to a substantial reduction in the total Ainu population during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, weakening their ability to resist encroachment. The spread of disease was a direct result of the increasing scope of Japanese commercial activities in Hokkaidō. The southern tip of Hokkaidō was the traditional *wajinchi* or area of Japanese residence. At the start of the seventeenth century, trade between Ainu and Japanese took place on a relatively small scale in the vicinity of Fukuyama castle. By the nineteenth century, Japanese trading posts and other commercial ventures operated throughout *ezochi*, as the Ainu-occupied bulk of Hokkaidō was known to Japanese. These commercial operations were part of a complex network that included trade fiefs in *ezochi* (which served as stipends for certain Matsumae vassals), the emerging commercial networks of urban Japan, and, indirectly, even such far-flung lands as parts of the Qing Empire or Russia. The key to Matsumae commerce in Hokkaidō was the labor of the Ainu, who hunted, fished, gathered, and sometimes traded for animal and plant products valued in the markets of Japan.

By incorporating the Ainu into Japan's commercial economy, Matsumae officials, their vassals, shogunal officials, trade managers, and other Japanese were able to gain substantial control over Ainu activities. Largely by design, Ainu became dependent on Japanese goods and on the income from trade with Japanese merchants. Their traditional self-sufficiency gave way to an economy of dependence. Even their worldview began to change as Ainu increasingly saw the useful products of nature not as deities to be revered but as commodities to be harvested. There were other dimensions to the Japanese conquest, such as the manipulation of ritual and protocol, but incorporation into Japan's commercial economy was most fundamental.

Walker situates this process of Japanese expansion in the broader context of early modern foreign relations, building on the pioneering work of Ronald Toby. The old notion that the Tokugawa *bakufu* was an inward-looking, isolationist government takes a further beating from Walker's work, for he demonstrates strong *bakufu* interest in expansion into Ezo. But the Ainu lands did not constitute a state as, for example, did the Kingdom of Ryukyu at the southern border of this expansive Japanese polity. How, then, should Ainu lands be characterized? To answer this question, Walker makes effective use of New Western historian Richard White's idea of a "middle ground"—a place "In between cultures, peoples, and in between empires and the nonstate world" (p. 8).

Throughout the book, Walker inserts arguments and ideas from historians of the North American West to add a comparative dimension. My own preference would have been to relegate most of these comparisons to the endnotes, but this is a minor quibble. Walker's book is an excellent work of solid scholarship that should be read by historians of Japan as well as

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historians with an interest in minority groups and borderlands.

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KERRY SMITH. *A Time of Crisis: Japan, the Great Depression, and Rural Revitalization*. (Harvard East Asian Monographs, number 191.) Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center; distributed by Harvard University Press. 2001. Pp. xvi, 481. $40.00.

The plight of the countryside in prewar and wartime Japan is something with which the student of modern Japan must grapple, both in research and teaching. Kerry Smith's excellent study of the rural revitalization movement during the Great Depression has changed the way this reviewer will conceptualize the rural plight in future academic work. This book is Smith's first, and it is a sterling study that will establish for him a solid reputation in the field.

Smith's focus is on developments in community life and the economics of farming. "By revealing some of the ways in which the state and communities provided alternatives to despair and violence, this study brings us closer to a grass-roots perspective on the meaning of Japan's time of crisis" (p. 2). How did the average Japanese deal with some of the most basic questions of the modern age? How could rural communities retain the best from their past and still look forward to the future? What was the role of agriculture in a modern economy; and where was the boundary between city and country? The author has drawn on Toyohiko Kagawa's novel, *The Land of Milk and Honey* (1934–1935), to introduce his study, positing that the novel reflects in fiction some very basic realities about rural life in the 1930s.

What were these realities? The most striking were the tremendous damage done by the Great Depression, the ensuing unprecedented efforts to revitalize the countryside, and the beginnings of new relationships between citizens and the state in the aftermath of the depression. Smith's countryside is in Japan's Tōhoku region, the village of Sekishiba in Fukushima. Sekishiba, says the author, is "squarely within the ranks of the average." What sets it apart is the passion for the process of reform, and Smith draws on the record of this process to portray "ordinary lives in extraordinary times." It is a fascinating study of two persistent dilemmas for the village: the flow of jobs and manpower away from the farms and toward the factories, and the juxtaposition of the push toward modernity with the pull of the traditional.

The author explains that education was one of the few areas in which the Tōhoku region met or exceeded national standards; this stood it in good stead as it tried to save itself in a time of crisis. Another thing that set Sekishiba apart during the crisis years was its careful documentation of reform efforts. "With a level of detail seldom seen before the 1930s, mayors and other local leaders began to record both what had happened to their communities and their efforts to overcome the crisis at hand" (p. 57). Smith mined these sources during extensive research in the region, skillfully producing a study rich in its analytical, narrative, and interdisciplinary dimensions. One thinks of John F. Embree's *Suye mura, a Japanese Village* (1939).

For this reader, especially striking was Smith's analysis of the debt issue. As he explains, although the farmers had less of almost everything during the depression, the one thing they had more in abundance was debt. "Debt was an inescapable and potentially destructive component of modern farming, and efforts to lessen its impact on rural communities became one of the first ingredients of the relief package that the state created to rescue villages from the depression" (p. 68).

Smith locates his study among recent works that have traced continuities between prewar, wartime, and post-surrender society, suggesting that there were many ways in which the modern ideas and practices of revitalization "merged seamlessly" with those of a nation mobilizing for total war. In 1939, the prefecture designated Sekishiba a "moral suasion village." It would plan for "the creation of the ideal village, in which production and education, morals and economics are bound together as one" (p. 349). But prosperity and stability demanded the absence of dissent, and "it was but a small leap from there to the even more absolute denials that war required" (p. 351). At the end of the war, the perceived connections among rural impoverishment, landlord power, and militarism led to extensive land reform, "the tool of choice for dealing with the countryside's many flaws" (p. 355). Smith sees the Occupation hastening a process already underway.

As the author has shown, Sekishiba was indeed unusual in many ways as it responded to and documented the Great Depression. For this reader, the matter of extrapolation is the single most important way in which the study might have been stronger. In what ways was Sekishiba representative of other villages during the crisis, both within the Tōhoku region and within greater Japan? Perhaps, however, this is too much to ask of a study that has already opened up so many new dimensions of Japanese history.

SHARON A. MINICHIELLO
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JAMES J. ORR. *The Victim as Hero: Ideologies of Peace and National Identity in Postwar Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 2001. Pp. viii, 271. $22.95.

Any discussion of Japan's responsibility for World War II must confront the heartfelt belief of many Japanese that they too, like their Asian neighbors, were victims of the conflict. As James J. Orr's solid monograph demonstrates, this "victim consciousness" arose even before surrender in August 1945, and it was earnestly abetted by Occupation authorities during 1945–1952. The Americans held the emperor and his people

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blameless while finding Japan's military leadership culpable of armed aggression against China, Southeast Asia, and the Western Allies. Orr concludes that the American decision to release the Japanese public at large "from guilt consciousness was an important component of the more self-indulgent forms of victim consciousness" (p. 32) and hence diminished people's subjective agency.

Specific awareness of their status as the only people to be victimized by operational atomic bombings spread among the general public more fully in the mid-1950s, when more than thirty million Japanese signed petitions calling on all nations to ban atomic and hydrogen weapons. Amid the fiercely partisan political battles of the late 1950s, ban-the-bomb pacifism won support from left, right, and center, perhaps softening "the rigidly oppositional stances in Japanese political life" and "making antinuclear pacifism—indeed, pacifism itself—into a viable conservative, even patriotic position" (p. 70).

Three chapters discuss examples of victim consciousness in Japanese school textbooks, fiction and film, and movements to grant fuller monetary compensation to domestic domestic groups claiming to be war victims. The author finds that elementary and junior high school textbooks used since the 1950s show "greater nuance and frankness about Japan's militarist past than is commonly assumed," but they also reveal a continuing tendency "to portray Japanese (and to some extent Asian) civilian suffering at the hands of the Japanese military" (p. 74). An "apologist interlude" from the late 1950s to the early 1970s produced junior high school textbooks less critical of wartime government policies, so "students were less likely to get the sense that they had been victimized" (p. 95). Then in subsequent textbooks "the Japanese people's complicity in victimization of Asians eventually accompanied the dramatic expansion of Asian treatment in the late 1970s . . . the focus on victimization ultimately brought about greater awareness of a national people's responsibility for Japan's past as aggressor" (p. 105).

More problematic is a chapter devoted to three widely read postwar novels (and their film counterparts) chosen from Japan's vast literature illustrating war victimhood: Tsuboi Sakae's *Nijūshi no hitomi* (Twenty-Four Eyes, 1952, trans. 1983), Gomikawa Junpei's *Ningen no jōken* (The Human Condition, 1956–1958), and Ibuse Masuji's *Kuroi ame* (Black Rain, 1965–1966, trans. 1969). The reader is not told where these works fit in the broader context of Japanese literature on war and atomic bombings. Orr provides elaborate plot synopses but only brief textual analysis, preferring to summarize what others have said about the three novels. It is debatable, for example, that *Kuroi ame* "tapped into a resurgent conservative pride in Japanese tradition" (p. 132) or that its protagonist, Shigematsu, "finds spiritual sustenance in the rhythms of the rural village" (p. 133). Nonetheless it is true that, for many Japanese, popular film and fiction helped romanticize a past of "inescapable if admirable victimhood" (p. 136).

The final substantive chapter ably chronicles how atomic bomb survivors, landlords diminished by early postwar land reforms, and Japanese settlers repatriated from overseas colonies successfully depicted themselves in the 1960s as war victims in order to receive additional monetary compensation from the government. Each group was judged eligible for extra aid from the social-welfare system, effectively incorporating them into the newly prosperous, centrally administered society of the late 1960s and beyond.

Orr asserts that Japan's postwar victim consciousness "involved selective remembrance and reconstruction that often recognized the victimization of others" (p. 175). At the same time, he acknowledges that "the victim mindset does tend to qualify the people's sense of complicity and hence responsibility for Japan's wartime acts" (p. 176). Orr denies that victim consciousness is a conservative ploy to dodge war responsibility; on the contrary, he finds, "the focus on war victimhood seems more characteristic of the liberal view of war as evil" (p. 13). Readers will detect occasional editorializing and a few errors in romanized transliterations. Fortunately this book directs major attention to the neglected 1950s in Japan. Still needed is an account updating Japanese consciousness of war and atomic victimhood during the past two decades, particularly its uses in diplomacy with the United States.

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Peter Zinoman. *The Colonial Bastille: A History of Imprisonment in Vietnam, 1862–1940*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2001. Pp. xix, 351. $48.00.

Peter Zinoman has written a path-breaking book. Stunning in its research and highly sophisticated in its analysis of the colonial prison in Vietnam, it is that rare work that will make us revise much of our thinking.

Zinoman fundamentally reshapes our understanding of carceral institutions, in particular within colonial relationships. He argues convincingly that the colonial prison had a more profound impact on the development of nationalist discourse in Vietnam than it did on French civilizing efforts. He challenges the work of Michel Foucault, Partha Chatterjee, and others who have seen the colonial prison as the center of the hegemonic enterprise. Instead of laboratories of modernity or symbols of power, Zinoman sees the chaotic and ill-disciplined prison system as contributing to the decline of French power in Vietnam and adding significantly to the rise of anticolonial activity. What is most impressive about this book, however, is that it takes us inside colonial prisons through Vietnamese and French memoirs and official source material.

Once inside the penitentiary gates, Zinoman intro-

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duces us to the prison population and the French in charge of the overcrowded system. For most of the colonial period, petty thieves and vagrants dominated the Vietnamese prison population, not communists or political activists. Communal architecture and haphazard systems of classification meant that all prisoners were thrown together. Ironically, this served the nascent Communist Party well, as it could recruit new cadres out of the general population. Zinoman also dispels one persistent myth about the Communist Party, stating clearly that most political prisoners in the French system had little understanding of Marxist-Leninist thought before their incarceration. The prison did become the university of the party, but only because of the heavy influence of those outside its gates. The porous walls of French prisons could not stop anticolonial ideas from penetrating deeply into the prison yards, and here social revolutionaries were born.

Zinoman is at his best when describing the unwillingness or inability of French officials to respond to growing political unrest within the prisons. Limited resources and negative racial stereotyping kept French prison officials from introducing prison reforms that were sweeping the United States and much of Western Europe during the last half of the nineteenth century. Even as political activity within the prison system increased, few French officials advocated separate cells and classification for political prisoners. Fewer still thought in terms of behavior modification or rehabilitation of prisoners through discipline. Instead, miserable conditions and overcrowding in common rooms fueled the flames of nationalist and patriotic discourse as French officials watched in disbelief.

Another strength of Zinoman's work is his discussion of opposition to French prisons in the colonial press. Between 1934 and 1939, Zinoman tells us, colonial newspapers featured thousands of stories about the overcrowded prison rooms, wretched food, filthy living conditions, and acts of brutality. The unanticipated public outrage at news of prison conditions encouraged the publication of a flood of prison memoirs and essays. The development worldwide of the genre of investigative journalism in the interwar period also contributed significantly to the popularity of such stories. For the Vietnamese, these press reports became a rallying point of anticolonial action because "blame for the wretched state of the colonial prison could not be pinned on abstract economic forces" (p. 241).

One of the most interesting chapters of Zinoman's book explores the unifying nature of the prison experience and its impact on Vietnamese nationalism. Because French colonial prisons were in every corner of Vietnam, and prisoners were often sent for detention far away from their home provinces to lessen contact with the outside, Zinoman suggests that prison time gave to modern Vietnamese a sense of connectedness that they could not experience in any other forum. In other words, years in and then out of a French prison gave Vietnamese the ability to imagine a larger political community. In that way, Zinoman argues, the prison system actually served as an "institutional mainspring for the development in Indochina of a modern political identity" (p. 39). Some scholars will find fault with this conclusion, but Zinoman's argument persuaded me.

This is an important work and will no doubt be crucial reading for students and scholars interested in colonial theory, modernization, and East Asia for years to come.

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DAVID CHANDLER. *Voices from S-21: Terror and History in Pol Pot's Secret Prison*. (A Philip E. Lilienthal Book.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1999. Pp. xiii, 238. Cloth $48.00, paper $17.95.

This book represents a methodical case study of the Khmer Rouge's secret prison at Tuol Sleng during its genocidal rule in Cambodia from 1975 to 1978, when nearly two million people, out of seven million, perished. At the prison, code-named S-21, the Communist regime interrogated and tortured over 14,000 men, women, and children before executing them at the nearby Choeung Ek killing field. Whereas earlier studies on the Khmer Rouge have focused on its leaders or on the regime in general, this study concentrates on S-21. As such, it contributes to a better understanding of the secretive and violent aspects of the paranoid Khmer Rouge regime and fills a gap in the literature on violence in Southeast Asia.

David Chandler is a noted authority on Cambodia, having served there as a U.S. foreign service officer and written many books on its history. Moreover, he is fluent in the Khmer language, as seen from his interviews with many Cambodians and from his meticulous examination of the primary source materials, including "over a thousand confession texts" (p. x). To his credit, he has also used an array of secondary sources to examine violence in other prison settings, in both communist and noncommunist countries, for "comparative insights" (p. x). His book aims at "studying S-21 and its archive on their own terms . . . particularly as a means of entering the collective mentality of the Khmer Rouge and also as a way of coming to grips with a frightening, heavily documented institution" (p. ix).

Accordingly, Chandler has carefully organized his book into six well-written chapters: "Discovering S-21"; "S-21: A Total Institution"; "Choosing the Enemies"; "Framing the Questions"; "Forcing the Answers"; and "Explaining S-21." He has included a preface, index, notes on each chapter, an appendix on a prisoner's denial of incest, a bibliography, a diagram of S-21's layout, and photographs of the prison site, killing field, officials, guards, and prisoners.

Chapter one deals with Vietnam's discovery of the prison upon its occupation of Cambodia in 1979, its

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transformation of the prison into a museum and archive, and the developments after Vietnam's withdrawal in 1989, such as the microfilming of the S-21 archive by Cornell University. Chapter two then defines S-21 as a "total institution," with Chandler arguing that it was an extreme example because it served as "an interrogation and torture facility rather than a prison" and "no one was ever released" (p. 15). He profiles the prison personnel and compares them with the prisoners, noting ironically that both groups comprised young, ethnic Khmer males from rural backgrounds. Chapter three explains the mission of S-21 as "to locate, question, and destroy the enemies" (p. 41) of the Khmer Rouge. Internal enemies were considered more dangerous than external ones and purges of civilian and military enemies soon included the regime's own senior cadres, diplomats, and intellectuals. Chapter four discusses the interrogation of prisoners and the extracting of confessions from them, as proof of offenses and to incriminate others. Confessions contained information about the prisoner: his or her crime, future plans, and lists of associates. Chapter five examines the various forms of torture used at S-21, including beatings, electric shock, water tortures, and being "forced to eat excrement" (p. 130). Whereas earlier regimes used "penal torture," the Khmer Rouge used mainly "judicial torture" (p. 117). In chapter six, Chandler wisely concludes that S-21 was "a Cambodian, Communist, imported, twentieth-century phenomenon" and that "as an amalgam, it was unique" (p. 152).

Chandler compares and contrasts S-21 with prison settings within and outside Cambodia: for example, in the former Soviet Union, China, Vietnam, Nazi Germany, and Argentina. By doing so, he provides much comparative analysis plus a national and international context for his study. These are two strengths of the book. Another strength is his evenhanded approach, as seen in his dispassionate stance, his disclosure that the interrogators' voices are missing, his appreciation of other studies on violence, his acknowledgment that more materials may be uncovered, and his admission of difficulty in verifying the authenticity of the prison records for lack of materials to check them against. Yet another strength is his analysis of the Khmer Rouge, including arguments that they were only partly racist or peasant-motivated and that Cambodian traditions of respect and deference to authority predisposed them to institutions like S-21. If the book has a weakness, perhaps more attention should also be given to the Cambodian predisposition to violence, a legacy that has long characterized its history.

Nonetheless, the book is timely in light of heightened interest in a permanent International Criminal Court to bring violent war criminals, like the Khmer Rouge, to justice. Temporary tribunals have already been formed for Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia, with Cambodia next in line. Meanwhile, with the Middle East once more awash in blood, the subject of violence continues to command attention. Chandler's study, especially his grim closing that "to find the source of the evil that was enacted at S-21 on a daily basis, we need look no further than ourselves" (p. 155), reminds us that despite humankind's so-called progress, man's inhumanity to man has not abated.

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PARIMAL GHOSH. *Brave Men of the Hills: Resistance and Rebellion in Burma, 1825–1932.* Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press. 2000. Pp. 197. $35.00.

Burma was not central to the British Raj, added in bits over some sixty years, and never reliably "pacified." Compared to the now enormous and sophisticated literature on the British period in India, Burma's place in the historiography of the British Empire is modest. Careful studies of aspects of the Anglo-Burmese encounter are therefore welcome. Parimal Ghosh's short monograph is such a contribution. That Burma always presented problems in "imperial policing," every reader of George Orwell knows. Ghosh helps us to understand why—and perhaps also to understand Orwell's obviously conflicted view of Buddhist monks.

The Burma that the Raj conquered was not a strongly centralized state; postconquest control would have been easier had it been. Local resistance that, when suppressed, segued into "dacoitry" was the pattern. This placed a heavy burden on the civil police, neither numerous nor heavily armed, backed by a paramilitary force, the Burma Military Policy (BMP). When nationalism and its attendant country-wide organizations appeared in the first quarter of the twentieth century, it could link up with these traditions of local resistance in ways that posed a formidable challenge to the lightly staffed machinery of policing. The 1931–1932 Saya Sen rebellion (named for its most prominent leader), which Ghosh analyzes carefully, albeit with occasional opaque phrasing, was just such a challenge. Careful grassroots organization was married to traditional beliefs in magical protections against firearms. The civil police and the BMP were not enough to contain the outbreak, and regular British and Indian infantry units had to be deployed before the situation was again under control. Or was it? Ghosh points out that the 1931–1932 rebels fought for national, not local autonomy, indicating a shifting mindset that boded ill, in the not-so-long run, for the Raj with its tradition of minimum expense policing—as Orwell, in retrospect, saw so clearly.

Ghosh ends his study in 1932, but there may be a significant footnote. When the Japanese invaded Burma in 1942, Burmese soldiers and police abandoned their British rulers. The Burmese population and, especially, Buddhist monks (the latter very prominent in the 1931–1932 rebellion) proved indifferent or hostile to the Raj. The Japanese would have won in any case, but Burmese disaffection facilitated their

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rapid success. Saya Sen may have won his greatest victory ten years after his capture.

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SATADRU SEN. *Disciplining Punishment: Colonialism and Convict Society in the Andaman Islands*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2000. Pp. vi, 283. $35.00.

Satadru Sen's book examines the organization and objectives of the penal settlement centered in Port Blair in the Andaman Islands, which was created by the newly formalized British regime to incarcerate rebels who had participated in the 1857–1858 mutiny against British power. The history of the settlement during the second half of the nineteenth century serves as an exemplary—rather than representative—illustration of the implementation of the ideology of British rule in India during this period. The study ends in 1898, when a decisive change occurred in the penological regime in the Andamans. This was denoted by the completion of the colony's Cellular Jail, a prison within a prison, which was designed to facilitate extraordinarily rigorous surveillance—and which assumed considerable significance as a symbol of nationalist resistance to British rule in the twentieth century, when many political prisoners transported from the mainland to the Andamans were incarcerated there.

The penal colony was intended to be a closed social world. All of its initial captives had been sentenced to life terms. So had been the ordinary criminals who joined them shortly after the colony's foundation, most of whom were murderers and participants in armed gang robberies. In fact, most prisoners served terms of at least twenty years. When Port Blair's officials accepted that some short-term prisoners had to be admitted for the sake of the colony's internal economy, in order to bring its workforce to viable strength, they did so reluctantly; short-term prisoners were disruptive agents, bearers of the moral disorder of the outside world, and, as such, impediments to social engineering. That is, they violated the isolation that was believed essential to complete realization of the rehabilitative mission of the penal colony, which was predicated on a model of the social bases of criminal behavior: a convict population comprised entirely of long-term prisoners would accept British behavioral norms because it was thoroughly protected from mainland influences by virtue of both its island confinement and the inhospitable environment surrounding the penal colony proper (wilds supposedly unattractive to would-be escapees, inhabited by the "tribal" Andamanese). The penological theory that informed British administrative behavior in the Andamans incorporated both criminological concepts developed (and applied) within Britain and notions of social order peculiar to the colonial situation. And, as scholars have agreed, places such as jails were among the few sites in which colonial rulers were capable of exerting considerable social control.

The penal colony's administrative ideology was grounded in a number of classificatory schemes. Management of the social life of the colony was facilitated by (somewhat arbitrarily) assigning prisoners to positions within an orientalist four-caste hierarchy, which bore little resemblance to the complex social system of the mainland. A utilitarian rationale informed the ordered stages of prisoners' careers within the colony: they began their sentences performing punitive, hard labor; moved on to rehabilitative, productive labor; progressed (if they were life-term prisoners) to acquire limited social and economic autonomy as peasant farmers, termed "Self-Supporters," or as convict officers in the service of the regime (who were regarded as more reliable employees than free men, because convicts could be more easily disciplined); and, finally, if their sentences were limited, they would be urged to remain in the Andamans as free settlers and, as such, to become participants in the diffuse colonial project to modify the behavior of the island Aboriginals.

Although the Andamanese were judged to be so low on the scale of civilization as to defy British efforts to change them, it is notable that the administrators of Port Blair categorized the normal behavior of Andamanese as akin to the criminal behavior of their convict charges. Thus, although adult Andamanese were generally considered to be beyond redemption, it is notable that children were (often forcibly) taken from their parents from the earliest days of British encounters with the Andamanese; children might be socialized and eventually returned to their people as agents of civilization. In short, all of the policies of the settlement regime were consistent.

My schematic summary does not do justice to Sen's book, which is replete with fascinating details. Prospective readers should be warned, however, that it presumes a good deal of background knowledge and is not likely to engage the nonspecialist.

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K. SIVARAMAKRISHNAN. *Modern Forests: Statemaking and Environmental Change in Colonial Eastern India*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1999. Pp. xxvii, 341. $49.50.

This is an outstanding book. Ostensibly dealing with the making and enforcing of forest conservation policy in Bengal, it ranges expertly across a vast terrain of European intellectual history, South Asian cultural anthropology, and colonial and postcolonial theory. It enlightens—in the proper sense—both through its grasp of historical detail and its comprehension of complex arguments.

K. Sivaramakrishnan explores the long evolution of forest administration under British colonial rule in eastern India, not as a narrow and particular branch of governance but as a process of state-making. The key to his perspective is that this administration involved not only ideas about resource conservation and "sci-

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entific" management (as has often been seen before) but also about ownership rights to property. In "settling" the forests, colonial rule was also settling a hierarchy of privileged access to resources within Indian society itself. Sivaramakrishnan makes much play with the contrasts and contradictions generated by this dual role, showing how colonial policies were often self-conflicting. They also brought out the two very different sides of British rule in India: the one, reflecting "modernist" tendencies toward rationality, order, and capitalism (in so far as forest resources were managed for profit); the other, reflecting "traditionalist" concerns with heritable rights and the preservation of social deference and hierarchy. Quietly, but definitively, he devastates a bent of postcolonial theorizing that assumes the colonial context to have been marked by a neat binary opposition between Western modernity and indigenous traditionalism.

But it is not only the tradition/modernity dichotomy that comes under his scalpel. Sivaramakrishnan shows a penchant for dismantling most of the binary oppositions in relation to which his subject has previously been understood. That romantic juxtaposition between "natural conservationist" indigenes and greedy colonial forest managers, which has been the staple of Indian forest history, dissolves into a complex picture of expropriation and conservation being pursued by agencies on both sides of the fence. Equally, the old saw that colonial and scientific management agencies merely eliminated indigenous rights is qualified by recognition that colonial state-building procedures actually created rights for some of the indigenes—albeit only some. In making these arguments, Sivaramakrishnan relies heavily on detailed analyses of institutional praxis—what happened on the ground—that proves to have been frequently at odds with what was supposed to have been happening according to administrative texts and theoretical discourses. He valuably reminds us that history consists, perhaps even more, of what people actually did than just what they said.

What emerges from his study has importance much beyond the realm of forest history. Inter alia, he produces a vivid portrait of British colonialism at work in India in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. That portrait reveals the many flaws in British pretensions to power and dominance: their policies, with regard to the forests as much as anything else, depended on implementation by Indian agencies and accommodation with Indian forms of resistance. Not least among the casualties of his critique is the idea of "pure" resistance itself, which soon begins to transmute into conceptions of defensive negotiation and even strategic complicity. Indian power structures form part of his story almost as much as colonial ones and progressively restore what went on in the forests to a chapter in India's history itself. Perhaps if other historians were as sensitive as Sivaramakrishnan to the nuances of power relations in colonial contexts, we might now have a historiography that does greater justice to the notion of our postcolonial times.

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Sanjay Joshi. *Fractured Modernity: Making of a Middle Class in Colonial North India*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press. 2001. Pp. ix, 209. $29.95.

Sanjay Joshi's careful study of the emerging middle class in an important city of north India between 1880 and 1930 is a convincing and sophisticated intervention in current debates about the nature of modernity in India and, most centrally, the foundations of the Indian state. At first blush, Joshi may be assumed to be reviewing familiar ground about the central role of education, not industrialization, in shaping a colonized, bilingual middle class that could only be flawed when compared to its European counterparts. Joshi in fact challenges this interpretation, above all by building on recent work in European history that rethinks the ideal-typical middle class. Using a wide range of government documents, English and Hindi newspapers and publications, the records of key voluntary associations, and private papers, Joshi argues, in short, that what may seem Indian anomalies are in fact continuities with European patterns. Attention to the India case, moreover, enlarges understanding of both.

Joshi maintains that while changes in economic and educational life may form a necessary background to creating a middle class, the key activity of this population everywhere is not economic but cultural and political. The middle class constitutes itself through the deployment of new forms of social conduct and new modes of political activity to assert its respectability and centrality, as against the nobility (and colonialists) on the one hand and the lower classes on the other. Second, these assertions inevitably require contradictory stances. The same people, the same organizations, the same newspapers at any given time may well express commitment to universal values, like meritocracy and gender equality, and simultaneously espouse "tradition" that both enhances their status and, inevitably, draws exclusionary lines defined by such parameters as birth, gender, and religion. As a result, Joshi argues, such labels as "progressive" and "reactionary" can be misleading, as they obscure the "modernity" of what in fact are novel positions.

Joshi identifies four themes, discussed in successive chapters, that shaped the self-representation of the middle class. The first was the very claim to represent the public, through new genres like public newspapers and new kinds of civic associations, on the basis of the respect owed to exponents of respectable, improvement-focused behaviors. Second, issues related to gender proved central to making these claims. Being middle class was characterized by disapproval of the courtesan, emblem of the nawabi court culture of the past, coupled with celebration of the housewife, who

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was to be tutored in skills and behaviors that distinguished her at once from the elites and from the uneducated.

Third, religion, far from an uncolonized space assigned to private life, was transformed precisely by being made into a symbol of public life. In a place like Lucknow, where the old Persianized service classes became the backbone of the middle class, those who had flourished under nawabi rule "discovered"—in this region as elsewhere—a past history of persecution at the hands of Muslims and were strident in their newfound claims of Hindu authenticity. As the notion of a "Hindu community" became a resource for empowerment, it inevitably meant empowerment of one group over others. The new Hinduism at once spoke a language of universalism, with a service ethic and an assertion of unity, as well as a language of difference, against those of other religions and those outside these newfound norms.

Finally, the tensions evident in this project of middle-class representation inevitably meant that the middle class would oscillate between support of the ideals of liberal, secular nationalism and anti-Muslim Hindu nationalism. The electoral politics, and mass movements, of the 1920s marked a decisive turn to the latter pole, but, Joshi insists, both strands were evident throughout.

Joshi tries to include Muslim participants in his study, but here his data is thinner, in part constrained by the limitations of using only Hindi (and not Urdu) vernacular sources. Nonetheless, his work contributes richly to the history of the high colonial period, as well as to a history that emphasizes simultaneity and similarity in historical developments in India and Western Europe. He also succeeds in a further goal: namely, an identification of the heritage of today's Hindu majoritarian nationalism. That nationalism is virulently anti-Muslim yet claims to be the true secularist; it opposes strategies to benefit the excluded and marginalized lower classes yet proclaims itself the defender of true democracy. Joshi provides a way of seeing how those apparent contradictions are, in fact, inherent in the nationalist project, and he calls for clear-sightedness in recognizing the cost to liberal values of the very project that made the middle class.

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NITA KUMAR. *Lessons from Schools: The History of Education in Banaras*. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage. 2000. Pp. 232. $45.00.

One of the avowed aims of British colonial education was the modernization and secularization of Indian society. If it resulted in the alienation of Indian youth from the religious and cultural traditions of their forebears, such was the inevitable collateral damage of a project that, in true visionary style, dreamed of lifting India into modernity and so into history.

The special virtue of Nita Kumar's useful book is that it challenges the totalizing claims of colonial effects by ethnographically studying educational change in one important setting: Banaras. Far from concluding that English education successfully marginalized indigenous systems of learning, Kumar unravels in fascinating detail the networks of power and hierarchies of domination that left the conflict between two competing hegemonies—British and Banarasi—unresolved and ongoing. In the process, Kumar challenges the dichotomies of elite-subaltern, dominant-dominated, and center-periphery, calling for historical methodologies that take into account the local narratives of change, adaptation, and resistance. Kumar is especially effective in showing how the colonial records on precolonial education tacitly direct modern readers to adopt a viewpoint that implicitly assesses this education as rigid and closed to reform and modification. By examining the evolving practices of Sanskrit learning, from techniques of recitation to the uses of physical space, Kumar offers an alternative viewpoint from which to evaluate change. The standpoint is internal to the culture, and is offered in such a way that it avoids the claims of authenticity that such an insider's perspective sometimes evokes.

The author attempts to restore to Sanskrit its cultural density and refuses the polarities that have made Sanskrit the antithesis of English education. In fact, her research shows that Sanskrit's eventual nationalistic aims follow a pattern strikingly similar to the chauvinist trajectory of English education. One enduring myth is that Sanskrit pandits were lost in an otherworldliness that made them indifferent to the social and political processes of their world. However, the gradual shift to an economy of labor in which pandits were paid employees—and not just beneficiaries of an arbitrary patronage system—produced the conditions for the new institutionalization of Sanskrit. Transforming the personalized relations between *guru* (teacher) and *shishya* (pupil), the Sanskrit College (which became the Banaras College under the British) reordered the physical spaces and temporal rituals of Sanskrit learning, from school buildings to the academic calendar.

Buildings make an especially important contribution to the altered economy of instruction, since the pupil has to adapt to the physical environment in order to maximize the instruction imparted therein. But more important, the building becomes an important focus of a community's interest, physically representing its values and ideals and therefore eliciting its monetary support. The entry of a corporate mentality in Sanskrit education brought merchants and pandits together as members of a new class of people, creating another set of stratifications in the society as well. It is these people who become the new power brokers of Banaras. Similarly, modifications in the pattern of holidays also replicated the corporate world. While the special holidays observed by Sanskrit education were determined by the lunar calendar (for instance, new

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moon [*ammavasya*], full moon [*purnima*], quarter moon [*ekadasi*]), the colonial state introduced the concept of Sunday as a day off from instruction. With this simple yet profound change, the school was brought in line with the functioning of the state and its bureaucratic work.

This development is particularly important in the early twentieth century, when not only institutions teaching Western sciences and languages but also those offering instruction in Sanskrit and other indigenous languages developed curricula and pedagogies influenced by the new spatial and temporal arrangements. Here the role of Annie Besant is key. Founder of the Central Hindu College in Banaras, she adapted the literary anthologies that were appearing in England for the teaching of Christianity and British cultural ideals to the purposes of a modern Hindu education, replacing biblical instruction with textual readings in the Vedas. In addition, she introduced rituals, like the evening prayer (*sandhya*), into boarding school life and unified Hinduism through the institution of the school, or what Besant termed a "brotherhood," with its implication of the school as the focal point of spiritual and cultural ties. Hinduism was redrawn to modernize Indians, employing the institutional supports of Western schooling while at the same time investing religion with a cultural content that could be transmitted through syllabi and textbooks. Matthew Arnold's influence is evident in Besant's preference for a notion of culture as possession, to be clutched as one's own in the midst of chaotic and overwhelming change.

Despite the obvious differences from region to region, there were three common responses to colonial education. The first involved a rejection of the new system altogether and persistence in the old. The second also repudiated colonial education, but in this case there was serious rethinking and refashioning of indigenous learning for current conditions. The third accepted the new learning, but with a degree of selectivity to suit individual ideals and goals. The nature of the response was determined, to a large degree, by the relative cohesiveness of the cultures in the regions. In this regard, Banaras offers an interesting contrast to Bengal. Whereas English education made swifter inroads in Bengal, because of the absence of a unified or shared culture strong enough to resist the cultural incursions of the West, Western learning was slower to take hold in Banaras. Kumar accounts for this difference by noting that the stiffer hegemonic hold of upper castes in Banaras never allowed a self-questioning intelligentsia to emerge, as was the case in Bengal, where looser cultural ties gave room for greater critical introspection.

Kumar offers other examples: Delhi and Lucknow went through the mutiny of 1857, but Banaras did not. The violent clash of two competing cultures defined the fate of Urdu in the mutiny-affected cities. However, Banaras underwent a different experience, and older systems of learning persisted longer in the absence of such immediate threats. This is a compelling argument, but it might have been more persuasive if one had evidence of the Banaras experience in other cities as well, especially in south India. Perhaps less open to dispute is that the cumulative effect of Banaras's many educational experiments—from the closed systems of Hindu education to the feeble fusion of Hinduism and modern science—was the separation of education from lived realities.

Kumar's dream of schools in the future as icons of a vibrant hybridity seems an unlikely one if, as the book is at pains to show, schools are also power constructions, presenting a curricular version of social reality that bears little resemblance to the world of lived experience. Few readers, however, will begrudge Kumar's hopefulness. Her sobering appraisal of the imperfect synthesis of indigenous and colonial education does not prevent her from concluding, with passion and conviction, that only an ability to inhabit different worlds and merge values will equip young people to cope with the challenges of modernization. And, as Kumar reminds us with such perspicacity, there is no firmer foundation for a secular society than the learning of this skill.

GAURI VISWANATHAN
Columbia University

CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES

FRANCIS M. CARROLL. *A Good and Wise Measure: The Search for the Canadian-American Boundary, 1783–1842*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 2001. Pp. xxi, 462. Cloth $70.00, paper $29.95.

Even outside of studies of the War of 1812, the relationship between the United States and British North America from the Revolution to the mid-nineteenth century has attracted more than its share of historians. Boundary questions, and the negotiations leading to the Webster-Ashburton Treaty (1842), have been treated (either centrally or tangentially) in a succession of works before and after the publication of Howard Jones's important *To the Webster-Ashburton Treaty: A Study in Anglo-American Relations, 1783–1843* (1977). Francis M. Carroll's book, however, is much more than just another addition to the literature.

Carroll offers a meticulous account not only of negotiations per se but also of efforts to find effective arbitration, and of the accompanying search on the ground for relevant landmarks. Ultimately, the book argues, the settlement of 1842 was not only true to the original provisions of the second Treaty of Paris (1783) but also represented the triumph of peaceful compromise over the bellicosity of the likes of Lord Palmerston and the resulting threat of a new Anglo-American war that had persisted from 1839 to 1841.

In part, it is the sheer weight of detail that gives force to Carroll's analysis. Although this is neither a finicky nor a slow-moving book, the author portrays thoroughly the intricacies of the border question.

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Argument and counter-argument are placed effectively in geographical and political contexts. There is an understandable focus on "the two most obscure parts of the boundary (today's Maine-New Brunswick and Minnesota-Ontario borders)" (p. 13), but the entire boundary issue is delineated in extended discussions of the consequences of the Treaty of Ghent (1814), the subsequent failure of arbitration by the king of the Netherlands, and the final search for a solution during the early 1840s. There is no shortage of substance in any of this.

Also impressive is the attention given to the surveying efforts that were crucial to the negotiations at every stage. Carroll brings out both the frailties and the achievements of the surveyors, and at times—as in the case of the British geologist George William Featherstonhaugh and his relationship with Palmerston—the strong personal influence they could wield. The quest for landmarks was, of course, far from the objective enquiry that its participants might have liked to suppose, but no previous author has established how direct were the linkages between the labors of those in the field and the more rarefied poring over maps and reports that followed in committee rooms.

Not so satisfying is the author's portrayal of the Aboriginal dimensions of the boundary question. The occasional error, as in referring to "Micmacs from the Passamaquoddy and Machias bands" (p. 15)—who, in reality, were quite distinct from the Mi'kmaq—is less significant than the book's inattention to the wider Aboriginal interests that were at stake. It is undoubtedly true that "the documents do not tell much about what Native people thought about the question of the boundary" (p. 123), and yet more broadly based analysis of Aboriginal diplomatic and strategic aspirations might have allowed greater depth in assessing the influence of those nations on the surveyors in border areas that were frequently still only under the loosest of non-Native control.

That caveat noted, however, this remains an important and successful book. The author's judgment that "the Webster-Ashburton Treaty was a monumental accomplishment for all parties and a major step in normalizing relations between British North America and the United States along 2,540 miles on the eastern half of the continent" (p. 286) carries weight and conviction because of the depth of the preceding analysis. Many years ago, the then-doyen of Canadian military historians, C. P. Stacey, pointed out the historically mythological character of "The Undefended Border" (*The Undefended Border: The Myth and the Reality* [1967]). Carroll, however, makes an able case for seeing the 1783–1842 efforts at boundary resolution as preparing the way for a later era in which the notion of the undefended border at least had "more than a grain of truth" (p. xiii).

JOHN G. REID
Saint Mary's University

DAVID MASSELL. *Amassing Power: J. B. Duke and the Saguenay River, 1897–1927.* (McGill-Queen's Studies on the History of Quebec.) Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, in association with the Forest History Society, Inc., Durham, N.C. 2000. Pp. ix, 301. $49.95.

When one thinks of hydroelectric development in Quebec, one usually thinks of the massive James Bay projects sponsored by Premier Robert Bourassa in the 1970s. David Massell, however, demonstrates that interest in big power projects in Quebec predated Bourassa by at least fifty years. He also demonstrates that the earlier Quebec governments were as dedicated to utilizing the province's hydroelectric resources for the benefit of the people of Quebec as was Bourassa. The pivotal difference between Bourassa's government of the 1970s and that of his predecessors was that Bourassa preferred to use the state as an engine of development rather than private enterprise.

The focus of Massell's book is the development of the Saguenay River between 1897 and 1927, paying particular attention to the role played by J. B. Duke, finance capitalist and president of the American Tobacco Company. Thomas Willson, a Canadian inventor and businessman, was the first to try to develop the Saguenay's power by building a hydroelectric dam at Shipsaw, but he needed customers for his power and more financing; this led him into a partnership with the Interstate Chemical Corporation (ICC), an American company that insisted on bringing Duke into the arrangement. Duke toured the Shipsaw dam in 1912 and was initially unimpressed. He did, however, strike a hard bargain with both Willson and the ICC, leaving all the development with his partners and agreeing to lend them the necessary money to undertake the project. Both partners were financially strapped, and when bankruptcy loomed, Duke finagled his way into owning the water powers of the lower Saguenay, including Shipsaw.

Duke also negotiated a deal with another Canadian businessman, Colonel Benjamin Scott, who owned the power rights to the upper Saguenay. Scott, too, fared badly against Duke. In this partnership, Duke had agreed to finance the development of water powers on the upper Saguenay, providing Scott could get clear title to those powers. At this time, around 1910, the Quebec government was developing a professional civil service dedicated to protecting and promoting the interests of the Quebec people. Consequently, when Scott opened negotiations to secure title to the water powers, the government, as represented by Arthur Amos, chief engineer of the newly formed Hydraulic Service Department, agreed to sell the upper river power sites, but only for a price that Duke refused to pay. As a result, Duke denied Scott his "fee for services rendered." Scott sued and received partial compensation for his efforts; however, Duke had gained control of the entire Saguenay water powers. All he needed was the right to develop them. This he acquired during the Depression that followed World

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War I from premier Louis-Alexandre Taschereau, who was eager to provide employment and consequently willing to negotiate with capitalists who promised to foster industrial development.

Massell's narrative is crisp, engaging, and compelling. He successfully situates the history of the Saguenay into broader historiographic themes, including business/government relations, hinterland resources and industrial development, environmental characteristics and transformations, and Canadian/American relations. Specifically, Massell demonstrates that American attempts to develop Canadian resources were not easy or even inevitable. Good timing, favorable market and environmental conditions, and, perhaps above all, government support, were necessary requirements for development, some or all of which were not always available. Massell also comments on the idea of "place" versus "place-value." Some local farmers campaigned against developing power sites on the Saguenay River because it meant that their lands would be flooded, yet their idea of place was overwhelmed by big business interests in place-value once Taschereau came to power, leaving the farmers with lingering resentments. This point continues to resonate with Canadian and American thinkers today as NAFTA and security concerns once again put place and place-value in competition.

JEAN L. MANORE
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BRADFORD JAMES RENNIE. *The Rise of Agrarian Democracy: The United Farmers and Farm Women of Alberta, 1909–1921*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Toronto Press. 2000. Pp. 282. Cloth $65.00, paper $24.95.

Bradford James Rennie provides an eminently fair treatment of the rise and first electoral successes of the United Farmers of Alberta (UFA) and the United Farm Women of Alberta (UFWA). Much of the writing on the movements and parties that arose on the Canadian prairies in the first half of the twentieth century is tendentious and moralizing, detailing how the organizations in question conformed or failed to conform to the author's idea of what should have been done to create an ideal society. Refreshingly, Rennie accepts the movements and submovements on their own terms, letting participants speak for themselves without endorsing or refuting their interpretation of the predicaments they were in or the tactics they used.

The book begins with an examination of the origins of Alberta farm movements, showing the Grange and the Patrons of Industry to be precursors. The history of the UFA and UFWA unfolds mainly from the perspective of the rank and file, who were largely responsible for crucial matters such as recruitment and policy formation, and who were the driving force behind the organization's decision to run candidates in federal and provincial elections. Rennie's focus is on the class issues facing farmers, although the importance of regional grievances is by no means slighted. Class issues are interwoven with a depiction of farmers' self-image as the most important class in society, as people who produced the bulk of the national wealth and lived a life that fostered tranquility, enlightened cooperation, industriousness, and high-mindedness. Farmers and farm women believed that plutocrats, monopolies, the banks, speculators, middlemen, the railways, and the party system left them much poorer than they would otherwise have been, and that this conglomeration of forces prevented the full blossoming of agrarian civilization. The battle against these foes was to be won through political education and popular organization that would ultimately create a truly democratic, activist state.

The movement's warts are not covered up, as Rennie describes the racism, ethnic prejudice, gender inequality, and support for eugenics typical of the day. Nor is the movement presented as ideologically monolithic or perfectly consistent in its views. Tensions existed between the liberal and radical wings and among the various subgroups that made up those two camps. One of the wonders of the movement was that the various factions managed to disagree without destroying each other and even emerged united at crucial times—a rare achievement in the history of social movements.

The vaunted cooperation between farmers, which was to form the basis of the new society, is shown to have been based, in practice, on self-interest. Rennie provides a good illustration of the concept of reciprocal altruism in his description of how farmers kept detailed accounts of who helped whom with farm work, and who owed help to whom. This practice discouraged free riders and suggests that participants realized it would be a mistake to try to establish a cooperative commonwealth without providing for self-interest. It took remarkable political skill, even genius, to bring farmers of different ethnic backgrounds, genders, agricultural specializations, and levels of wealth together in a movement that maintained that their sacrifices and risks would be beneficial not only to themselves as individuals but also to the province, country, and world at large. Part of the movement's success can be attributed to its ability to strike a judicious balance between local, everyday concerns and the larger issue of the place of the farmer in the national and world economy.

The inclusion of farm women in the narrative is a welcome improvement over many of the standard works. Women activists are portrayed by the author as having traditional values, seeing themselves as responsible for the essential tasks of child rearing and homemaking. Women also believed that they could provide the elevated moral force necessary to bring the agrarian ideal to fruition through their demands for prohibition, health care, and improvements to rural schools. Overt conflict between the genders appears to have been minimal, as men and women united in demanding female suffrage and women's homestead-

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ing rights and joined forces in the struggle over more conventional agrarian issues such as tariffs and freight rates.

Rennie makes his most original contributions in marshaling evidence to show that Alberta, at least until 1922, did not have a wheat-based staple economy. He shows how mixed farming, ranching, wheat production, and nonagrarian activity created a more diverse rural economy. He also improves on previous works by showing how the political philosophy of UFA president Henry Wise Wood was shaped by his Alberta experiences and the conditions he found there.

In describing a multiplicity of influences on the movement, Rennie's account sometimes fails to form a coherent whole. For example, he maintains by turns that education, evangelicalism, the revised Farmers' Platform, foreign policy issues, and concerns over price spreads helped to politicize the movement. He makes a plausible case that these factors were relevant, but it is difficult to discern whether they are to be construed as having been equally influential, or whether certain influences outweighed the others. Rennie also makes uncritical use of certain theories of social movements, such as the "rising expectations" thesis. The author includes several cartoons from the *Grain Growers' Guide* that effectively and amusingly illustrate his points, but the book may suffer from something of an over reliance on the *Guide* as a source of information. Also, although Rennie's writing is lucid and carried off with enthusiasm, it sometimes fails to convey the poignancy and raw emotion that gave the movement its energy and inspiration.

Nonetheless, this book ultimately succeeds in providing a rich and even-handed description of the farm life and agrarian politics of the day. Rennie will convince many readers that this was a truly remarkable movement, and his study is a welcome addition to the literature on the topic.

EDWARD BELL
University of Western Ontario

PRISCILLA J. BREWER. *From Fireplace to Cookstove: Technology and the Domestic Ideal in America*. Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press. 2000. Pp. xix, 338. $29.95.

Long after the cast-iron cookstove had become standard equipment in most American homes, a manufacturer's brochure in 1885 declared it to be "one of our crowning [national] triumphs," an invention "fully as conspicuous" as steamboat or cotton gin, revolver or telegraph, sewing machine or typewriter (p. 156). Priscilla J. Brewer maintains that historians have neglected the cookstove, despite its central place in the everyday life of the nineteenth century, precisely because it was a domestic technology used mostly by women. She sets out to rectify that neglect in a study that is equally attuned to environmental and economic factors, technologies of manufacture and transportation, shifting gender roles and patterns of household management, marketing considerations such as status and taste, and the symbolism of popular culture. Drawing from trade catalogues, advertising circulars, advice manuals, periodicals, popular fiction, published memoirs, and unpublished diaries and correspondence, Brewer presents a meticulously detailed, thickly textured social and cultural history of American reliance on wood and coal-burning stoves. Close to a hundred carefully selected images provoke an awareness that this is a study of material culture, of how people made use of and related to physical things, but also of how those relationships were often mediated through visual representations.

Brewer cleverly opens her first chapter by asserting that "the American predilection for conspicuous consumption may well have begun with firewood" (p. 1). To Europeans suffering from deforestation, North America's forests seemed a limitless resource. Colonists built massive fireplaces and aspired to some comfort in winter rather than mere survival. Even so, cooking at an open fireplace remained a primitive affair of heavy lifting and much stooping, and estate inventories suggest that humble and wealthy households possessed the same few pots and utensils. During the mid-1700s, firewood shortages afflicted heavily settled areas and triggered price increases. In response, inventors such as Benjamin Franklin, Charles Willson Peale, and Benjamin Thompson (Count Rumford) experimented with stove designs aimed at reducing the escape of heat up the chimney, radiating more heat out into a room, and producing more heat with less fuel. By the 1820s, airtight cast-iron stoves were in common use for cooking and heating. Brewer identifies the cast-iron stove as the first consumer durable good. Many contemporary accounts suggest, according to the author, that "acquiring a stove was a watershed event" (p. 86)—much, one might add, like the first automobile, television, or personal computer for later generations.

Although Brewer does not make those analogies, she does focus attention on American society's varied responses to the cast-iron stove as a new technology. As the manufacture of stoves spread to several hundred companies located in all the major cities, their makers distinguished them for consumers by offering optional features and accessories, by designing a variety of cast-in surface motifs, by differentiating the decorative parlor stove from the utilitarian kitchen stove, and by encouraging brand-name recognition. Despite the hard work of blacking a stove's surface to prevent rust, removing ashes, and cleaning stovepipe, women universally welcomed an appliance that offered them more control over a wider variety of cooking techniques. Men, in contrast, often meditated with nostalgia on the warm cheer of the open hearth. Brewer's skillful interpretations of literary and artistic representations of stoves and fireplaces suggest an ambivalence typical of responses to new technologies, with nostalgia increasing as the nineteenth century progressed, when those who felt it were old enough to

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recall the open hearths of their childhoods but too young ever to have had to work with them. As a counter to this nostalgia, Brewer offers accounts of stove-bred women who had to revert to open fires on the Oregon trail or in western settlements and anxiously awaited the return of civilized cookery.

By the end of the nineteenth century, Americans became critical of cast-iron stoves that no longer seemed the latest technological marvel. With central heating on the increase, the heat generated by a cookstove in summer as well as winter proved ever more inconvenient. And as more women worked outside the home, they wanted stoves that did not need tending. Late nineteenth-century inventors experimented with stoves fueled by petroleum, gas, and electricity, with results that remain familiar. Brewer closes with a chapter portraying the nostalgia of a tiny minority for a return to wood cookstoves from the 1970s onward—and a reflection that the cultural path of the microwave oven has so far followed that of the cast-iron stove. Exhaustively researched, engagingly written, and enlivened by fascinating anecdotes, this book tells precisely the story promised by its title. Beyond that, it serves as a case study of the introduction of a new technology, its social impact, and its cultural reception—a case study particularly useful and unusual because the technology's site was domestic and its primary users were women.

JEFFREY L. MEIKLE
University of Texas, Austin

JOSEPH A. CONFORTI. *Imagining New England: Explorations of Regional Identity from the Pilgrims to the Mid-Twentieth Century*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2001. Pp. xiv, 384. Cloth $49.95, paper $19.95.

This aptly titled book focuses on the creation of a partially false regional myth that shifted culturally and geographically over time to perpetuate a counterfeit intellectual image of New England. Joseph A. Conforti studies the image makers who molded regional identity according to their own views, so that New England became "America's first strongly imagined region" (p. 6).

Cultural myths about New England began early, with succeeding generations of Puritans. The new republic cast a people representative of common Puritan values and platitudes. The sacrificing Minute Man became the virtuous independent Yankee who personified the region and the nation, allowing New England Federalists to dominate the Union. A crass commercialization that eclipsed rural life beginning in late eighteenth-century Massachusetts and Connecticut endangered this nascent cultural identity. "Aggrieved" regionalists reacted by inventing a colonial past that was in harmony with a new nationalism. To counter a predatory capitalism, the cultural regionalists bathed New England in a rosy light in which colonial forebears supposedly shared communal verities and individualism bowed to the needs of the commonweal. Ignoring the reality and commonality of the denucleated and isolated rural hamlets of the past two hundred years, they created the "white village," or perfect New England town that symbolized a harmonious social order.

Connecticut's Jedidiah Morse, the nation's first geographer, extolled New England as a region whose inhabitants exhibited "the simplicity of their manners, the purity of their morals, their noble independence, the equal distribution of their property, the industrious cultivation of their lands and for the enjoyment of all the necessaries and conveniences of life" (p. 85). Yale's Timothy Dwight, another propagandist for the republican virtues of New England, produced popular travel writings emphasizing the civilizing aspect of New England town life with its patterns of culture related to literacy and piety, something not to be found in the dispersed settlements of the South and the West. The artist John Barber enhanced the myth with numerous engravings depicting the "white village" with its town common surrounded by a steepled church and Federalist houses. Conforti offers a splendid close analysis of the many Barber renderings prominently displayed in the book. The end result was the reordering of village life as entrepreneurs and merchants invested in rebuilding rural towns freshly painted white according to the new model. This vision of a stable and ordered town became popular just as Massachusetts underwent an industrial revolution that created dingy factory towns replete with slums and immigrants. The stylized New England image of compact villages with central commons or greens, embodying moral rectitude and righteousness, became the cultural emblem of the nation, while the dirty truth of industrialization and urbanization was shoved under the Bigelow rug.

Readers will profit from the depth of factual interpretation on subjects as the veneration of a forgotten Pilgrim communalism, and the idolizing of the pastoral village in the literary romanticism of Harriet Beecher Stowe and Alice Morse Earle, both of whom ignored the new urban milieu and its immigrants. Besides presenting Earle's influence on the colonial revival and its artifacts, Conforti recounts the intriguing story of the "restoring" or invention of Nathaniel Hawthorne's fictional House of Seven Gables. For the twentieth century, the author examines Robert Frost and his robust "geocultural" poetry, and *Yankee Magazine* and its founder's drive to resurrect the fortunes of Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont by artfully contrasting rural virtues with the sins of urban America. In the epilogue, Conforti rightfully laments the chronic failure to address the story of the industrial/ethnic transformation of New England, buried under "the post-Puritan/Yankee narrative of New England distinctiveness" (p. 315).

As I read this book, I began to feel that I had trod this landscape before. Conforti's conceptual approach mirrors Stephen Nissenbaum's provocative earlier essay, "New England as Region and Nation," in *All Over*

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the Map: Rethinking American Regions, edited by Edward L. Ayers (1996). While acknowledging a debt to Nissenbaum in his preface, the only citation is in a footnote in the introduction. Adding several examples of his own, Conforti adheres to Nissenbaum's intellectual ordering of subjects. His book follows Nissenbaum's paradigm of those who created the bogus regional myth of New England. The groundbreaking ideas of Nissenbaum, and others I have not mentioned, stimulated Conforti to write an important book on historical misconception and mythmaking. Without taking away from his own achievement, Conforti should give appropriate credit when it is due.

JACK TAGER
University of Massachusetts, Amherst

MATTHEW BASSO, LAURA MCCALL, and DEE GARCEAU, editors. *Across the Great Divide: Cultures of Manhood in the American West*. New York: Routledge. 2001. Pp. x, 308. Cloth $80.00, paper $22.95.

As gender studies turned its focus on men, the American West became a prime "site" for investigation, since western lore is steeped in male stereotypes. "Cowboys and Indians" sum up the tradition of struggle and conquest in a mythic man's domain. Not surprisingly, then, in an anthology of thirteen original essays on "cultures of manhood in the American West," seven are as concerned with race as they are with gender.

"Several authors explore how subaltern communities contested hegemonic manhood by disrupting and recasting white myths of western masculinity" (p. 7), editor Laura McCall writes in her detailed introduction. The obvious examples all come late. In one of four essays devoted to post-World War II literature and film, Steven Lee mines the work of three Asian-American writers for evidence of a link between American nationalism (in the guise of the cowboy hero) and race that denies the Asian American a cultural role. Brian Klopotek uses three films dating from 1989 to 1998 to get at the white image of Indian hypermasculinity—a reading that needs more historical context for entrenched Indian stereotypes and less plot summary—while José Limón focuses on a single film, *Lone Star* (1996), to explore "the politics of racialized sexuality" in an essay that rediscovers the truism that when different races meet they usually bleed and always breed.

Race and gender are also intertwined in Durwood Ball's essay on public hangings, which argues that there was a right way to die and thereby honor one's race through a final display of unflappable white manhood. David A. T. Clark and Joane Nagel contend that the western "settler wars" were the product of white masculine insecurities as evidenced by the white community's willingness to embrace Indianness once the wars were won. Karen Leong offers a more persuasive essay on the Chinese exclusion debate. She argues that western exclusionists shifted their opposition from race, which had limited appeal in the East, to gender by focusing on the exploitation of Chinese women by the cartels that controlled migration and were introducing a new form of slavery into America. Here, a gender issue usefully illuminates a racial issue.

In other essays, manhood becomes a stand-in not just for race but for class conflict and economic anxieties as well. In Gunther Peck's essay on risk-taking on the Comstock Lode, class issues are paramount. The workers risked physical injury, the owners financial loss. Recreational gambling by the laborers allowed them to engage in a kind of economic—that is, middle-class—risk taking that, because it was devoid of calculation and rationality, further defined the class divide. Co-editor Matthew Basso establishes a culture under siege in his examination of Montana copper workers during World War II. Excused from military service to serve in an essential wartime industry, they had to ward off the doubts raised by their exemption while meeting the challenge to their masculine authority posed by female factory workers. One could as readily argue that the fundamental issue was not manhood but job security, here jealously guarded along racial as well as gender lines.

In a departure from the focus on nineteenth and twentieth century case studies in Anglo-American manhood, Ramón Gutiérrez concentrates on sexual scandals before the courts in eighteenth-century New Mexico that highlight the issues of masculine honor and female shame. He establishes an obvious double standard, since men were considered guardians of female virtue in their own families, and manly if they managed to compromise the honor of women in other families. (A racial parallel is provided by Susan L. Johnson's study of the California gold rush, in which white men freely consorted with women of color but considered such license with white women a same-family violation.) Gutiérrez insists that honor was strictly a male affair in colonial New Mexico, but he shows that women, by spurning advances, could protect their own honor and thus their family's and, failing that, could and did seek redress in the courts to force their seducers to honor a promise of marriage, thereby restoring honor if the suit was successful.

The idea of strong men protecting the weaker creatures entrusted to their care links Gutiérrez's essay to Karen Merrill's essay on cattlemen who, following the disastrous winter of 1886–87, had to acknowledge that they had failed in their protective masculine role by allowing their cattle to perish. This leads to the startling conclusion that cattlemen were similarly discredited when they shipped their beef to market since this made them "protectors who ultimately did not protect" (p. 182) and thus failures by their own code of manly honor. This novel version of the 4H Club dilemma—how do you lovingly raise an animal for sale and slaughter?—sentimentalizes the cattle business. What the cattlemen were protecting after 1887 was their *investment*. Cowboy culture is also

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the focus of co-editor Dee Garceau's interesting essay arguing that with the end of the open range, all that was left of the cowboy's nomadic lifestyle and the masculine privileges of the margin was the actual tending of the cattle, which remained a male prerogative on fenced-in family ranches. A postscript of sorts is provided by Craig Leavitt's study of two Beat icons, Jack Kerouac and Neal Cassady. They defied one cowboy ideal—the man of few words—but embraced two others, mobility and life on the margin, in celebrating a highway culture that tore down fences and reopened the range.

There are useful insights to be found in this collection, although some of the essays are jargon ridden and would benefit from the advice offered by a 1960s bumper sticker: "Eschew obfuscation." A more fundamental weakness is the failure to establish the book's premise of a "hegemonic manhood" (p. 7). Judging from the introduction, the ultimate crisis for "beleaguered" white manhood occurred in the period 1876–1910 when urban Americans seized on the "rugged, individualistic maverick of the west" (p. 5) to serve as their role model. But there are so many crises in male authority identified during the two hundred years covered by the essays that the real issue becomes when manhood was *not* in crisis, as Craig Leavitt cheerfully admits when he writes, "American masculinity reached another of its perpetual crisis points in the years after World War II" (p. 219). This reminds me of Marcus Cunliffe's amusing observation that American historians have located watersheds in every period they studied, creating the metaphorical equivalent of a geographical impossibility. At least one essay is needed that identifies a time when "hegemonic manhood" was in fact confidently hegemonic.

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RHODRI JEFFREYS-JONES. *Cloak and Dollar: A History of American Secret Intelligence*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2002. Pp. x, 357. $29.95.

Rhodri Jeffreys-Jones here proposes to synthesize the "history of American secret intelligence." Based on limited original research in primary sources and extensive reading of the relevant secondary literature, this ambitious study surveys the role of intelligence agencies and their leaders dating from the American Revolution through the first year of George W. Bush's presidency. Its scope is invariably limited insofar as many records essential to understanding this history either remain closed or have been heavily redacted when released in response to Freedom of Information Act requests. Yet, and not because of these research restrictions, this is a deeply flawed and inadequate history.

On the one hand, Jeffreys-Jones does not distinguish between secret military and political (both international and domestic) intelligence; furthermore he examines the disparate character of "secret intelligence" episodically and seemingly at random. Thus, he writes extensively about General George Washington's use of military intelligence during the American Revolution, cursorily recounts the recruitment of the Pinkerton Agency for military intelligence purposes during the Civil War, and evaluates first in depth the historiography over Pearl Harbor and then the failure to have exploited successfully the deciphering of coded Japanese messages. But Jeffreys-Jones completely ignores the role of military intelligence during World Wars I and II and the Cold War, military code-breaking initiatives (beyond Japan) during and after World War II, and Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) intelligence initiatives (notably, U-2 and Corona) during the Cold War years. Although he surveys the political surveillance activities of private detective agencies (Pinkerton, Burns), he totally ignores military intelligence's domestic surveillance activities during World War I, the interwar years, and the 1960s, as well as the CIA's and National Security Council's intelligence activities of domestic consequence (MKULTRA, HTLINGUAL, Operations CHAOS and MINARET).

On the other hand, Jeffreys-Jones's contentions are invariably impressionistic and not well grounded in accessible primary sources. Two examples highlight this. In the aftermath of the Palmer Raids fiasco, he contends, Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) Director J. Edgar Hoover temporarily abandoned anti-radicalism, exemplified by his unwillingness to pursue Sacco and Vanzetti. The author seems unaware that the bureau had no authority to investigate a payroll robbery case (a violation of state, not federal, law) and further that bureau agents in fact did monitor those who questioned the verdict in the Sacco-Vanzetti case, such as then Harvard Law professor Felix Frankfurter. The second example relates to his speculation that in 1969, when attending University College, Oxford as a Rhodes Scholar, Bill Clinton, eager to avoid the draft, volunteered to become a CIA "asset," and that this experience colored his later presidential responses toward the agency.

Jeffreys-Jones's penchant for often sweeping, unsupported judgments is further captured in his monograph's central thesis, as conveyed by its title. Characterizing intelligence operatives (ranging from Allen Dulles and Hoover to Allan Pinkerton and H. O. Yardley) as "confidence men," he more broadly opines: "I suggest there has been a long-standing conspiracy of spies, a great confidence trick designed to boost the fortunes of the spy rather than protect the security of the American people" (p. viii). This arresting thesis is advanced to explain both why the CIA and FBI experienced an explosive growth in funding and influence and then escaped any substantive restrictions in the aftermath of the mid-1970s and mid-1980s revelations of abuses of power, or with the end of the Cold War following the collapse of the Soviet Union and communist governments in Eastern Europe in 1989–1991. Jeffreys-Jones, however, seems unaware

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that former FBI Director Hoover invariably testified before a House Appropriations Subcommittee about annual FBI appropriations, at which hearings subcommittee and members and staff never critically examined FBI operations. He seems similarly unaware that Congress, under the 1949 CIA Act, exempted the agency from normal budgetary and accounting requirements and then, until the 1970s, rebuffed resolutions introduced is the 1950s and 1960s to establish joint congressional oversight committees to monitor CIA operations.

ATHAN THEOHARIS
Marquette University

GLORIA L. MAIN. *Peoples of a Spacious Land: Families and Cultures in Colonial New England*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2001. Pp. xi, 316 $49.95.

Gloria L. Main's new book is a fine synthesis of several decades' worth of research on early New England. Although many of us can remember a time when "peoples" meant Congregationalists and Anglicans—or Bostonians and Newporters—Main devotes nearly as much space to the Native population of New England, or what she refers to collectively as Ninnimissinouk. Divided into chapters that roughly correspond to the human lifecycle, the book explores sexuality, courtship and marriage, childbearing and childrearing, youth, and old age in both cultures. Prefacing these chapters is a very interesting introduction about the geology and formation of New England, and Main completes her study with two chapters that show how the lives of Native Americans and English colonists were transformed in the eighteenth century.

Faced with an enormous amount of material, Main can only be applauded for the way in which she has interwoven an endless array of facts into a seamless narrative that shows the transition from birth to old age in early New England. The book is filled with perceptive discussions, bringing fresh insights to subjects that of late have become somewhat shopworn. Main's description of the way labor was organized and the way work was distributed in the preindustrial world is an unusually sophisticated approach to the development of gender relations.

Her concentration on everyday life makes the book an appealing read, and the seemingly simple decisions that confronted people become more profound when Main points out their lasting implications. For example, how did an English schoolmaster decide which students were "capable of learning"? And how hotly debated was the question of whether parents should be "compelled to put their children to learning" (p. 140–41)? Time and time again, Main employs a graceful turn of phrase to make a point. She discusses how the aggressive pursuit of property "turned hitherto ethnocentric English into confirmed racists" (p. 23), and how "gossip alone remained the guardian of propriety" (p. 70). And in a paragraph on domestic abuse, Main notes the reluctance of communities that hesitated "to threaten the rights of all husbands by taking action against one" (p. 88).

But if there is much to praise in this book, there are also a few questionable statements of fact and contradictions. Despite Main's assertions to the contrary, recent research suggests that New Englanders indulged in and enjoyed sex for its own sake and not only for reproductive purposes (p. 64). Main argues that one reason a widow might remarry was because she could not sell a farm since "it belonged to her children and she had only a life interest in it" (p. 84). In fact, seventeenth-century husbands often left entire estates to their prospective widows in fee simple, which meant that they could indeed sell the property. At one point, Main declares that in neither culture did men "customarily participate in the care and feeding of infants and toddlers, nor would they even handle them except for ritual purposes such as naming ceremonies" (p. 118). Yet further on she maintains that as babysitters, boys in New England gained "empathy and responsibility in their interactions with babies and toddlers, which carry over into their adult lives" and allowed them to be "attentive and responsive to their own children" (p. 144).

Despite such slips, however, the book successfully integrates a vast amount of information about early New England. In a wonderful concluding section, Main analyzes how increasing material prosperity for the English settlers only exaggerated the deteriorating situation of the Ninnimissinouk. As English land acquisition and production increased, Native American landholding decreased proportionately. Large English families provided enough labor to produce the food needed for their own survival and growth, and the resulting population increase stirred a desire for new land and new towns. Competition for natural resources worked to the disadvantage of the Native American population, who did not reproduce as quickly as the Europeans, who succumbed to the virulent diseases brought by the settlers, and whose food sources dwindled with the relentless European expansion.

Main uses her store of demographic and probate material ably for the English population, and she is able to make valid comparisons with the Ninnimissinouk from other sources. Her ability to put the puzzle pieces together make this a valuable book for those interested in family life in early New England.

ELAINE FORMAN CRANE
Fordham University

NINA REID-MARONEY. *Philadelphia's Enlightenment, 1740–1800: Kingdom of Christ, Empire of Reason*. (Contributions to the Study of World History, number 81.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 2001. Pp. xv, 199. $62.50.

Could Christianity and Enlightenment science mix without one falling prey to the other? Studies of eighteenth-century Anglo-American thought have been inclined to think not. A hearty embrace of

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Enlightenment principles, so the argument goes, brought with it either a descent into deism and eventual secularism or a "reasonable Christianity" that unwittingly sowed the seeds of its own destruction. But was the story always so bleak for those wanting to uphold the faith? Nina Reid-Maroney answers with an emphatic no in her study of Philadelphia's Enlightenment. That city's intellectual elite, typified in her account much more by Benjamin Rush than by Benjamin Franklin, constructed and cultivated a Christian Enlightenment that for two generations offered its adherents "intellectual flexibility and spiritual repose" (pp. 178–79). As these men engaged with the latest learning of their day, they sought to "sanctify things rational" rather than to "'rationalize' things spiritual" (p. xii). If mostly political events conspired to marginalize the ideas of this Philadelphia circle after 1800, their achievement should not be overlooked as one important manifestation of what the Enlightenment meant in early America.

To tell the story of Philadelphia's Enlightenment, Reid-Maroney has written a collective intellectual biography of roughly fifteen men whose interests, talents, and commitments made them important figures in the city's religious, scientific, and educational communities. Instrumental in institutions such as the American Philosophical Society, the College of Philadelphia, the College of Physicians, the Pennsylvania Hospital, and the city's churches, these men helped build Philadelphia's reputation as a cultural capital and center of scientific investigation. Interestingly, much of their enlightened scientific activity and reflection initially arose amid the upheavals caused by the Great Awakening. The revival prompted supporters and opponents alike to sort out their views on true religion, and in the process "both sides came to regard the pursuit of enlightened learning as a part of this larger enquiry" (p. 18). Old Side minister-scientists such as Francis Alison, Ebenezer Kinnersley, and John Ewing formulated philosophical and theological positions that mediated between deism and enthusiasm, and between skepticism and certainty. They came to celebrate the wide benefits (including spiritual ones) of scientific exploration but retained a healthy suspicion, rooted in their Calvinism, of what fallen human reason could know apart from grace. Such a stance put them unexpectedly on common ground with their New Side opponents who similarly delved into natural philosophy and natural history with plenty of gusto, precisely because they had no false illusions about the kind of knowledge science could provide. New Side academies taught a scientific method that emphasized "the freedom to explore the deepest mysteries of [the natural world] . . . without having to speak of certainties" and graduated Rush, John Redman, the younger William Shippen, Hugh Williamson, and Samuel Stanhope Smith, all key figures in Philadelphia's enlightened circle during the last third of the eighteenth century (p. 92). Rush, Redman, and Shippen went on to study at the Edinburgh Medical School, where they imbibed elements of a similar philosophical skepticism at one of the centers of the Scottish Enlightenment. They returned to Philadelphia and fashioned a flourishing medical community in which theoretical work on chemistry and physiology became a mainstay of intellectual life.

Reid-Maroney traces Philadelphia's Enlightenment into the final decades of the century to observe both its culmination and its collapse. Buoyed by the success of the American Revolution and the bright prospects of the new nation, a number of the city's leading thinkers came to see scientific progress as part and parcel of the imminent dawning of Christ's millennial kingdom. Rush pushed his "redemptive Enlightenment" all the way to the doctrine of universalism; someday all would enjoy salvation and know in full rather than in part. Reid-Maroney sees this universalism as a "fitting conclusion to the story of the Philadelphia circle," for its members had always had a high regard for the transformational power of grace upon human understanding (p. 171). But such an unorthodox theological stance, even if grounded in an extreme view of the beneficence of divine grace rather than in liberal estimates of human capability, seems to belie the author's fundamental claim that in the course of the Philadelphia circle's engagement with the Enlightenment, these intellectuals did no damage to their Christian faith. At least that is not how most of their contemporaries in 1800 would have judged the situation. And their doubts give us cause to wonder whether the happy fusion of science and religion within Philadelphia's Enlightenment that Reid-Maroney posits was not a good deal more conflicted all along.

RICHARD W. POINTER
Westmont College

JOHN K. NELSON. *A Blessed Company: Parishes, Parsons, and Parishioners in Anglican Virginia, 1690–1776*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2001. Pp. 477. $49.95.

By asserting that Virginia's mother church was the most thoroughgoing religious establishment in colonial British America, John K. Nelson has challenged existing accounts that portray the church as weak and inconsequential. That Virginia's Anglican establishment was an "instrument of the planter elite" and "spiritually ineffective," as evangelicals alleged, is forcefully disputed. Nelson's exhaustive analysis of vestry records revealed that, from England's Glorious Revolution to the American War for Independence, Virginian Anglicanism was vital to the community. Although the range and intensity of its spirituality are inferred, this decentralized, lay-controlled religious body developed an institutional structure adapted to its needs. Alive and vital in 1776, its dismantlement between 1776 and 1790 is beyond the scope of this study. As an institution, it was caught up in a "genuinely revolutionary course of action" (p. 8), the American Revolution, that altered the way Virginians lived.

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Virginia's local government coexisted in the parish-county relationship with the parish as the institution more immediate to the inhabitants. A parish was a territorial unit designated by the General Assembly, administered by a vestry, for the support of the church's ministry. From 1690 to 1776, the number of parishes increased from forty-seven to ninety-five. Taxation for church support was uniform, but Virginians taxed themselves more heavily to support the parish than for any other purpose. At the local level, funds were raised to support parsons, clerks, sextons, glebes, churches and chapels, and poor relief. Using "church" and "chapel" for designated places of worship, the author discovered twice the number previously identified. Several parishes had more than one church or chapel; there were at least 249 Anglican congregations in 1776. Church construction was the largest single expense among parishes. Because there was "no private patronage" in Virginian Anglicanism, an arrangement that existed in England, the local vestry managed the parish.

Parsons who served in Virginia, based on place of birth, were one in four Englishmen with Oxford and Cambridge credentials. Settlement of the backcountry made toleration of Protestant dissent a practical matter. Although the number of Virginia-born priests in 1730 was three out of thirty-four, by 1776 it was thirty-four out of ninety-three, plus seven more born in other colonies. Recruitment shifted from the British Isles to Virginia between 1690—1776. In 1776, two of three parsons licensed for Virginia had been recruited in the colony. A considerable majority had attended college, all had received ordination, and all were licensed. But the local vestry controlled the choice and election of its ministers. This procedure prevented the pluralism and nonresidence that marred the church in England. While "select vestries" acted as patrons and refused induction, four of five clergy remained in a single parish throughout their Virginia ministry. In 1775, ninety-nine percent of parishes had a parson, and from 1690 to 1776, nine of ten served within the norms of society.

All Virginians were parishioners. Baptism made one a member and thus a part of the church universal. Records indicate that the annual birth and baptismal rates were nearly equal. A substantial portion of Virginians were baptized and persisted in having their children baptized. Since parishes kept no membership or attendance rolls, it is impossible to determine the latter. But attendance laws were more extensively enforced than previously noted. Anglo-Virginians understood themselves to be Anglican and worshipped in greater numbers than is generally assumed. All women were parishioners and weekly worship accorded them spiritual equality. Virginian Anglicanism was not a "for whites only" institution, and in the three decades before the Revolution efforts were intensified to instruct and convert slaves. Where nonconformists found a niche, tension gave way to toleration. The claim that dissenters and the disaffected outnumbered Anglicans two to one in 1776 is by no means accurate.

This perceptive study makes clear that Virginia's Anglican Church was at the core of the Old Dominion's identity. A persuasive case is made for a reexamination of prevailing views of the church in Virginia. Of merit are the 106 pages of reference materials. In sum, this is a masterful work.

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LaGrange College

LORRI GLOVER. *All Our Relations: Blood Ties and Emotional Bonds among the Early South Carolina Gentry*. (Gender Relations in the American Experience.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2000. Pp. xvi, 206. $39.95.

Lorri Glover wants historians to think more broadly about the family than the relationships between husbands and wives, parents and children. An analysis of relationships among siblings, cousins, and other kin can shed new light on family life, including gendered family roles, she maintains. Among colonial South Carolina gentry, the focus on spouses, parents, and children has prevented a full understanding of elite culture. Although patriarchal bonds traditionally have been viewed as the quintessence of family ties among the South Carolina colonial elite, blood and emotional bonds within family groups were more complex than this.

Rather than being a bastion of male prerogatives, elite families were cooperative and interdependent. Brothers and sisters, cousins, and other extended kin served as mentors and friends, interacting with one another as equal partners much of the time. The nature of the kinship bond depended more on the age difference between family members than on gender. Older sisters advised brothers on careers and spending habits; older brothers advised sisters on marriage and childrearing. Siblings close in age became companions and confidants.

Relationships among siblings, cousins, and other kin reflected an intimacy born of the practical dimension of family bonds. Family ties determined one's social, economic, and political place in South Carolina; consequently, they needed to be nurtured. Families quarreled rarely. Kinship mattered too much to risk the disruption that might result. Most family members learned from an early age to stay on the good side of relatives, and those few who did not suffered accordingly in both private and public dealings. Renegade family members found it difficult to marry well, succeed in business, or hold political office. Because families were "hopelessly intermarried," competition and factionalism were virtually absent in business and politics.

This is not say the South Carolina social order was cooperative and egalitarian. Different values applied to poor whites, slaves, and Indians. Whereas elites

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favored mutuality among kin and kind, dominion and deference characterized interactions with outsiders.

Glover covers a lot of ground in this slim volume. The first chapter considers the importance of family for the first generation of English settlers. A high mortality rate meant that many marriages were not long lasting. The importance attached to family encouraged rapid remarriage. To increase the number of suitable partners, colonists defined incest more narrowly than did their English relatives. Marriage between sets of siblings from different families (exchange marriages) and between cousins became commonplace as families searched for suitable alliances that would preserve social, economic, and political standing. Subsequent chapters consider the family over the course of the eighteenth century.

Glover's attention to gendered roles in the eighteenth century results in a reinterpretation of women's place in elite South Carolina society and is her most significant contribution to understanding gentry culture. Women helped define family, construct class, and contribute to the family's wealth. Their actions within women's private world were "intricately intertwined with men's public life." Women did not behave independently of men, but neither did they "blindly defer to the demands of family patriarchs" (p. 146).

Glover's book is well written and carefully constructed but not entirely convincing on the subject of family harmony. She relies heavily on family correspondence, which she admits is biased in favor of families who got along. Letters served as an important means of maintaining family relationships, even across great distances, and other sources suggest that family disputes were rare or at least not publicly aired, Glover explains. Yet one cannot help but question the congeniality of family relationships, given the jealousies Glover acknowledges were part of blended families. Second families, prevalent particularly in the early phase of the colony's development, could produce "ambiguous, contentious relationships in which siblings became more aware of rank and status" (p. 28): a finding that seems at odds with Glover's insistence that even distant relatives were reluctant to quarrel with one another.

Historians of the family, gender, and women should pay particular attention to Glover's important book. The idea that patriarchal households look different when examined through intragenerational bonds deserves to be tested in other places and periods. Future studies should be more exact about the relationships under scrutiny, however. Too often, Glover refers to "siblings and kin" as if the relationships were interchangeable.

MARIE JENKINS SCHWARTZ
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JOANNA BOWEN GILLESPIE. *The Life and Times of Martha Laurens Ramsay 1759–1811*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. 2001. Pp. xxviii, 315. $34.95.

Until recently, the Laurens family of South Carolina has been largely overlooked in the historiography of eighteenth-century America, a puzzling situation given the prominence of the family and the existence of a large number of primary source documents. Indeed, the Henry Laurens Papers of the South Carolina Historical Society in Charleston represents the richest collection of documents concerning any South Carolinian of the pre-1800 era, while the printed volumes (*The Papers of Henry Laurens*, 15 volumes to date,1968-) are the finest for any secondary figure of the period. Together, these resources offer a wealth of materials to scholars working in fields across the broad spectrum of the period. Recently, however, historians have come to recognize the compelling story present in the rapid rise and steady descent of the family in eighteenth and early nineteenth-century South Carolina. Henry Laurens and his son John have been, or soon will be, the subjects of several quality works. Now, Joanna Bowen Gillespie contributes this fine study of Martha Laurens Ramsay, Henry's eldest surviving daughter.

Gillespie is to be congratulated on this engaging book. Martha Laurens Ramsay was, by all accounts, a remarkable individual, an accomplished woman with much to offer to a society temperamentally unsuited to appreciate her abilities. The inner conflict created by this situation provides the main focus of the book, a challenge that Gillespie handles with considerable skill. This is, of necessity, a "life and times" biography, as most of Ramsay's writings have been lost. Only a partial portrait can be drawn from the remnants, scattered family letters, and an affectionate memoir edited from her diaries (the originals also lost) by her husband, the physician and historian David Ramsay. In Gillespie's skilled hands, however, substance is added to the shadow and a face can be traced to the words. It was not easy to be Ramsay and, in these pages, one gets the feel for the conflict that shook her soul. Ramsay was raised in a family that expected its members to reach their full potential, but that ultimately honored the gendered patriarchal social conventions that denied to woman the fulfillment of that potential. The intellectual equal of any of her male contemporaries, Ramsay sometimes chafed under, but finally accommodated herself to, the restrictions placed upon her.

In strong contrast to the feminism of Mary Wollstonecraft, a contrast repeatedly highlighted by the author, Ramsay found solace and relief in religion, particularly the ideas concerning self-examination outlined in Philip Doddridge's *Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul* (1744). Such an attitude was sometimes difficult to maintain in the face of the financial and personal distress too often experienced in the Ramsay marriage. Discussion of the relationship between the Ramsays, which Gillespie cites as a prominent example of successful "marital republicanism," is a major strength of the book. Although the marriage honored traditional forms, it was clearly a relationship in which

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the wife exercised considerable independence. Indeed, after Ramsay's death, her husband took the unusual step of not only publishing a memoir of his wife but also conceding her intellectual equality and acknowledging that her submissiveness came as her choice, based upon her own principles.

In the effort to uncover the inner Martha Laurens Ramsay, this book is quite reminiscent of Edith Gelles's *Portia: A Life of Abigail Adams* (1992). If Gillespie does not quite match Gelles's success in discovering the depths of her subject's soul, we might remember that Ramsay did not leave behind quite so much material with which to work. As it is, Gillespie presents a lively and insightful, if necessarily incomplete, study of an appealing woman of the early republic, one of considerable profit to anyone seeking to understand this exciting period of American history.

DANIEL MCDONOUGH
University of Tennessee, Martin

WAYNE E. LEE. *Crowds and Soldiers in Revolutionary North Carolina: The Culture of Violence in Riot and War.* (Southern Dissent.) Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 2001. Pp. xv, 380. $55.00.

Using a structuralist approach, Wayne E. Lee argues that social norms dictate the basic patterns of collective violence in riot and in war. When individuals go beyond the accepted patterns of behavior, there are culturally prescribed reasons for doing so. Lee relies on the history of riot and war in eighteenth-century North Carolina to sustain this theoretical model. Rioters melded European practices onto the New World conditions to create a standard form of rioting, as can be seen in the Enfield land riots, the Stamp Act disturbances, and the early phases of the Regulator movement. In each case, the rioters started by petitioning government. When legal recourse failed, the protestors took a limited but forceful action that focused on specific targets, while assuming the role of a symbol or figure of legitimacy. The idea was not to overthrow the state or to challenge the social order but to gain widespread support in opposing a law that the rioters believed was oppressive. The process, however, required a delicate touch to ensure that greater violence did not ensue. Both the protestors and the government lost that touch in 1770 and 1771, as they sought to legitimate themselves before the larger public. The Regulators ran into a problem when they began to organize themselves as a military body, thus overstepping the traditional bounds of protest. Governor William Tryon found the increasing militancy of the Regulators unacceptable and recruited an army of his own. He sought support by demonizing the Regulators, charging them with supporting the Catholic Pretender, behaving like savages, and planning to overthrow the slave society. The Regulators, for their part, remained confused, continuing to petition the governor while preparing for a fight. In the end, the forces of law and order triumphed at Alamance Creek, and several rebel captives were executed.

Lee argues that the same process of "adherence to form, demonization, and retaliatory escalation" (p. 96) led to increasing violence during the Revolutionary War in North Carolina in 1780 and 1781. As North Carolinians entered the conflict, they carried a set of mixed cultural expectations about war. On the one hand, there was widespread knowledge of European practices, which depended on a standing professional army, relied on the fighting of decisive battles, treated prisoners of war civilly, and protected the civilian population. On the other hand, there was the colonial militia experience of war against Indians that was often driven by revenge, relied on ambush and surprise, enslaved or killed captives, depended on the destruction of Native food resources, and made little distinction among men, women, and children.

Revolutionary Americans disliked the idea of a standing army, so they sought to fight the war with a virtuous militia that could behave in a civilized manner following European practices. The opening years of the war, especially after the victory at Moore's Creek in 1776, seemed to sustain this model of behavior, at least as far as European Americans were concerned. In 1780, however, during the British campaign in the South, a war of retaliation broke out where each side demonized the other, and the violence escalated out of control. Oddly, given the revolutionary assumptions about standing armies, it was the militia who joined most vigorously in this unvirtuous war, and it was the Continental Army that clung to European forms and behaved in a more civilized manner.

While this book adds to our understanding of the colonial American crowd and the practice of warfare in the eighteenth century, in some ways the author is a little too committed to theory. Lee does a wonderful job in delineating the different strains of European culture and indigenous American conditions that played out in colonial American rioting and in the waging of eighteenth-century war. Yet rather than allowing us fully to appreciate the nuances of this cultural portrait, he repeatedly interrupts the flow of his narrative with assertions of his cultural model. The ultimate testimony to this overadherence to a rigid model comes in a conclusion—oddly following an epilogue—which spends more time in briefly applying the model to the civil rights movement and America's involvement with war in the late twentieth century than in discussing the eighteenth century.

PAUL A. GILJE
University of Oklahoma

LESLIE HALL. *Land and Allegiance in Revolutionary Georgia.* Athens: University of Georgia Press. 2001. Pp. xvi, 231. $45.00.

Leslie Hall has approached the revolution in Georgia from the perspective of property ownership. As Hall points out, revolutionary ideology, resentment of par-

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liamentary taxation, and suspicion of standing armies was far less deep-rooted in the southernmost colony than elsewhere. Indeed, there were positive reasons for remaining loyal. Parliamentary subventions, to a colony almost devoid of specie, kept civil government afloat and the local currency buoyant. A tiny slaveholding population, land hungry but close to much larger populations of Creeks and Cherokees, could see positive advantages in a garrison of British regulars. As a result, revolution came late to Georgia and was embraced with reluctance. Even then, successive changes of regime in 1775, 1779, and 1782 encouraged men to use pledges of allegiance as a means of retaining their property. In this way, allegiance became a kind of currency rather than a serious commitment to one side or the other. There were committed rebels and committed loyalists, but for most Georgians the main aim was to protect their economic interests, and for many this meant land and slaves. This is a sound, if unsurprising, argument, and Hall makes the case in a solid and workmanlike manner.

Hall's thorough and detailed exposition is achieved at the cost of a narrow focus and a steadfast refusal to engage directly with other historians. The work would be of greater value had Hall adopted a more comparative approach, emphasizing that a reluctant, uncommitted majority was by no means unique to Georgia. We have long been used to the idea that the War of American Independence was initially the revolt of a minority, and it would have been helpful to know which conditions were peculiar to Georgia and which operated more widely. The book would also have been enhanced by a stronger engagement with the historiography. Hall has read widely and carefully, and has produced a very full bibliography and notes; yet this book is written almost entirely without allusion to other historians. For example, Hall has clearly made use of the study of John Stuart by Russell Snapp, who sees British frontier policy as a primary cause of revolution in the South, but never directly engages with this thesis. This deprives us of an interesting contribution to the debate.

Hall does see frontier and race as important, pointing out that as early as the 1760s, many settlers were worried about Indian assaults and slave uprisings, possibly in combination. The Indian cession of 1773 did not satisfy settlers' land hunger and alienated traders unable to obtain land in settlement of Indian debts. As Hall says, from 1773 to 1775 these matters were more important in men's minds than reports from distant Massachusetts; and in 1775 royal government was fatally undermined by stories of British agents arming Indians and trying to incite slave revolts. Up to this point, many citizens had been keenly aware of the need for British protection, and even in 1775 the alarms came from South Carolina. In the end, the majority of Georgians were not permanently driven into rebellion by race or frontier issues, and even British alliances with Indians and wartime slave revolts were of limited significance. The majority of Georgians, Hall contends, remained willing to barter their loyalty for effective civil government and material security. This may well be true. Yet we are not given a consistent evaluation of the importance of these issues, nor are they weighed against other factors determining allegiance. As a result, some questions remain open. For example, if British frontier policy was not sufficient cause for revolt in 1775, why did rumors from South Carolina have such a decisive impact?

The author has an encyclopedic knowledge of revolutionary Georgia, and the broad thrust of the argument carries weight and conviction. Hall acknowledges and explains the complexities of Georgian society, and the bibliography and notes bear witness to exhaustive research. However, the factors identified need to be understood in a much wider geographical and historiographical context.

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BERTRAM WYATT-BROWN. *The Shaping of Southern Culture: Honor, Grace, and War, 1760s-1890s*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2001. Pp. xix, 412. Cloth $55.00, paper $19.95.

When Bertram Wyatt-Brown published *Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South* twenty years ago, he was a pioneer. No other historian had taken the subject of honor in the American South so seriously and had written about it with such sophistication, complexity, and elegance. *Southern Honor* can now be seen as a classic in the field, inspiring and pointing the way for many other scholars to follow. Wyatt-Brown was the first modern historian to understand that southern honor was not simply a quaint anachronism of a bygone age but rather a set of practices and beliefs that pervaded the culture and marked many of its central features.

This book is a collection of essays intended to be a sequel to *Southern Honor*. Eight of the essays have already been published, and they appear here in revised form; four are entirely new. The book is organized in three main sections, each corresponding to an area of inquiry not fully developed in the earlier study. Section one is devoted to the relationship between honor and politics. This portion of the book contains the single most interesting essay in the volume: a reexamination through the lens of honor of Stanley Elkins's ideas about the impact of slavery on slave psychology. Wyatt-Brown offers a sensitive analysis of the shaming that was a central part of enslavement, along with the recognition that such shaming did not produce total degradation; it allowed room for the preservation of dignity. This section also contains an important essay on the hitherto neglected topic of honor in the rhetoric of the American Revolution. Wyatt-Brown makes a convincing argument that all over the colonies, in both North and South, protest and resistance were formulated repeatedly in the

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language of honor. The revolutionaries were at least as moved to rebellion by the fear of shame and dread of insult as they were by devotion to any set of political ideals.

The essays in section two of the volume focus on the relation between honor and religion in the South. The greatest insights in this part of the book involve Wyatt-Brown's repeated destruction of the idea that religion and honor embodied sets of ideals and behaviors arrayed in simple opposition to one another. He reminds us that the religion of the Bible was developed in a culture permeated by the values of honor and shame. Such a religion could never stand in simple opposition to those values. That is why proslavery rhetoric could so often and so comfortably mix the language of honor with the language of religion in its defense of the peculiar institution. Wyatt-Brown even demonstrates that the Primitive Baptists of the Old South, a group that might easily be caricatured as rejecting the central tenets of the honor tradition, actually embodied many of its core features. Primitive Baptists lived in honor-bound patriarchal families, embedded in a world in which fear of shame was a key feature of communal life.

While the first two sections of the book extend the analysis of honor into the thematic areas of politics and religion, areas that had been neglected in *Southern Honor*, the third section moves the analysis forward in time to cover the Civil War and its aftermath. Here we learn about the secession movement as a culmination of the defense of wounded honor. Wyatt-Brown also exposes us to the anguish, humiliation, and shame experienced by the defeated rebels, and to the deep psychological depression into which many of them fell—a reaction that set the stage for the scapegoating of blacks and for the violent racial attacks that followed.

This book is full of keen insights from the mind of a talented historian who has spent many years thinking seriously about southern honor. But it is not without problems. One central difficulty is the relatively haphazard nature of the analysis. A book that brings together essays completed over a period of decades must inevitably struggle for overall coherence. The revisions and attempts to link the chapters do not really solve this problem. The volume still reads like a collection of essays on different subjects. There is also a deeper problem in the way Wyatt-Brown's analysis seems to dissipate the power of honor as an analytic construct. He has found honor everywhere in the South, among people widely separated by time and by social and political distance. Within the covers of this book, we can see that honor was the language of the revolutionaries of 1776, the secessionists of 1860, and the violent racists of the postbellum era; it was also the language of slaves, of Primitive Baptists, and of the dueling gentlemen who had contempt for slaves and Primitive Baptists; it was part of the language of religion and of the proslavery argument. An ethic that is seen as so pervasive among so many different people begins to lose its power as an explanatory construct. One begins to wonder whether honor is no more than an empty vessel into which one might pour any content.

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TYLER ANBINDER. *Five Points: The Nineteenth Century New York City Neighborhood that Invented Tap Dance, Stole Elections, and Became the World's Most Notorious Slum*. New York: Free Press. 2001. Pp. viii, 532. $30.00.

By 1829, the year that the name Five Points first appeared in the New York City press, the socioeconomic quality of the neighborhood to which the term was applied had already begun to deteriorate as its middle-class residents started to move out. Over the next two decades, the 1830s and 1840s, Five Points, a lower Manhattan district surrounding a five-way intersection of three streets—originally, Anthony, Cross, and Orange, which in 1854 were renamed Park, Worth, and Baxter—rapidly gained a reputation as a wretched, crime-ridden immigrant slum. Tyler Anbinder devotes most of his book to describing the district and its residents, never slighting the negative features of Five Points life, but also drawing attention to flashes of artistic creativity and stories of upward mobility that were part and parcel of the neighborhood's nineteenth-century history.

The first half of Anbinder's book focuses on the character of the neighborhood before the Civil War. Successive chapters describe the arrival of the famine Irish (who by 1855 comprised fully fifty-two percent of the district's population), the living conditions in the unsanitary and overcrowded tenements that Five Points residents endured, the types of employment available to the newcomers, the rise of Irish Democrats in Sixth Ward politics, the entertainments—dances, bare-knuckle fights, gambling, and drinking—the locals pursued, and the lawlessness and vice, including murder, prostitution, and rioting, that reinforced the neighborhood's reputation as a zone of debauchery and social disorder.

The second half of Anbinder's book carries the story of Five Points through the second half of the nineteenth century. Anbinder shows how Protestant reformers set up various social missions in the Sixth Ward in the 1850s and how Irish Catholics gradually developed their own religious and political associations. Politics produced both intraethnic and interethnic violence, but Anbinder argues that the colorful incidents of election fraud and sometimes deadly gang feuds should not detract from evidence that the same conditions that gave rise to these notorious incidents also produced examples of community leaders who moved up in the world. For example, Anbinder's chapter on the Civil War gives ample attention to draft riots and anti-abolitionist feeling among the Sixth Ward Irish, but the rise of such Irish Democratic

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notables as Matthew T. Brennan and William M. Tweed is stressed also. Finally, as Irish Five Pointers moved out of the neighborhood, they were replaced in the last quarter of the 1900s by newer immigrants, Italians who established a Little Italy, and Chinese who formed the core of a Chinatown that survives into the present.

Anbinder's book is enlivened by brief introductions, which he calls prologues, at the beginning of every chapter. These prologues offer a series of vivid sketches of individuals and incidents matched with the main theme of the chapter that follows. Some of the individuals are unknowns, such as Nelly Holland, a famine Irish immigrant to New York in 1851. Others such as Jacob Riis, featured in the prologue to chapter eleven, are very well known. Less well known now, although famous in his time, was Master Juba, the black entertainer who invented the tap dance and popularized the form through virtuoso performances. Boxing fans will enjoy the sketch of bare-knuckle prizefighters Yankee Sullivan and Tom Hyer that introduces chapter seven, and readers curious about the pre-Civil War vice scene in Five Points will relish Anbinder's description of the Old Brewery, a building notorious as a scene of wickedness and debauchery.

Anbinder's portrait of Five Points is vivid and he presents a persuasive case that the story of New York's Sixth Ward was both unusual and typical: unusual in the degree of degradation and poverty found there for a time, and typical in that Five Points can be seen as representative of the urban conditions in which immigrant newcomers worked and lived. Some of the socioeconomic material on Irish, Italian, and Chinese immigrant life will be largely familiar to readers who are conversant with recent scholarship on urban history. However, to that broad picture Anbinder has added details about Five Points that are the result of exceptionally careful research in original source materials. His accomplishment is to have produced a smooth synthesis of general scholarship about the lives of working-class New Yorkers with colorful particulars about a notorious nineteenth-century slum that until now had not been the subject of in-depth study by a modern scholar. In sum, Anbinder has not only achieved a graceful synthesis of facts and interpretation, but in so doing he has produced a study of Five Points that will serve as the standard modern work on this fascinating New York neighborhood.

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ROBERT S. WEISE. *Grasping at Independence: Debt, Male Authority, and Mineral Rights in Appalachian Kentucky, 1850–1915*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press. 2001. Pp. xii, 374. $40.00.

Upon graduating from the University of Wisconsin, Robert S. Weise, following a path well trod by northern college students, came to Appalachia to do good. Fascinated by his new home in Floyd County in eastern Kentucky but soon disenchanted with social work, he changed career tracks, entering graduate school to learn more about the county's history. His research led him to question why householders made the decisions they did as they coped with industrialization brought about by coal mining. Astutely teasing answers out of the complex connections among household economy, commercialization, industrialization, revolving debt, litigation, and gender relations, he casts new light on Appalachia's late nineteenth-century transition from agricultural self-sufficiency to industrial capitalism.

Weise argues that household localism is the key to understanding rural capitalist development at the beginning of Appalachia's industrialization. Employing Thomas Jefferson's yeoman ideal, he defines household localism as the overpowering desire of males in rural preindustrial society to achieve economic and political independence from outsiders within a system of household production based on ownership of land and patriarchal control over labor.

But for most men in Floyd County this dream was elusive. Their strife-torn community necessitated constant struggle to assure household solvency. Caught up in its fiercely competitive and highly uncertain economy, men scrabbled desperately, often skirting the margins of the law and sometimes engaging in fraud and exploitation in their dealings with one another. Failure to observe the niceties of legal title resulted in competing and overlapping property claims that escalated levels of litigation, as did a readiness to dispute the terms of debts. Conflict raged even within families as men exploited their patriarchal powers, both legally and fraudulently, at the economic expense of wives and children—who sometimes fought back by filing divorce or other lawsuits.

In their constant striving to ensure security through household independence, men eagerly commodified everything of commercial value. They bought and sold land and recklessly mortgaged it to leverage additional purchases. Their chronic indebtedness encouraged them to risk participation in external markets, trading with sometimes disastrous results in cattle, timber, sorghum, and tobacco. When the arrival of railroads in Floyd County created a market for their coal, they eagerly sold their mineral rights.

This Hobbesian depiction of a society of each against all is inevitably influenced by Weise's substantial dependence on legal records. The meager availability of other evidence prior to the twentieth century makes them understandably enticing: no Floyd (or surrounding) County newspapers survive; no political records exist; and there are few account books, personal papers, or diaries written by natives. The uniquely large collection of papers left by Walter S. Harkins—lawyer, local agent for outside interests, and the county's premier New South booster—thus looms large in Weise's account, reinforcing his litigious perspective. This documentary imbalance, with its emphasis on conflict and division, inevitably skews the image

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of Floyd County society. Not surprisingly, Weise finds little to say about instances of cooperation or networks of reciprocity, as they left little trace in legal records.

Weise's case study of Floyd County corroborates the work of some recent scholarship. His twenty-eight tables of statistical data supplement Wilma Dunaway's broad findings in *The First American Frontier: Transition to Capitalism in Appalachia, 1700–1860* (1996) about persistence and mobility, levels of tenancy, and tenancy as a stage on the way to eventual ownership of property. He also confirms the entrepreneurial spirit of Appalachia's town-based elites, especially their eagerness to attach their fortunes to outside developers (see, for example, Martin Crawford, *Ashe County's Civil War: Community and Society in the Appalachian Mountains* [2001], and David Hsiung, *Two Worlds in the Tennessee Mountains: Exploring the Origins of Appalachian Stereotypes* [1997]).

But if Weise's portrait of Floyd County proves typical, we will have a very different understanding of Appalachian industrialization. His assertion that the primary legacy that mountain families took into the new mill and coal towns was not reciprocity and cooperation but rather highly competitive household localism challenges established interpretation. The competitive independence nurtured by household localism would help explain many perceived Appalachian characteristics: lack of interest in the public good, hostility to unions and outsiders, and a general failure to act collectively in response to the onslaught of industrialization. Weise convincingly demonstrates that Appalachian people were not passive victims but rather active agents in bringing industrialization to the southern mountains. But it remains to be seen whether his conflict-laden portrayal of Floyd County can bear the weight of this revisionist interpretation.

Finally, Weise delivers yet another deadly blow (as if more were needed) to the moribund stereotype of Appalachian exceptionalism by showing how Appalachia has always been part of the South, in this case the New South being forged by industrialization. This is an important book that will stimulate reconsideration of the process of industrialization in Appalachia.

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Robert P. Swierenga. *Faith and Family: Dutch Immigration and Settlement in the United States, 1820–1920.* (Ellis Island Series.) New York: Holmes and Meyer. 2000. Pp. xx, 362. $45.00.

This volume represents a summary of thirty years' work by the leading authority on Dutch Americans and emigration from the Netherlands generally. It truly is a work of transatlantic scholarship; one hardly sets foot at all on American soil, figuratively speaking, during the first 150 pages. The book is based on probably the largest transatlantic record linkage project to date, involving three different data sources: official Dutch records from the municipality level on some 62,000 emigrants between 1835 and 1880, including some 55,000 bound for the United States; some 54,000 Dutch passengers listed as arriving in U.S. ports; and U.S. Manuscript Census entries from 1850, 1860, and 1870 in any county or city with at least fifty natives of the Netherlands, comprising some 15,000 families or single adults (4,000 of which could be linked back to records from the homeland). The compilation is further enhanced by source criticism. Not surprisingly, this is a highly quantitative study, with a total of twenty-two figures and no fewer than sixty-eight tables, mostly straightforward tabulations. But Robert P. Swierenga is also an insider, providing much insight into the Christian Reformed subculture that has maintained its "ethnocultural identity seventy-five years after immigration ceased in the 1920s" (p. 226). One of the recurring themes of the book is the influence of religion in motivating and structuring Dutch emigration. Members of an 1834 secession from the established Reformed Church played a dominant role, comprising a majority of the emigrants before 1857 and twenty percent through 1880, despite making up three percent or less of the source population. Surprisingly, Seceders and orthodox Reformed Protestants coexisted in the same American church body until 1857, when another split (though paradoxically not along identical lines as the secession in the homeland) led to the formation of the Christian Reformed denomination. Catholics, although discriminated against in the homeland like the Seceders, were underrepresented in the emigration and, like Dutch Jews, were quick to disappear into the triple melting pot.

A second theme, interrelated with confession, is the local specificity of Dutch migration: one-eighth of all Dutch municipalities accounted for nearly three-fourths of all emigrants, and twenty-two municipalities (just two percent of the total) provided one-third of the exodus. Each region developed specific migration traditions, so that most American settlements had distinctive regional and even local clusterings. Of a dozen leading states of settlement, only New York and Wisconsin had a fairly even balance between Protestant and Catholic Dutch, the other ten being highly polarized in their religious makeup. In one respect, however, the two confessions were strikingly similar: the degree of transatlantic social mobility they experienced. In general, mobility data on some 3,000 traced immigrants confirms the opportunities presented by America, especially the chance to become farm operators. Throughout this study, the Dutch are juxtaposed with other Western European immigrants. Compared to such groups, the Dutch emerge as one of the most family centered, with over eighty percent of the migrants accompanied by spouses, children, or both—reflecting their preindustrial origins and the slow pace of homeland industrialization. To a greater degree than most Europeans, they were heavily focused on destinations in the United States, particularly rural ones.

While much of this book is based on previously

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published material, it is more tightly focused than a mere collection of essays, although it does not trace the full trajectory of acculturation and assimilation chronologically. One senses some exhaustion on the part of the author toward the end; the content is heavily weighted toward the nineteenth century. The language transition from Dutch to English in various denominations receives little attention. No use was made, for example, of the 1906 and 1916 U.S. Census of Religious Bodies to track the numbers of exclusively or mixed Dutch language parishes of the relevant denominations. Nor is there any systematic examination of the ethnic press. And except for a few passing remarks on Chicago, the treatment of politics consists only of a reprint of Swierenga's then-pathbreaking 1965 article on one Iowa settlement before the Civil War. These reservations notwithstanding, the book contains a wealth of information on Dutch Americans and their premigration background, and it is likely to remain the standard work on the subject for a long time to come.

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CHRISTOPHER WALDREP and DONALD G. NIEMAN, editors. *Local Matters: Race, Crime, and Justice in the Nineteenth-Century South*. (Studies in the Legal History of the South.) Athens: University of Georgia Press. 2001. Pp. xix, 259. $50.00.

Christopher Waldrep and Donald G. Nieman have brought together nine essays with the shared purpose of using "a local perspective" empirically grounded in "rich but hard-to-use local records" to illuminate "how effectively law mitigated tyranny in the face of the greatest threat to American democracy—slavery and racism" in the nineteenth-century South (p. ix). These essays traverse territory from the Carolinas across the Deep South to Texas, and span the years from the 1820s through the 1880s. Collectively they show that although the law sometimes mitigated racist tyranny—especially offering hope during Reconstruction—white supremacy usually prevailed, whether through due process or homicidal mobbing.

As the volume's title suggests, southern law and race relations did vary significantly by locality and by state. The first essays, by Sally Hadden and Timothy S. Huebner, both deal with the antebellum North Carolina courts, and in both the state supreme court jurist Thomas Ruffin emerges as a major force. Ruffin's influence drove the law toward dehumanizing the slave, tipping the definitional balance of slave as both person and property heavily toward the latter. Hadden's analysis reveals a youthful Ruffin who apparently had conscientious scruples about treatment of slaves, but who became increasingly calloused in adulthood. He dealt in interstate slave trading in the 1820s, acquired thirty or more slaves and two plantations that "were ruled with fear and the lash" (p. 5), and concluded in his 1830 opinion for *State v. Mann* (in which an enslaved woman was shot in the back trying to avoid a beating) that the law of slavery did not require humane restraint on the part of the master; rather, the purpose of slavery was simply "the profit of the master, his security and the public safety" (p. 16).

Huebner's analysis of another North Carolina case nearly two decades later shows that even with Ruffin on its supreme court, the state's legal system offered slaves convicted of a capital crime more chance of justice than its Atlantic seaboard neighbors. Caesar, a slave convicted of murdering a drunken white man who had attacked another slave without provocation, was saved from the lower court's death sentence by the law allowing an appeal to the state supreme court. Two of the three justices supported—despite Ruffin's dissenting view that Caesar was a potential insurrectionist—a new trial, which led to conviction on a lesser offense of manslaughter and allowed Caesar benefit of clergy, a life-saving legal opportunity no longer possible in most other southern states.

Louisiana slave law stood in sharp contrast to North Carolina's, as Judith Kelleher Schafer illustrates in her study of slave crime in New Orleans during the years 1846–1862. Schafer demonstrates that, even for capital crimes, the special slave tribunals in New Orleans often lacked many of the procedural safeguards afforded to both whites and free blacks, such as grand jury indictment, jury trials, peremptory challenges, and right to counsel. A tribunal divided over the defendant's guilt or innocence could still inflict corporal punishment, and upon outright conviction the tribunal could mandate a public execution by any means the members chose. The system was intended to terrorize the slave population into submission, though Schafer concludes that it only produced the "illusion of control" (p. 83).

The last antebellum study is Ariela Gross's analysis of the connections between the law and the South's second busiest slave market (just outside of Natchez), drawing upon 177 civil cases involving slaves between 1798 and 1861. Despite the many rich planters and tightly interwoven culture of lawyer-planter-judge, Gross demonstrates that court proceedings treated whites quite democratically, while "dishonoring" slaves and leaving free blacks increasingly vulnerable to racism.

The Civil War disrupted many of the established patterns of southern society. Laura F. Edwards explores the irony of North Carolina poor white and black women's increasing assertiveness in seeking protection through the courts from abuse by their husbands. The state supreme court did make it easier to prosecute abusive husbands in the two decades following the war, yet with the "redemptive" reassertion of white supremacy the expansion of the government's power to help abused women also meant greater invasive state control over the lives of poor people. Michael W. Fitzgerald argues that in the postwar Alabama black belt, Hale County planters proved able to adapt to the new free labor force, accepting the

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decentralized tenant farming preferred by freedmen. It was primarily small white farmers competing with blacks who were responsible for the Ku Klux Klan violence in Hale County. If planters felt threatened, the threat derived more from black suffrage than free labor.

Fitzgerald's theme of vigorous African-American embrace of democracy and economic opportunity overwhelmed by white racism and violence is also centrally important to the last three essays in the anthology. Lou Falkner Williams describes how white conservatives won back control of South Carolina in 1876 with a large-scale paramilitary assault on blacks in the upcountry, leaving as many as 125 African Americans dead and assuring electoral victory to the conservatives. The state's courts blamed the black victims, as did the white jurors in the federal courts, thus preventing conviction of the murderers (some of whom had taken the ears from their victims' corpses as trophies). In Nieman's study of Washington County, Texas, blacks organized their own community and participated meaningfully in the governing process until conservative whites won over many German immigrants to sweep the 1884 elections; the last Republican officeholder in the county was assassinated two years later. Waldrep's analysis of Warren County, Mississippi, also demonstrates the power of "white tribalism," as most Irish immigrants there refused an alliance with African Americans, proclaiming the importance of their whiteness. White victory in a lopsided racial battle in December 1874, which left 100 or more dead, coupled with intraracial feuding among blacks, resulted in the exclusion of blacks from effective political participation.

Many anthologies lack a clear direction; this one stays on track. Deep research, persuasive interpretation, and graceful prose all commend this excellent volume to the reader.

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MARIE JENKINS SCHWARTZ. *Born in Bondage: Growing Up Enslaved in the Antebellum South*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2000. Pp. ix, 272. $35.00.

Previous studies of slave childhood have tended either to emphasize the horrors experienced by young African Americans or to present childhood as a period in life when slaves were shielded from the worst aspects of bondage. Sensitive to the complexities of her topic, Marie Jenkins Schwartz's beautifully written book chronicles both the miseries and triumphs of the slave childhood experience. In the opening pages of her work, Schwartz effectively establishes that slave children played a crucial demographic and economic role in the southern plantation system. Yet Schwartz's claims about the significance of slave childhood flow less from statistical evidence than from her understanding of the ideological struggles between African Americans and white southern slaveowners. Building on the voluminous scholarship presenting "paternalism" as the dominant theme running through antebellum plantation culture, Schwartz hinges her historical narrative on the heretofore largely unexplored nexus of slave children and white claims about benevolent mastery. She brilliantly explores how white and black conflict over the upbringing of African-American children reveals the historical force of white slaveholder paternalism and also illuminates the slaves' ability to negotiate with and to resist their masters' ideology.

Using slaveholder records and evidence from slave narratives and oral interviews, Schwartz structures her analysis to account for the regional variations that distinguished the tobacco plantation culture of central Virginia from zones of rice cultivation in the South Carolina and Georgia lowcountry and cotton cultivation in the Alabama black belt. Her book approaches slave childhood as a series of discrete chronological phases. The first chapter depicts slave pregnancy and birth as the beginnings of a struggle to determine who wielded ultimate responsibility for slave children. Even before giving birth, expectant slave mothers struggled to carve out an autonomous cultural space in which to raise their families with minimal white interference. At the same time, however, slaves perceived that appeals to white paternalism could improve the quality of their treatment by overseers and owners. In chapter two, Schwartz explores how parenthood enabled African-American families to claim the right to establish their own households in the quarters amid their masters' unceasing efforts to maintain power over the new children's lives. The next chapter focuses on early childhood (from age two to age five) as a critical period when slaveholders attempted to instill in slave children a sense of loyalty and emotional attachment to their owners. This white agenda failed in the face of the slave parents' dogged refusal to surrender their claims of familial authority (not to mention love) toward their offspring.

The second half of Schwartz's book traces the slave children's transition into the workforce. Chapter four depicts the "middle years" between five and eight as the period when corporal punishment was employed to instill discipline. Here, slaves often successfully campaigned for the right to be the administrators of physical punishment—a role that implicitly recognized their parental authority. During this phase, slave children discerned the difference between the oppressive punishments of the slave regime and the justifiable desire of black parents to shape their children's behavior. In chapter five, Schwartz follows the slave children as they became field hands, a development that took place whenever the owners deemed slave children physically capable of field work (usually between age eight and twelve). The final two chapters maintain the contrapuntal themes of black suffering and black cultural resistance. Chapter six surveys the hideous and very real threat that slave adolescents and young adults might be sold away from their loved ones, and chapter seven examines the efforts of young African

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Americans to form sexual unions and families of their own. By the end of the book, Schwartz conveys to her readers a clear, disturbing, and moving portrait of the processes whereby slave children matured into adults.

Schwartz raises questions that invite further scholarly inquiry. For example, her brief considerations of the role played by plantation mistresses in the upbringing of slave children underscore the analytical limitations that the rubric "paternalism" places on our understanding of masterly authority. Schwartz's antebellum timeframe coincides with monumental changes in white assumptions about motherly authority and family morality. Much work remains to be done to sort out how the master-slave family dynamic fit into the broader context of sentimentalized homes in nineteenth-century America. As historians grapple with this issue and a host of others relating to slave and white family and sexual life, they will most certainly profit from Schwartz's creative and deftly executed study of slave childhood.

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STEVEN E. WOODWORTH. *While God is Marching On: The Religious World of Civil War Soldiers*. (Modern War Series.) Lawrence: University Press of Kansas. 2001. Pp. xii, 394. $29.95.

The greatest contribution that Steven E. Woodworth makes in this thoughtful volume is his demonstration of how important and life-determining religion was to common people in America during the mid-nineteenth century. More specifically, he emphasizes the role of evangelical religion (for the most part, Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians) in the lives of Civil War soldiers, North and South. For too many historians, the pivotal role of religion in American history has been marginalized. This may be because religion in the twenty-first century is not so central to American life and thought, or it may be because religion is not important to the historian in question; in any event, Woodworth's book goes a long way to rectify the scholarly neglect.

Relying on the letters, diaries, and journals of the soldiers, Woodworth declares that "once the slavery issue was dispatched from consideration ... little difference remained between Northern and Southern Christians ... Neither doctrines nor practices differed between sections" (p. 20). The slavery issue, however, was an insurmountable difference. The words of the soldiers from each side of the Mason-Dixon Line emphasize, contrary to many contemporary theories, that slavery was the overriding cause of the Civil War. A northern soldier, referring to a sermon he heard, noted "that human slavery was the Cause [of the war] and we should have no lasting peace until the Cause was wiped out" (p. 113). Woodworth, summarizing the thoughts of southern soldiers, declared, "they admitted that slavery was the cause of the conflict ... claiming to know and understand it better than any critics outside the South possibly could" (p. 123). Although in belief and practice there was little difference between the faiths of the North and South, each side was contemptuous of the other's religion. It was the social and political issues of slavery and secession that fostered the mutual contempt.

Woodworth writes at length about the revivals that began in both armies in 1862, when the realization gripped North and South that the war was going to be long and bloody, and that continued to the final days of the conflict. The revivals promoted interdenominational cooperation within the armies, something seldom practiced in civilian life prior to the war. "The revivals in the armies," Woodworth asserts, were "an amazing phenomenon. Such a thing never occurred in any other American war" (p. 253). Thousands upon thousands of soldiers were converted, "many who had not previously taken Christianity seriously" (p. 230). Woodworth writes that estimations are that at least 100,000 Confederates were converted. Union conversions numbered between 100,000 and twice that figure. "The total Union conversions would thus equal roughly 5 to 10 percent of all those who wore the blue. The Confederate armies being smaller, their percentage was higher, perhaps 10 percent or better" (p. 246).

Woodworth knows and understands the evangelical mind and vocabulary, leading this reviewer to suspect that the author shares in, or at least sympathizes, with that theological point of view. Throughout the book he editorializes on various points of theology. In writing about the soldiers' concept of providence, Woodworth says that "some people, not surprisingly, got things a little bit wrong and ended up with a jumbled philosophy of providence that shaded ... into the realm of fatalism" (p. 37). He criticized soldiers and others who thought they could "earn one's way into God's favor ... quite foreign to the Bible" (p. 61). Woodworth is most uncomfortable with those during the Civil War who "blurred the terminology of Christianity into the substance of civil religion" (p. 107). He is highly critical of Julia Word Howe's "Battle Hymn of the Republic" in this regard. Civil religion, he judges, "may have sounded nice, but it was not Christian theology." It was in fact "patriotic heresy" (p. 142). Such biases, however, do not detract from the substance or scholarship of the book. It is rather refreshing to read a historian who is upfront about his own points of view. Such writing adds interest and passion to the volume.

Woodworth concludes his work with what may be a surprising observation: "One of the most remarkable aspects of the Civil War may be how little it changed rather than how much. The idea that the Civil War wrought significant changes in the foundation of the American Republic may be the greatest illusion of U.S. history ... that world was still, at the most basic level, the world of Charles G. Finney, William McCreedy, George Whitefield, Jonathan Edwards, John Winthrop, and William Bradford" (pp. 292–93). The claim is arguably provocative.

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A good companion volume to this book is *Religion and the American Civil War*, a collection edited by Randall M. Miller, Harry S. Stout, and Charles Reagan Wilson (1998).

DAVID B. CHESEBROUGH
Illinois State University

LOUIS MENAND. *The Metaphysical Club*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux. 2001. Pp. xii, 546. $27.00.

In this brilliant foray into the sociology of knowledge, Louis Menand explores the roots and impact of pragmatism, America's chief contribution to modern philosophy. Four parts of three chapters each cover the four main figures: Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., William James, Charles Saunders Peirce, and John Dewey. A final retrospective and analytical part explores "pragmatisms, pluralisms, and freedoms" in the twentieth century.

The Civil War, argues Menand, was the key shaping event. The war marked the transition to modern life, and it transformed Holmes, who joined as an idealist and emerged believing that war was hell and that uncompromising faith in the absolute justice of abolition had caused it. The war thus led Holmes to reject the holistic, "transcendental" intellectual style of prewar thinkers such as Ralph Waldo Emerson in favor of skeptical inquiry and scientific investigation. But this created its own problems. How could one jettison theology and "oversoul" without falling into an uncomfortable kind of materialistic determinism? Moreover, without some sort of overarching theory, what did the law (for example) amount to? Holmes's answer was that the law was what judges, acting from precedent, argument, political bias, and a sense of justice and the public good, decided. Law was not an absolute to be discovered and applied. The law was rather contingent, socially constructed, the consequence of social influences that would be adapted to fit the tides of history. It was, in other words, what worked. The role of judges, then, was to protect the ability of social groups to contend for influence. Contingency, moreover, implied indeterminacy, thereby settling the second problem. Holmes was, in a word, a "pragmatist."

Holmes, a materialist, disliked this word because he thought that James and others who used it were trying to smuggle religion back into philosophy through the back door. James, too, rejected prewar modes of thought, including the racialist creationism of the great Harvardian Louis Agassiz and, more reluctantly, the spiritualism of his own father. James's early influence was Charles Darwin, who theorized a world in a permanent flux of purposeless adaptation. For James, this was equally true for ideas, contingent products of the interplay of mind and matter for which James introduced the term "pluralism" before finally employing "pragmatism." Truth is what works. One could (this irritated Holmes but mattered to James, a pioneer in exploring the psychology of religion) even have religious faith if it "worked" for you.

In 1872, James and Holmes belonged to a short-lived Cambridge group, the "Metaphysical Club," which furnishes Menand with his book's somewhat misleading title and where Peirce first used the term "pragmatism." A formidable logician and mathematician, Peirce explored probability theory—contingency—and the social nature of the quest for certainty, or truth as the product of community endeavor. Although Peirce, like James, could never wholly relinquish the idea of divine purpose, he also asserted that truth was elusive enough to require endless and ubiquitous searching, prime ingredients for a "pragmatic" perspective. Erratic behavior kept Peirce from achieving fame, retaining an appointment at Johns Hopkins, or even remaining solvent. It did not keep him from influencing a young Hopkins colleague, Dewey, an erstwhile Hegelian increasingly enamored of experimental psychology and the contingent nature of natural "law." Dewey went to Chicago, met Jane Addams, witnessed capitalist violence, and tried to put philosophy to work on behalf of social betterment through service-oriented graduate training, hands-on learning in the schools, and ardent support for the principle of academic freedom.

Menand writes with clarity and wit. He selects texts astutely, explicates them well, and provides appropriate intellectual context. His thumbnail character sketches—of Emerson, Agassiz, Eugene Debs—and descriptions of historical episodes—the battle of Ball's Bluff, the Pullman strike—sparkle, as do his summaries of the intellectual influences of Darwin on James, Chauncey Wright on Peirce, and James Marsh on Dewey. Class bias and consciousness—of Brahmin Boston or Thorstein Veblen's "leisure class"—are in short supply in this work, which diverges in this respect from recent studies such as Sven Beckert's *The Monied Metropolis: New York City and the Consolidation of the American Bourgeoise 1850–1896* (2001) and Marshall Foletta's *Coming to Terms with Democracy: Federalist Intellectuals and the Shaping of American Culture* (2001). Yet broader conflict—war, racism, strikes—abounds like background lightning. We are therefore never far from the social rather than the internal construction of ideas.

Pragmatism fared badly after 1945, says Menand, because it was skeptical of the conventional wisdom and claims for absolute rightness that the Cold War demanded. Interest revived with the Soviet collapse, reflecting a consensus that tolerance is essential to peace, that "democracy is the value that validates all other values." (p. 442) One wonders: will pragmatism survive the permanent "clash of civilizations" of Osama bin Laden and John Ashcroft?

RONALD STORY
University of Massachusetts

CLIFFORD PUTNEY. *Muscular Christianity: Manhood and Sports in Protestant America, 1880–1920*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2001. Pp. x, 300. $39.95.

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When professional football players gather for prayer in the middle of the field at the conclusion of a game, or a basketball star sports a WWJD bracelet, it is difficult to imagine that organized sports were anathema to American Protestants during the antebellum period. But as Clifford Putney's fascinating study demonstrates, Protestants in the postbellum period quickly overcame their early inhibitions and soon embraced manliness as a crucial way of nurturing godliness, equipping Protestant men to meet the challenges of modernity, and, perhaps most important, saving the church from the devastating effects of effeminacy.

Putney traces the origins of muscular Christianity, which he defines simply as a Christian commitment to health and manliness, back to England where it was nurtured by the moralistic adventures of Thomas Hughes and Charles Kingsley in the 1850s. Dissatisfied with the ascetic and "womanish" character of the Anglican Church, they attempted to reinvigorate it with more rugged and manly qualities that would better prepare the British people for the task of extending their empire around the world. When imported to America, lingering Puritanism initially kept the movement from taking hold; to Puritans and their nineteenth-century heirs, sports was a detraction from spiritual devotion and an immoral waste of time. By 1880, urbanization, the rise of Catholic immigration, and "neurasthenic decay" made health and manliness a major concern of many Protestants. As part of the Strenuous Life movement, WASP leaders such as Theodore Roosevelt encouraged "old stock" Protestants to revivify themselves by adopting aggressive male behavior in order to preserve their social standing. Because muscular Christianity so readily offered itself as a solution to the "feminized" faith of the Victorian era that had alienated men, moreover, many liberal Protestants embraced the movement as a way of bringing men back into the church. As Putney argues, the emergence of the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) as well as a number of church-related fraternal organizations helped to break down the barriers between religion and sports and proved to Protestant leaders that sports could be beneficial to the church. Muscular Christianity also promised to resolve America's "boy problem" in the early twentieth century. But instead of building character, Putney contends, the movement actually cultivated the virtues of modernity: regulation, socialization, and reliance on self rather than God. One area where the movement did enjoy manifest success was in increasing the proportion of men in certain mainline churches and missionary organizations, such as the Student Volunteer Movement. As a result, previously quasi-independent female missionary organizations were absorbed into male-dominated missionary boards. Putney challenges conventional interpretations that Protestant muscular Christianity was an androcentric phenomenon by proving that many aspects of the movement enjoyed great popularity among women's groups, such as the Girl Scouts. Swept along by the mindless patriotism that prevailed during both the Spanish-American War and World War I, Protestant leaders championed combat as a cure for effeminacy in men. For several reasons, including the decline of the mainline Protestant establishment, and the death of key leaders in the movement, the postwar rebellion among American youth, the muscular Christian movement atrophied during the 1920s. The YMCA, for example, became a secular health-care organization specializing in "personal wellness." While liberal Protestants likewise dropped muscular Christian rhetoric, the movement did not entirely disappear among conservative Protestants, as the recent resurgence of muscular Christianity among Promise Keepers and the Fellowship of Christian Athletes indicates.

Drawing on a wealth of archival sources and often neglected denominational and parachurch periodicals, Putney's carefully argued and engagingly written study makes an excellent contribution to American history. He explores the movement in connection with a broad range of topics, including higher education, the Social Gospel, and the peace movement of the early twentieth century. The result is a fascinating window into not only the way that Christianity helped generate a culture of masculinity but also Protestant churches and American culture. To be sure, some historians might take issue with certain points of Putney's analysis, such as his fairly uncritical reliance on the "social anxiety" thesis, or wish other points of interpretation were more fully examined, such as the connection between "character development" and the traditional Protestant concern with the cultivation of virtue. Nonetheless, the book offers a much needed survey of muscular Christianity and will be a valuable starting point for historians working in the fields of religion, gender, and American culture in the Progressive era.

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Richard O. Davies and Richard G. Abram. *Betting the Line: Sports Wagering in American Life*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press. 2001. Pp. 212. Cloth $60.00, paper $24.00.

Richard O. Davies and Richard G. Abram argue in their history of sports betting that gambling has propelled the popularity of many American sports, particularly college and professional football and basketball. Their argument is at odds (pun intended) with almost every standard history of these sports. Yet they prove their thesis and, in so doing, they expose the major flaw in their book: it is far too short, and the authors do not develop their important argument at the length it deserves.

In the introduction, Davies and Abram state that "gambling on athletic events" contains broad "significance for the student of American history and popular culture," and can provide "powerful insights into such larger issues as gender roles, class structure, ethnicity, modernization, local and national politics, and eco-

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nomic enterprise" (p. 3). Indeed it can, and, as they persuasively argue, most historians, including sports historians, have ignored the crucial role that sports betting has played in the development of many sports and in many aspects of American popular culture. In their book, which is organized chronologically, frequently they begin to explore their central questions, but too often they abort their discussion to move on to the next topic and/or decade.

Davies and Abram attempt to tell the whole story of American sports wagering and its cultural context and connections from the eighteenth century to the present in a mere 167 pages of main text. Inevitably they move too quickly and only give the highlights of particular periods and/or phenomena. For example, in a chapter on the significance of betting to the boom in popularity of the National Football League (NFL) in the 1950s and 1960s, they discuss the one-year suspensions of players Paul Hornung and Alex Karras for betting on games, but the authors do not give enough detail on the amazing growth of point-spread betting on NFL games and how this phenomenon not only created millions of working-class fans but also middle-class ones, and soon translated into corporate support for the Super Bowl, transforming that contest into America's most watched—and bet on—annual sports event. Indeed, in a history of American sports betting and culture, the Super Bowl deserves a long chapter of its own. The comprehensive footnote section and bibliography at the end of this book reveal the authors' awareness of the sociological and media studies of this and other topics, but they do not provide a full discussion of the Super Bowl, or sufficient analyses of many other important aspects of their subject.

At times, the authors move with such velocity that they contradict themselves. For example, in a generally excellent section on the college basketball fixing scandals of the late 1940s-early 1950s, they state that "the evidence is overwhelming that" Nat Holman, the famous coach of the national champion City College of New York team, "knew that his players were shaving points" (p. 66). Two pages later, however, they state that the players were so skillful in their "deceptions" on the court that, "if Nat Holman can be believed," they could "fool some of the nation's best basketball coaches in the process," including Holman (p. 68). According to the definitions in the informative appendix on the terms and methods of sports betting, bookmakers would call these comments on Holman, "splitting the middle," when the book has equal amounts on both sides of a proposition. Bookies welcome this situation because the bets nullify each other and bookies make their money on the "vigorish," the 9.09 percent of all bets that the house keeps. But historians have to focus on other goals, including telling the whole story in full detail.

This book both pleases and frustrates the reader. Davies and Abrams offer fascinating discussions of various events and phenomena in the history of sports betting but they also skate over significant topics and ignore others. Many current history books are far too long and flog minor subjects through countless muddy bogs; this one focuses on a significant and infrequently studied subject, and it is far too short. Indeed, it is an outline of a much larger and more important book. The authors have material for a powerful 400-page study. This reader urges them to write it.

MURRAY SPERBER
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KENNETH LIPARTITO and CAROL HEHER PETERS. *Investing for Middle America: John Elliott Tappan and the Origins of American Express Financial Advisors*. New York: Palgrave. 2001. Pp. x, 268. $27.95.

John Elliott Tappan may not have the same name recognition as Charles Merrill of Merrill Lynch, recently the subject of a biography by Edwin J. Perkins (*Wall Street to Main Street: Charles Merrill and Middle-Class Investors* [1999]). One could argue, however, that Merrill was simply following in the footsteps of earlier innovators, including Tappan. The latter founded Investors Syndicate (IS) in 1894. It was renamed Investors Diversified Services (IDS) in 1949, and then took the name American Express Financial Advisors in 1994, ten years after having been bought by its eponymous parent firm.

Carol Heher Peters, this book's coauthor, is Tappan's great-granddaughter. On one level, the book is an uncritical and celebratory telling of his life and work, an impression that the straightforward prose tends to amplify. (The book is pitched to a popular rather than an academic audience.) Tappan makes a good subject for such a biography. He was a recognizable American type: the hard-working, thrifty, respectable, and family-oriented white Protestant midwesterner who succeeded in business. Like Henry Ford, to whom the authors compare him, Tappan was also a visionary who had a deep affinity with the common citizens of rural America.

The book manages, however, to be much more than a celebratory biography and popular history. Spanning the period from the Populist uprisings of the late nineteenth century to the Great Depression, Tappan's working life coincided with profound changes in the nation's financial system. Kenneth Lipartito and Peters situate Tappan firmly in his business and cultural milieu. They give a lucid explanation of the complicated cultural response to these changes, in which nothing less than the "American traditions of a self-governing citizenry rooted in property ownership and independence were at stake" (p. 48).

Although not a diehard Populist, Tappan aimed to right the balance between common people and the large financial interests. In the late nineteenth century, ordinary people with tiny amounts of capital had no access to higher-return investments, and they could not diversify their investments to protect against risk. Even their savings options were limited. For example,

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when commercial banks finally began accepting small accounts, they paid three percent interest. Outside of mutual savings and loans institutions, life insurance was the only business in the financial sector that actively sought middle-class customers; and even then, the money was paid out only when a person died. Tappan reasoned that if the capital of ordinary folk could be pooled, they would collectively have the kind of access to higher-return investments that had traditionally been available only to large investors. His innovation, the "face amount certificate," allowed middle-class wage and salary earners to put aside a small amount each month until the certificate reached maturity. Patient and systematic saving paid off because the certificate earned about six percent, well above what government and railroad bonds were offering. IS invested the capital in mortgages, usually in areas that Tappan or his associates knew personally.

In hindsight, it seems an elegantly simple solution: small investors got higher returns while the pool of capital available for western mortgages increased. Yet, as the authors note, "abstract definitions of risk and reward [do not] control human behavior" (p. 223). New habits and behaviors take time to evolve, rules and incentives must first be defined and transmitted, institutions must be founded, and the whole complicated machinery must achieve legitimacy. In short, habits, incentives, and rules must be culturally embedded before they can work. Individuals and firms such as Tappan and IS played critical roles in this process, although their work has yet to be fully documented by historians.

In the early years, all of IS's problems centered on whether the firm and its customers, as well as its network of independent sales agents, could trust one another. Lipartito and Peters argue that the key to legitimizing the whole enterprise over the course of more than three decades was the integrity and reputation of Tappan himself. To distinguish his plan from the numerous Ponzi schemes of the period, Tappan structured the incentives so that his customers would stay for the long haul. His own commitment, however, had to be taken on trust. Prior to the existence of robust regulations and enforcement mechanisms, investor confidence rested primarily on the reputations of firms and individuals. Especially during a time of financial innovation and chicanery, the track record and perceived "character" of men like Tappan determined whether firms retained the confidence of clients, sales agents, and regulators.

During Tappan's lifetime, the nation's financial system became much friendlier to small savers and investors. We have only an incomplete understanding of exactly how this occurred. This book helps to bring the picture into clearer focus.

ROWENA OLEGARIO
Vanderbilt University

AMY E. SLATON. *Reinforced Concrete and the Modernization of American Building, 1900–1930*. (Johns Hopkins Studies in the History of Technology.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2001. Pp. xiii, 255. $42.50.

In her preface, Amy E. Slaton suggests her book is a "labor history" (p. ix), and, indeed, it is, but her approach will surprise those readers expecting a focus on construction workers. Instead, she concentrates on elites, analyzing the mechanisms by which manufacturers, builders, and engineers transformed construction practice around the values of science, efficiency, and uniformity in ways that consolidated their power at the expense of workers. It was the adoption of reinforced concrete between 1900 and 1930 that carried this socially conservative agenda into work sites, construction firms, and engineering schools. Slaton explains that "as concrete replaced wood and masonry in many contexts, it brought to building an extreme division of labor that called for a relatively small coterie of highly trained specialists to supervise the work of many . . . much lower-status, laborers" (p. 1). This new organization bypassed existing systems of hiring, supervision, and training sustained by craft unionists, and it permanently diminished workers' roles and their social possibilities.

This book will be of interest to a larger audience than simply labor historians. The heart of this study is the "marriage of science and commerce" (p. 5). Slaton argues that the modern hierarchical organization of work, which mirrored developments in industry, was achieved through the cooperation of scientists, engineers, and managers. Despite the conflict in ideologies between science and business, these two groups shared social values based on class, gender, and race that allowed for science to enhance the productivity of business, and for industry to offer unprecedented opportunities to the technically trained.

Slaton has fortified her analysis with an in-depth look at such elements of industrialized building as mass-produced construction materials, prefabricated elements, and published standards and specifications. Her ability to move persuasively from a fine-grained analysis of technical specifications to the broadest claims about social relations is impressive. Particularly notable is her discussion of standards in concrete testing. Authored largely by academic engineers who deliberately included nonspecific language, written standards made scientific expertise part of the business of construction while maintaining the necessity for the tests to be conducted by a credentialed engineer who could supply professional "judgment" where specifications lagged. In just these kinds of ways, science provided packaged expertise and authority to industry, while industry tolerated the mechanisms by which engineers exempted themselves from the drive toward the deskilling and subordination of workers. Slaton links this reliance on the tester rather than the test to the myriad ways that engineering training centered less on the mastery of information than on the development of habits and talents that educators associated

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with a specific social group: white, male, middle-class. This view of technical regimes as primarily social systems provides a strong critique of scientific neutrality. She suggests that "if we are to understand science and engineering as categories of thought distinct from older approaches to technical problem solving, it will have to be on the basis of their social organization, not through the identification of any clear epistemological trait such as 'systemization' or 'objectivity' " (p. 188).

Slaton argues that the transformation of building practice in concrete construction maximized many of the values, techniques, and aesthetics of industry beyond labor organization. An enthusiasm for uniformity fed the proliferation of commercially available, preassembled reinforcing systems and precast elements and sustained the demand for the nearly uniform concrete factories themselves. A confidence in the benefits of economies of scale and coordinated production underlay the success of the new full service construction firm, whose engineers designed and built "turn key" factories. Indeed, Slaton argues that even the design of the standardized concrete building with its plain functionalist form was "an elevation of production and commerce to a level of cultural prestige previously occupied by historicist architectural motifs" (p. 169).

The author treats the increasing popularity of concrete factory construction "as the product of entwined intellectual and social developments" (p. 10), and that complexity produces a narrative that feels circular rather than linear. The book's first three chapters are concerned with intersections between science, the academy, and the quality control engineer, while construction and design largely wait until chapters four and five. On the whole, the book is powerful; its claims are large and its analysis persuasive. The author's integration of the role of science into the modern workplace complicates our notions of a simple labor-management dichotomy. Her emphasis on the integration of social and technical systems presents a challenge to those who view technology and society as distinct entities bound in an endless loop, where technology both shapes society and is influenced by it. Her ability to present the continuities rather than the boundaries should give this book a wide readership; even if you are not interested in reinforced concrete, you should be.

GAIL COOPER
Lehigh University

STEPHEN GRANT MEYER. *As Long as They Don't Move Next Door: Segregation and Racial Conflict in American Neighborhoods*. Lanham, Md.: Rowland and Littlefield. 2000. Pp. x, 344. $29.95.

This vigorous study asserts the centrality of home and neighborhood to the successes and failures of race relations in the U.S. It regards opposition to open housing as a continuing feature of white racism in the twentieth century and as remarkably successful in the face of egalitarian state policies in the century's latter half. Stephen Grant Meyer sets out to revise Charles Abrams's classic study of housing discrimination, *Forbidden Neighbors: A Study of Prejudice in Housing* (1955). He regards Abrams's emphases on the roles of government and industry in promoting and continuing segregation as onesided. By emphasizing remediable institutional factors, Meyer argues, Abrams slighted "deep-seated racial prejudice" (p. viii) among the mass of whites as a critical factor structuring housing patterns. Moreover, this pattern of prejudice applied in the urban North as well as in the South, according to Meyer, and the history of residential segregation therefore opens opportunities to write a civil rights history that is national in scope.

At its best this book offers vivid, compressed accounts of white opposition, by turns violent and legislatively focused, to integrated housing. Its early sections on "Border Conflicts" ably discuss attempts in the border South to use city ordinances—in Saint Louis in 1916 one was tellingly titled "Ordinance to Prevent Ill Feeling, Conflict and Collisions Between the White and Colored Races"—to segregate neighborhoods and to keep them segregated. With the *Buchanan v. Warley* decision in 1917, the use of ordinances to segregate became a less viable strategy, although it was not abandoned. Restrictive covenants based on race and direct confrontations with African Americans moving into neighborhoods quickly became favored exclusionary strategies, most dramatically in the Sweet case in Detroit in 1925. In cataloging that case and many others, Meyer not only demonstrates the bleak persistence of direct action support for residential apartheid but also the ongoing push for fair housing by individuals and civil rights groups. For most of the century, that push would enjoy its greatest successes in the courts, in federal bureaucracies, and via presidential orders. The legislative branch, most directly responsive to popular pressure, was slowest to act in opposition to segregated housing.

From World War I to 1950, the flash point of opposition to integration and the most important court cases remained in the South and in border cities. With the violence in Cicero, Illinois, in 1951, that pattern began to change. As the South remained the focus of outrage against U.S. racism, northern instances of organized opposition to integration of neighborhoods accumulated. The instances Meyer describes in Chicago, Levittown (Pennsylvania), Detroit, and elsewhere were sometimes protracted and highly publicized. At other junctures, terror sufficed to quickly ensure segregation.

Meyer succeeds most when he links popular racism, public policy, and realtor/banking behaviors rather than regarding them as competing explanations for the persistence of segregation. In a few instances, introduction of recent work, such as that of Thomas Sugrue and George Lipsitz would have deepened the analysis. Lipsitz's *The Possessive Investment in Whiteness: How White People Profit form Identity Politics* (1998) offers an especially important caution against the tendency to

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see federal agencies as simply hamstrung by white racism and amply demonstrates their role in shaping such racism. Nonetheless, Meyer's work adds much to our understanding of the geographical expression of racial division in the United States.

DAVID ROEDIGER
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JAMES H. MADISON. *A Lynching in the Heartland: Race and Memory in America*. New York: Palgrave. 2001. Pp. xii, 204. $24.95.

A jolting photograph taken in Marion, Indiana, in August 1930 shows the beaten bodies of two African-American teenage boys hanging grotesquely from a massive maple tree in the town square. Save for one grim-faced man pointing at the dead boys, the rest of the crowd mills about as if attending a county fair or band concert. Several men and women in the foreground turn and smile toward the photographer as he snaps the picture. It is one of the most notorious lynching photographs in American history. It was published widely in state and national newspapers, including the *Chicago Defender* and *The Crisis*, which, respectively, ran captions reading "American Christianity" and "Civilization in the United States, 1930." James H. Madison's study of the Marion lynching provides, among other things, fascinating details about the photograph and its impact, including how a local professional photographer painstakingly set up the shot and later sold copies to eager souvenir hunters for fifty cents each. Like the photograph itself, this short book is a vivid portrait of jarring contradictions and hard truths, of the central meaning and complex memories of the color line in a twentieth-century midwestern community.

Madison uses newspaper accounts, oral histories, court records, and a variety of other sources to piece together a brisk, harrowing account of events surrounding the lynching: the arrest of nineteen-year-old Tom Shipp, eighteen-year-old Abe Smith, and sixteen-year-old James Cameron on charges of killing a white man and raping his white girlfriend; the mob that brushed aside law enforcement officials and methodically worked sledge hammers and crow bars for an hour to break into the Grant County Jail; the men and women who brutally pummeled and murdered Shipp and Smith and then, remarkably, gave Cameron a last-second reprieve; the thousands of onlookers who cheered on the horror and congregated beneath the bodies for hours afterward. The lynching, Madison makes clear, was a predictable consequence of the northern version of Jim Crow woven into the fabric of community life across the state, where parks, schools, and theaters were segregated and the specter of black-on-white sexual assault carried a constant, singular potential for social fury.

Yet, at the same time, the lynching also defied simple explanation. It was the only lynching to occur in Indiana after 1903. Racial tensions in Marion did not seem to be running particularly high at the time. The relatively small black population (less than five percent of the city total of more than 23,000) had not grown significantly in the preceding decade, as it had in most of Indiana's other urban areas. And the city's color line was fluid enough to allow for African-American civic employees (including two—and only two—in both the fire and police departments), some jobs in the city's main industrial operations, and a thriving National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) chapter. Flossie Bailey, the leader of the Marion NAACP, played a dynamic role in mobilizing the black community after the lynching and pressuring the state government to bring at least some members of the lynch mob to trial. The Ku Klux Klan, while a massive force in Indiana during the 1920s, had crumbled before 1930 and had actually been less popular in Marion than in other nearby communities. Its existence had been an obvious marker of the depths of white supremacy in Marion, as in countless other midwestern places, and former members certainly laced the lynch mob and attending crowd, but the Klan as an organization played no specific role in orchestrating the crime.

Madison carefully situates the lynching within these and other complex local circumstances, making this a fine community study in the traditional sense. But he also blends his analysis with questions of historical memory and follows the trail of shifting interpretation and diverse meanings from the time of the lynching to the present. Folk wisdom shaped public memory of the event from the beginning. It was widely believed in Marion's black community, for example, that Mary Ball claimed rape only to cover her own involvement in a robbery ring with Shipp, Smith, and Cameron, a belief supported by Ball's refusal to implicate Cameron at his trial. In the short term, white citizens clung to the narrative of the lynching night: that three black boys got what they deserved, or at least what they should have expected after attacking a secluded, romantic white couple. The notoriety of the event gave it a place of continued importance in local memory. Over the decades, African Americans continued to see it as a central symbol of Marion's legacy of racism. White memories evolved in the direction of explaining away the lynching as an aberration. Many came to believe that it must have been the work of the Klan. Remarkably, Cameron went on late in life to play a prominent role in shaping public awareness of past racial horrors and in achieving a measure of reconciliation. By 1998, the county elected as sheriff a former athletic hero who had been the first African-American teacher at Marion High School before going on to a twenty-year career in the FBI. His return to Marion and his election, Madison argues, were strongly connected to public memories of August 1930 and to an awareness of the need to address past injustice.

Accounts of public memory can be as slippery as the memories themselves, and one wonders if Madison

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places too much importance on one event in shaping the course of race relations in Marion's history. Still, the author succeeds by making careful distinctions between what can be known with reasonable certainty, and what becomes accepted as truth in a variety of different contexts over time. Through creative and meticulous research, this book reveals the complex roots and lasting significance of what happened in one place on one terrible, unforgettable night.

LEONARD J. MOORE
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MICHELLE BRATTAIN. *The Politics of Whiteness: Race, Workers, and Culture in the Modern South*. (Politics and Society in Twentieth-Century America.) Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2001. Pp. x, 301. $35.00.

Textile mill workers have long played a leading role in southern labor history. Now a new cohort of historians is scrutinizing a striking feature of the mill world: its nearly all-white character. With this book, Michelle Brattain joins Bryant Simon, Timothy J. Minchin, and others in seeking to understand how race mattered in southern textiles. A detailed local study of Rome, a manufacturing hub in northwest Georgia, Brattain's book concentrates on the period from 1930 to 1970. The author argues that mill workers lived class through race; until civil rights remade the workplace, to be one of them was to be white. Not "false consciousness" but self-interest explains the undertow of conservatism that earlier scholars found puzzling. In an industry that gave whites exclusive access to machine jobs, their commitment to racial hierarchy was "not irrational" (p. 228).

Brattain's freshest evidence comes from political history. She shows how deeply conservative Georgia Democrats such as Eugene Talmadge used race to win support. Talmadge and other politicians encouraged white workers' tendency to be suspicious of federal policies that would have benefitted them in other ways but also might elevate blacks. In this spirit, Brattain offers a revisionist interpretation of the famed 1934 general strike. Showing how Rome workers endorsed Talmadge's racist criticisms of New Deal labor policy even as they walked off their jobs en masse, she argues that they were always more ambivalent about change than their scholarly sympathizers have allowed. Brattain then documents Rome workers' fierce resistance to the Fair Employment Practices Commission in World War II and their disinterest in later union organizing drives with the potential to undercut their racial privileges. When they confronted mounting civil rights activism in the 1950s and 1960s, their uneasiness about racial leveling ripened into enthusiasm for massive resistance to school desegregation and into "mass defection" from the Democratic Party to Barry Goldwater, George Wallace, and Richard M. Nixon (p. 255). Brattain also suggestively observes how talk of race "went underground" after the 1960s, as whites turned to a "more subtle and invidious rhetoric about 'qualification' " to deny blacks better jobs and public power (p. 243).

This is a well-crafted study, but not the ambitious synthesis its title promises. The book makes no attempt to compare its industry with others in the South, or even to compare Rome textile workers with their counterparts elsewhere. The whiteness framework seems almost a marketing afterthought grafted onto a resolutely local narrative about events in a single town. In fact, Brattain slays a straw man when she announces that white and black workers did not have "identical interests" (p. 5). Nearly all observers have understood that this was a segregated industry in a white supremacist region. A focus on whiteness might have made for a sustained interrogation of the foundations of the dominant paradigm, particularly the way race slips from view in interpretations of covert resistance and working-class community. But the local narrative here crowds out such frontal engagement with the historiography. Instead, Brattain asserts and reasserts the primacy of whiteness without exploring evidence that might complicate and deepen her case. Often it is not clear what is new beyond the idiom of explanation: what was long recognized as "race," "segregation," or "racism" is here respun as "whiteness." Yet that is too blunt a tool to explain why, for example, union meetings integrated "long before" other local voluntary organizations and public bodies, or to make sense of the variations Brattain observes among white mill workers (p. 234). "They were awful good people," one says of the black men and women who got mill jobs after the Civil Rights Act. "They came to every union meeting regular," the man noted, "and that's what I stand for. I mean if you're not going to represent them, don't take their dues" (p. 240).

Labor historians need frameworks that can make sense of such reasoning, that can combine whiteness with other influences in interpretive packages adequate to the complexities of the evidence and the contradictions of lived history. Until we know more about the political economy of race in different sectors and the variations in white and black thought and practice within industries, a grand synthesis of "race, workers, and culture in the modern South" under the rubric "the politics of whiteness" seems at best premature. In the meantime, students of Georgia politics and history and of race and labor in the modern era will want to read this fine case study.

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Northwestern University

CATHERINE LUTZ. *Homefront: A Military City and the American Twentieth Century*. Boston, Mass.: Beacon. 2001. Pp. 317. $28.50.

In 1918, civic boosters from Fayetteville, North Carolina, set about the task of luring some sort of military base to the region, offering various incentives, including what would be described in official army literature as "acres of desolate sandhills and pine trees" (p. 25).

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Having persuaded Washington to locate a training ground in the use of artillery and other heavy weapons in their area, those same civic boosters—and those that would come after them—faced the need to convince civilians of its value. Despite the myth that the land the Army would acquire for Fort Bragg (named after Confederate General Braxton Bragg) was virtually empty, much of it was cultivated, often by people of African and Native American descent, and they were not easily displaced. Other Fayetteville residents opposed the project for fear of the dangers that large numbers of young men might pose to the virtue of the young women in the community. As Catherine Lutz makes clear, these objections and others that developed over the years were regularly ignored in favor of the arguments advanced to support Fort Bragg, especially those based on the assumed economic advantages it would bring to the Fayetteville region.

Cleverly interweaving the story of Fayetteville during the twentieth century with the story of the growing militarization of American culture, Lutz uses the Fayetteville case to critique the social effect of that militarization. As she makes clear, the actual economic cost to those living on the outskirts of Fort Bragg, as well as the social cost, is apparent—if you take the time to look for it. Lutz shows how, over time, those economic and social costs have changed, as has the role of the military in American life.

As Lutz points out, the mere notion of a large, permanent standing army has been contested over the decades. As early as 1919, the Fayetteville Chamber of Commerce argued that the postwar United States would need to keep thousands of young men in training for war; thus Fort Bragg would represent Fayetteville's contribution to the new century. From 1919 to 1939 the fort, as a military installation in peacetime, represented different things to different people. For some, Fort Bragg was a genteel place of well-manicured lawns and Sunday polo. For others, Fort Bragg was one constant through years of prosperity and then years of economic depression. And for others still, Fort Bragg was a dangerous place to be avoided if possible.

During World War II, Fort Bragg grew rapidly, training thousands of young men in the skills of war. But it was not immune to the social tensions of the time. Certainly there were losses, as young women became friends with soldiers who would never return. There were also racial confrontations, as the Army attempted to maintain segregation on and off post to satisfy the demands of Jim Crow—a segregation that reinforced the notion that white soldiers, who might fight in combat, were more worthy citizens than black soldiers, who were assigned the heavy labor and service work.

After the war, Fort Bragg became a center for the training of special operations forces and was the site of several mock studies on the effects of nuclear warfare on the surrounding population. In the context of the anticommunism of that era, civilians living in Fayetteville became both the potential victims of nuclear attack and possible saboteurs to be hunted down and controlled before they could overthrow the government. These war games, involving Fort Bragg soldiers against Fayetteville residents, prefigured many of the tasks the military would undertake in the Third World during the following decades.

The people of Fayetteville were not immune to the social discord of the 1960s and early 1970s. As draftees faced the reality that they were training to fight in Vietnam, they seized on every opportunity for recreation, turning Fayetteville's Hay Street into a street of bars, pawn shops, and strip joints. Meanwhile, those opposed to the war established safe havens such as Quaker House to provide counseling to soldiers about to leave for Vietnam, as well as those just back from the conflict. Finally, the civil rights struggles of the 1960s came to Fayetteville, as African-American soldiers demanded that base commanders place off limits those facilities that continued to discriminate on the basis of race.

After the war in Vietnam, Fort Bragg's mission shifted once again to preparing troops for quick deployment overseas for a variety of missions. Even the end of the Cold War did not lead to a deemphasis of the military's responsibilities. But more to Lutz's point is the continuing effect of military spending on communities such as Fayetteville. Rather than provide a net economic benefit, she argues that the fort actually drains the civilian economy. Although the armed forces provide a relatively equitable range of pay, the presence of Fort Bragg actually tends to drive down civilian wages in the Fayetteville community as local people move into those businesses that service the base. The need to absorb and provide social services for former soldiers and education for their dependents is a continuing drain on the community's resources. Moreover, in recent years the ideology attending the development of the all-volunteer military has had a negative effect on military-civilian relations, according to Lutz. Aside from the soldiers' notion that they are the protectors and the civilians the protected (an absurd notion in a nuclear age), as the soldier's status rises, the nonsoldier is increasingly portrayed as fat, sloppy, effeminate, and generally not worthy of citizenship. It is this last insight that is particularly important.

By providing a critique of what Dwight D. Eisenhower described as the "military-industrial complex," based on its effects on a single community, Lutz shows how dangerous it is to democracy to arm an elite force whose members consider themselves superior to those they are assigned to protect. Likewise, she debunks the myths by which communities adjacent to military bases live, demonstrating that such communities would be better advised to look for another industry to support their economies. This book is well written, fast paced,

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and should be read by everyone interested in the role of the military during the twentieth century.

WANDA ELLEN WAKEFIELD
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ANNE MEIS KNUPFER. *Reform and Resistance: Gender, Delinquency, and America's First Juvenile Court*. New York: Routledge. 2001. Pp. x, 290. Cloth $85.00, paper $21.95.

Anne Meis Knupfer analyzes the role of maternalism in the creation of Chicago's juvenile court and its local institutions for delinquent and dependent female children. These institutions were the product of maternalist "state building," and she uses discourse theory to read the "scripts" written by reformers, institutions, families, and adolescents. While the focus is on the Progressive Era, a third of the book involves institutional histories of the Chicago Home for Girls, the State Industrial School for Delinquent Girls, and the Catholic House of the Good Shepherd that range back to the mid-nineteenth century.

Knupfer opens by comparing the social science of Hull House activitists to that of the Chicago School sociologists. Whereas the latter strayed from sociology's reformist roots and were content to analyze the sources of social problems, the former engaged the political arena by linking their research to proposals for municipal reform. The chapter lays the foundation for Knupfer's argument that maternalists (such as club women, volunteers, and philanthropists) and professional maternalists (social workers, probation officers, and social scientists) cooperated in the creation and sustenance of Chicago's social welfare establishment.

While male sociologists viewed delinquency as stemming from neighborhood disorganization, psychiatrists, physicians, and sexologists focused on disordered individual behavior. Knupfer maintains that diagnoses of female delinquency reinscribed older moral categories of deviance and became more the basis for professional authority than part of a science of healing. Knupfer asserts that the court and psychopathic clinic forged a Foucaldian alliance of science and criminal justice, "a system of regulation based on scientific conceptions of what constituted appropriate sexual behavior" (p. 36). Yet Knupfer quickly retreats from this line of analysis, which conflicts with her belief in the fundamental progressivism of maternalist state builders. The maternalist-supported Juvenile Psychopathic Institute and the work of William Healy and Augusta Bronner would seem to be perfect examples of the medical qua moral diagnosis of female delinquency. But Knupfer chooses to emphasize that "there was the kinder, gentler side next to a more invasive one" (p. 117). Knupfer also dismisses the use of the medical model by social workers, arguing that it infused their language but not their practice, which remained linked to maternalist uplift.

The juvenile court exemplifies this dual nature of maternalist reform, mixing coercive and progressive features. The court enforced middle-class ideals about female behavior (many of the young women brought into court were guilty of some sort of sexual transgression) but at the same time referred young women to institutions that provided maternity care, treatment for venereal disease, schooling, and domestic training. Women reformers acted as probation officers until that service was professionalized, and then they served as "interstitial agents" who linked the court to social service agencies and schools. Whether delinquents experienced this as coercive or progressive is another story.

Delinquents' voices are often hard to hear in this account, sometimes through no fault of Knupfer's. Denied access to juvenile court records, she focuses on the coalition of reformers who created the court as well as the work of Mary Bartelme, who served as the first female public guardian in Illinois, became a probation officer for the newly created court, and eventually won election as a justice on the juvenile court with the support of Illinois club women. Bartelme negotiated between delinquent girls and their immigrant parents and used her powers of commitment to force reform on juvenile delinquents and on juvenile institutions, which depended financially on commitments. Bartelme thus personifies maternalist reform, illustrating the links between volunteer and professional women who eagerly shaped welfare institutions and intervened with a self-assured hand in the families of delinquent children.

Knupfer concludes her account of Chicago's juvenile justice system with three institutional histories. Knupfer makes imaginative use of institutional records, letters from former inmates, and other sources to capture adolescents' resistance to the domestic work that passed as vocational training and to the psychological categories institutions used to define them.

If much of this sounds familiar, it is because Knupfer follows in the steps of many other scholars. Readers familiar with the work of Anthony Platt, Elizabeth Lunbeck, Mary Odem, Kathleen Jones, Kathy Peiss, Steven Schlossman, and Barbara Brenzel, among others, will recognize the arguments here. Knupfer has applied them in a different context, but how much of this is really new?

ERIC C. SCHNEIDER
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ALISON L. HEPLER. *Women in Labor: Mothers, Medicine and Occupational Health in the United States, 1890–1980*. (Women and Health.) Columbus: Ohio State University Press. 2000. Pp. xii, 177. Cloth $47.50, paper $18.95.

Allison L. Hepler's book begins with a look at the efforts of Progressive reformers who fought for women's protective legislation regarding hours, night labor, and other working conditions. Much has been written

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over the last decade, particularly by feminist scholars evaluating the advantages of the emphasis on women's difference as a vehicle for building the regulatory state. But this book adds to our understanding of social reform by taking the long view, over the course of most of the twentieth century. By studying the shifts from an approach that harnessed societal expectations about gender to the crusade for occupational health, to a more individualist focus, buttressed by new feminist ideals, Hepler shows both the gains and the losses for women that have accompanied the change.

In the Progressive years, those active on behalf of women workers sought to put the findings of medical science to work for social good. Women of the National Consumer's League (NCL), crusading for protective hours legislation, marshaled scientific evidence regarding the physiological effects of fatigue on women's reproductive capacities, but they also appealed to societal concerns that fatigue would interfere with women's roles as domestic caretakers. Reformers believed that workplace safety was the responsibility of the employer, not the individual worker; arguing that working conditions in the factory could affect homelife, they hoped to show that improving the workplace was a public concern. In publicizing the ill effects of industrial poisons such as lead and benzene, experts like Mary Van Kleeck or Dr. Alice Hamilton emphasized scientific evidence regarding the special dangers to women and the possibility that women would pass on the toxicity to offspring. But they also tried to use science to adjust working conditions so that women could remain industrial workers. And they used contemporary norms about women to force industry to clean up the workplace for all employees.

As social reform gave way to a more narrow focus on scientific progress in the interwar years, industrial medicine centered less on improving the workplace and more on the individual worker. Hygienists, unlike the social feminists in the Women's Bureau, turned to protecting workers by attending to their cleanliness habits. Doctors employed by industry screened out unhealthy employees. Employers paid some attention to improving the safety of specific machinery while mandating that some workers use protective gear, but they paid little attention to the overall unsafe air quality within factories. Moreover, as industrial medicine shifted to improving the health of the worker rather than the work environment, industrial physicians began looking to habits and activities of employees outside the job in order to explain health difficulties in the factory. It was as if the locus of attention had now reversed since the Progressive era; rather than making improvements to the workplace in order to serve larger community concerns such as family life, improving the individual's homelife now became necessary in order to serve industry.

A greater focus on the individual as opposed to group norms, Helper notes, had potentially important feminist implications. At the time, most Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) advocates embraced this approach as a vehicle for advancing working women. For the social reformers, most of whom opposed the ERA, this new environmentalism "had the effect of diverting responsibility away from the workplace, a diversion, that helped neither women or men" (p. 62). Social activists maintained their commitment to the gendered approach because they believed that women had special needs and they hoped to improve the health of the workplace for men as well as women. Hamilton stands out as an important example of a crusader for occupational health who championed the particular needs of women as a group, but when medical evidence convinced her that women were not particularly at risk, she dropped gender in seeking a number of protective measures. In 1952, Hamilton ended her opposition to the ERA; she was convinced that the need to use women's special condition to improve conditions for all was no longer necessary, since unions, states, and employers were all moving to ensure safer workplaces.

Hepler consistently provides a complicated analysis of the difference versus same approach to women workers. During World War II, she acknowledges, being treated the same as men in the workplace had positive outcomes for women but often was detrimental, in that it ignored the constraints of women's domestic burdens. In her discussion of reforms from the 1950s to the 1980s, she shows how gender interacted with medical developments in affecting the workplace environment for women.

This book is frustratingly difficult to follow; its structure shifts back and forth between temporal and thematic approaches, and the analysis within each chapter often does not seem sustained. Nevertheless, it is a useful and thoughtful contribution to the growing literature on women and occupational health.

MIRIAM COHEN
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KIM E. NIELSON. *Un-American Womanhood: Antiradicalism, Antifeminism, and the First Red Scare*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press. 2001. Pp. x, 219. Cloth $55.00, paper $22.95.

Generations of students have been introduced to the history of antiradicalism in the post-World War I era by Robert K. Murray's classic, *Red Scare: A Study of National Hysteria* (1955). Kim E. Nielsen's book is a volume for a new generation, updating Murray's story by placing gender at the heart of the antiradical movement of the 1920s. This slender book deftly combines recent theories on gender and the state, thorough research in a wide array of primary sources, and a clean narrative style to reconceptualize the 1920s Red Scare.

The book joins a small but growing body of literature on the history of conservative women. Recent scholarship has, for example, examined women of the Klan, women antisuffragists, and women of the 1950s "mother's movement." Like the authors of those works, Nielsen has to spend considerable time explain-

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ing the seeming contradictions of antifeminist women activists, which she does convincingly. Unlike the authors of those works, who generally have placed their stories within the context of women's history, Nielsen also grounds her story in the history of American conservatism, a necessary and welcome advancement of the historiography.

Nielsen argues that the Red Scare of the 1920s was simultaneously (and inseparably) antiradical, antifeminist, and antistatist. Red Scare activists conflated capitalism and patriarchy and feared the power of an activist state to interfere with them both. Both men and women joined in the movement to defend democracy and the patriarchal family from the dangers of a feminized government. Through their creation of the welfare state and their newly gained voting power, Red Scare activists believed that feminists threatened to displace men as the heads of their families. Child labor legislation, for example, removed paternal control of children; even the innocuous-sounding Sheppard-Towner Maternal and Infant Health Act undermined patriarchy (by providing women and children a source of authority and funding that came from outside the home).

Critically, the movement emerged at a time when women's political definitions were in flux. The enfranchisement of women in 1920 provided an opportunity to reevaluate the proper role of women citizens. Nielsen argues that antifeminists seized that moment. Unleashing a powerful rhetorical volley, antifeminists hurled charges of socialism, communism, free love, Bolshevism, and pacifism, until the American public was thoroughly fearful of the increasing range of women's activism. Although unsuccessful in halting the enfranchisement of women, antifeminists were nevertheless ultimately successful in limiting the effectiveness of enfranchised women. The General Federation of Women's Clubs curtailed its political activities; the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom was purged from the National Council of Women; and the Daughters of the American Revolution were first split, then publicly humiliated over accusations and counter-accusations of radicalism and purging. The impact was devastating to women's progressivism.

Finally, Red Scare antifeminism served as the foundation for the conservative movement that emerged later in the century. The defense of home, patriarchy, and family, when combined with vigorous capitalism and aggressive patriotism, provided a conservative ideology of tremendous appeal. It also offered room for women activists, who would serve as an important element of the conservative movement from the 1950s to the present.

Nielsen is best when untangling the knots of antiradical rhetoric and ideology. She treats her subjects with respect, even when their extremism makes such scholarly restraint difficult. She is less secure when handling the issues of class and the class interests of those involved in the antiradical movements. Although repeatedly acknowledging the class-specific constituencies of the Red Scare movement (which were upper and upper-middle class), Nielsen works hard to downplay the possibility that class interests acted as a motivator for their activism. Interestingly, religion seems not to have been a motivator either, as it receives scant mention.

This is a fine book that should be widely read. Specialists will find it insightful; nonspecialists will find it useful; students will find it accessible.

ELNA C. GREEN
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JAMES D. ROSE. *Duquesne and the Rise of Steel Unionism*. (The Working Class in American History.) Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press. 2001. Pp. xi, 284. $42.50.

This study of the rise of unionism at the Duquesne Steel Works in Pennsylvania and the ultimate success of the Congress of Industrial Organization (CIO) in winning bargaining rights for the Steel Workers Organizing Committee (SWOC) in the 1930s challenges previous accounts both from historians and SWOC activists relating to the role of the leadership of company unions in shaping steel unionism in the New Deal and post-New Deal era. Author James D. Rose demonstrates that members of the Employee Representation Plan (ERP) at the Duquesne Works, a company union introduced to thwart the old Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel, and Tin Workers, had become both independent and militant and over a period of time developed a bargaining process with management that suited the interests of the skilled shop floor workers. The Fort Dukane Lodge of the Amalgamated represented the unskilled and more ethnically and racially diverse hourly workers at the mill. Ultimately, Rose contends, through a massive organizing campaign backed with the authority of the National Labor Relations Board, the SWOC brought together both the ERP and Amalgamated leadership to organize the skilled and unskilled rank and file at Duquesne. Thus, he argues, the roots of successful steel unionism there can be traced to *both* the ERP and the Amalgamated, despite historians' traditional dismissal of the former as a toady to management.

The Duquesne Steel Works, just south of Pittsburgh, was among three mills (including the Homestead mill) that formed the nucleus of Carnegie Steel and subsequently U.S. Steel. By the end of World War I, some six thousand steelworkers labored at Duquesne. The mill was typical of large steel works in the United States, making it a good model for an examination of the steel industry and the labor movement that emerged within it. Additionally, the incredible store of records that U.S. Steel abandoned at the mill in the 1980s and to which the author had access lends this study a shop floor perspective that others have neglected. As a result, Rose's study significantly expands

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our understanding of big steel and the rise of steel unionism in this country.

By focusing his study on the shop floor, Rose was able to track worker, union, and management activity during union and nonunion periods in the one place where all of these groups intersected. Additionally, he could see how management's decisions, federal, local, and state politics, ethnic/racial divisions, and the hierarchical production process itself all influenced steel workers' efforts to organize between the post World War I and World War II eras. As a result of studying the industry from this broader perspective, Rose challenges labor historians' contention that working class unity prevailed in the steel industry and its union—hence Rose's argument that only a highly centralized labor organization backed by federal authority could overcome workers' differences and the power of the steel industry. The SWOC filled that bill, having a reputation as one of the least democratized and most centralized CIO unions but perhaps the most successful in creating a leadership that bridged racial, ethnic, skill, and pay differences. Despite this seeming success, Rose demonstrates that the union still struggled to maintain its membership and only did so by relying on the federal government on the eve of World War II to secure such things as "maintenance of membership," which provided dues check-off. Rose contends that this held the union in Duquesne together—in effect, hiding its internal weaknesses. "Fragmentation and apathy were just as much a part of steel unionism at the Duquesne Works," Rose concludes, "as were unity and militancy" (p. 219).

Rose's access to U.S. Steel's records at the Duquesne Works gives his account of the evolution of unionism in the steel industry a unique perspective. Where so many labor historians have built their studies around race, ethnicity, community, and gender, Rose has observed the makings of worker activism from the shop floor. In so doing, he gives the reader an inside look at the evolution of steel unionism. Clearly, the story is a complicated one, but Rose lays out his argument layer by layer, resulting in the convincing argument that the company-sponsored ERP at Duquesne actually contributed as much to what steel unionism became by 1941 as the old Amalgamated union had. His grasp of the historiography and nuances of the steel industry and unionism is both broad and deep. The result is a richer understanding of a vital segment of America's labor history.

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GREG HALL. *Harvest Wobblies: The Industrial Workers of the World and Agricultural Laborers in the American West, 1905–1930.* Corvallis: Oregon State University Press. 2002. Pp. 288. $34.95.

One of the great pleasures of being a historian is discovering the work of another scholar that takes a subject and an argument you have previously made and carries them in a different direction. Such is the case with Greg Hall's book. Hall examines issues that I dealt with in my own work on the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) in Oklahoma and applies those issues to California and the Pacific Northwest. What he has discovered both affirms my arguments regarding the success of the IWW's Agricultural Workers Industrial Union (AWIU) on the Great Plains while explaining its surprising lack of success in the Far West.

Focusing on the work culture of these regions, Hall confirms my own view that the relatively homogenuous nature of the Great Plains harvest workers—white, single, nearly all native born—was a substantial benefit for IWW organizing. Additionally, the radicalism of many Great Plains farmers, especially in North Dakota, and the smaller level of agribusiness control of farming in the region aided the Wobblies.

Yet Hall also argues convincingly that this did not carry over into the Far West, notably California. When the AWIU applied its Great Plains strategies to California, it encountered an entirely different work culture of Asian and Hispanic Americans and of families rather than single white males. While individual workers could afford on occasion to actually walk away from a job over poor wages and conditions, a family could not. The hiring of harvest workers also differed in the Far West as individuals and families directly approached farmers or large farming operations for work rather than, as was common on the Great Plains, groups of farmers competing to hire men who congregated in camps outside the town near the railroads or in facilities provided by the towns.

The harvesters of the Far West also relied more heavily on automobiles, a factor that completely undermined AWIU organizing efforts. When such inexpensive jalopies and the new combine-harvesters appeared on the Great Plains, the AWIU and the IWW as a whole found their very existences threatened. Hall's work in this aspect confirms an argument made by Peter Cole and myself: that technological advancement and internal dissensions had a greater impact on the decline of the IWW than had government repression during World War I.

While strong in these and other areas, the book has some weaknesses. I found many areas needing greater analysis. At times Hall fails to dig deeper into issues such as gender and race, although his discussion of the white male work culture is headed in the right direction. All to often, he choses instead to rely on narrative incidents to explain the "what" of an issue—such as the Japanse and Chinese preference for their own labor associations—but fail to explain the "why," such as "Why had the Wobblies failed to attract these workers?" and "How did the various labor groups differ in their understandings of both those workers and the conditions of their work?" His focus on just who the migrant workers were and what they did on the job fails to take into account that intinerant

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laborers also worked in harvesting natural ice, as lumberjacks, and in the mines, oil fields, and railroads, and that these widely different job experiences go a long way in explaining the Wobblies' revolutionary ideas and their organizing strategies and tactics.

Having said that, I still found Hall's book a sturdy, interesting history both of the largest of the IWW's constituent unions and of a workforce that filled an intermediate and transitional role in the conversion of American agriculture from a nation of small, family farms to one of large-scale, mechanized agribusiness operations.

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BRAD D. LOOKINGBILL. *Dust Bowl, USA: Depression America and the Ecological Imagination, 1929–1941.* Athens: Ohio University Press. 2001. Pp. x, 190. Cloth $44.95, paper $16.95.

"Stories about stories call attention to disconcerting patterns of probability," Brad D. Lookingbill states. This book considers the ways and the means by which Americans understood the patterns during the Great Depression. Basing his analysis on the theoretical use of myth and language, he concludes that "Depression America conceived the dust bowl as an episode of the frontier" (p. 126).

Lookingbill skillfully examines a wide variety of stories told about the dust bowl. Descriptions from newspapers (local and national), church periodicals, magazines, government reports, documentary film, literature, and academia all serve to illustrate the ways in which Americans understood the dust storms, drought, and the deprivation they caused. These stories, he argues, reinforce the metanarrative of American history, mainly that Americans (Europeans) conquered a vast wilderness, closed a frontier, and found a new frontier in dealing with the ecological disaster of the dust bowl, one that could be conquered through the use of rational expert planning and federally coordinated programs. This metanarrative is echoed in the book's structure with chapters titled "Conquest," "Fall," "Adjustment," "Climax," "Survivor," and "Legacies."

Although Lookingbill does a very good job of describing the way in which people wrote about the dust bowl (his rhetorical analysis includes discussions of the role of imperialism, gender, and power—though not race), he falls short in explaining what these stories mean in terms of Americans' understandings and actions concerning the dust bowl. The main problem is his reliance on theory to explain his examples rather than explaining, in his own words, why these stories are important and what are the larger points they make regarding Americans' understandings about ecology, the role of the federal government, and the course of American history. Roy Stryker, head of the photographic division of the Resettlement Administration (later Farm Security Administration [FSA]) believed that his photographic project "showed America to Americans" in all its failings and glory. The most important aspect of the photographs was not that they showed the despair of the Depression, but that they showed Americans overcoming adversity.

The stories Lookingbill describes attempt to illustrate the same thing, whether for religious reasons (ministers viewing the arrival of the dust storms as a divine retribution for sins) or for political ones (government agents seeking to influence public opinion and Congress to appropriate funds for agricultural and conservation programs). That these stories should conform to the metanarrative of American mythology is no surprise. What is significant, and beyond the scope of Lookingbill's study, is the way in which the stories were used to support an important change in American values away from individualism to more emphasis on collectivism and a strong, intrusive federal government.

Lesser issues also mar this study. Lookingbill describes the religious imagery used by clergy and laity alike in describing and trying to explain the dust bowl, but he does not discuss the religious beliefs of the people reading the accounts or listening to the sermons. Although he illustrates how the metanarrative of American history has roots in religious narrative (especially the story of Moses and the exodus from Egypt), he does not show the way in which religion has shaped Americans' perception of the land, their nation, and their mission.

Lookingbill's study includes a brief photographic section that, unfortunately, does not include any of the photographs or paintings that he analyzes in the text. While the photographs (all from the same archive at the University of Oklahoma) illustrate the dust storms, they do not inform the interpretative points Lookingbill argues. The photos are presented with titular captions and no explanation as to what point they illustrate. The inclusion of the FSA photographs discussed in the text, along with an example of the work of painter Alexandre Hogue (also discussed in the text), would have reinforced Lookingbill's argument.

Overall, the book reveals an interesting insight into a neglected aspect of the dust bowl: the way in which it was described to Americans. Unfortunately is does not articulate the way in which Americans understood those descriptions, or what that understanding meant in terms of policy, social change, and cultural values.

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PATRICK J. MCGRATH. *Scientists, Business, and the State, 1890–1960.* (The Luther Hartwell Hodges Series on Business, Society, and the State.) Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2002. Pp. x, 248. $39.95.

Patrick J. McGrath traces the politics of science in the United States from the Progressive era to the New Frontier. His title, however, is rather misleading, as

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the book's scope is restricted to the ideas of selected members of the scientific elite and their debates about the purposes and control of science. The central figures he examines are Henry R. Towne, Theodore N. Vail, Frank B. Jewett, James B. Conant, Ernest O. Lawrence, Vannevar Bush, David E. Lilienthal, J. Robert Oppenheimer, Lewis Strauss, Edward Teller, and Herbert F. York. The list includes nonscientists and is weighted toward physicists. Even so, the author argues all were key spokesmen whose ideas revealed and shaped scientific ideas in their times.

McGrath acknowledges at the outset that his discussion "does not represent an exploration of untouched historical ground" (p. 5). Although the author gives few surprises, he makes contributions in his interpretation of how an ideology he calls "scientific militarism" grew out of corporate science, and how that ideology constrained scientific debate during the early Cold War. He explicitly argues against deterministic interpretations that would see scientific militarism as an inevitable product of social and institutional structures. Not all will be convinced, but he argues that the ideology emerged from political interplay, events, and especially values until eventually its tropes acquired their own "momentum" (p. 128).

The book's early chapters describe how scientific leaders developed variations on the managerial liberalism of the Progressive era. Spokesmen for corporate science justified their role in industrial laboratories by describing scientific innovation as an inevitable and progressive process of evolution. Therefore scientists should exploit the professional and personal opportunities provided by big business. Nor should the public be concerned about corporate science, because it created material innovation, prosperity, leisure, and ultimately freedom. McGrath finds all these ideas problematic because they sanctioned corporate power, restricted the role of the public in debates about the direction of science, overlooked discrimination in professional education and employment, and obscured the negative impacts of technological innovation.

Although by the 1930s, the state increasingly funded big science projects, many scientists feared state control. By World War II, they were taking advantage of the opportunities to serve their country and influence military research. Scientific leaders from business backgrounds were initially cautious and would not support risky projects like the atomic bomb. But McGrath contends that the politics of war led to a new logic that supported even risky, expensive, and morally questionable projects. Scientists increasingly argued that the United States had to proceed with the atomic bomb, because Germany might develop the weapon first.

After the war and in the early years of the Cold War, scientific leaders no longer feared state power, and indeed acted as "good soldiers" who believed that military research was good for themselves, the nation, and the world (p. 127). They had a utopian faith in collaborative decision making and in their influence as technical advisors.

Another generation of scientific leaders, represented by Teller and Strauss, saw the Cold War in terms of an evolutionary struggle of good versus evil in which the strongest would survive, and so argued that any weapon that could be envisioned, would, and should, be researched and built. Thus McGrath contends, the ideology of science, especially its "evolutionary trope" about the inevitability of innovation, became a major driver of the arms race (p. 149).

He explained how scientific militarism became "a political force that would overwhelm" any resistance from scientists, or even American presidents (p. 128). Scientists who doubted the merits of any military research, for example, had to challenge the evolutionary metaphor and thus to oppose progress, innovation, and scientific research itself. Patriots to the core, they found that insufficient enthusiasm for research on a project like the H-bomb could result in charges of disloyalty, even treason. Endorsing the inevitability of scientific innovation, doubters could not envision arms control or conservative concepts that could rationalize not building weapons. Feeling reservations, the scientists could not discover how to act as public intellectuals or to define the public's role in scientific choice. Accordingly they censored themselves and chose not to challenge the arms race or scientific militarism. Because scientists working with the military offered no alternative, President Dwight D. Eisenhower found little support in his efforts to limit the arms race.

McGrath's book suffers from some repetitious writing and a few convoluted passages. However, his story helps us to understand the ideas of scientists inside the military establishment. Finally, his message of how unquestioned assumptions have guided American policy and led to unilateral technological responses to complex international problems has contemporary relevance.

STEPHEN P. WARING
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KATHLEEN BROOME WILLIAMS. *Improbable Warriors: Women Scientists and the U.S. Navy in World War II.* Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press. 2001. Pp. xvii, 280. $34.95.

The story of Rosie the Riveter filling in for men on the production line during World War II is now a familiar one, but the richly detailed stories of four women scientists who did centrally important work in technically demanding positions relayed by Kathleen Broome Williams are just now seeing the light of day. These and other women like them also performed superbly in occupations normally filled by men and pioneered paths for contemporary women entering scientific fields closed to their gender by prejudice, custom, and lack of educational opportunity. Broome's profiles are inspiring and fresh, reminding us that

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women took serious steps toward integrating American society at all levels in a conflict that demanded mobilization of the entire home-front population if the war were to be won.

Flanking her individual portraits with contextualizing historiography of the gender discrimination that limited career paths for women, Williams brings to life four extraordinary achievers who found themselves at the cutting edge of oceanography, meteorology, computer science, and applied mathematics during the war and who went on to distinguished careers afterward. Although she emphasizes quite rightly that her subjects were atypical both before and after the war in their scientific training and continued professional employment, Williams reminds us that not all women lost their widened opportunities in the labor force when the war ended. A few pioneers remained to provide the slender bridge that connected temporary lowering of gender barriers "for the duration" with the substantial challenges mounted by feminists of the 1960s to break those barriers down for good.

This study has been published by the Naval Institute Press in Annapolis, so it is not surprising that Williams puts the navy at the center of her analysis in many ways. She highlights the fact that three of her scientists were WAVES (Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Service) and that their military careers were as distinguished as their scientific ones. When Pearl Harbor was bombed, the only women in the American military were nurses, but all branches of the service yielded to pressure from various sources to utilize women's talents more fully. The great exception to this integrative move, and one that Williams does not mention, is the continued racism that barred African-American women from the navy until the war was nearly over. The navy was arguably the most resistant branch of the armed forces when it came to race, and it was notorious for confining black men to service positions on board ship and forcing them into dangerous loading jobs at ports of call.

When it came to white women, however, the navy's record is much better. Mary Sears, Florence van Straten, and Grace Murray Hopper were all WAVES whose technical expertise and scientific training were valued by the navy, and all spoke highly of their experiences in uniform while on active duty and then as reserves. All enjoyed prestigious promotions, with Hopper serving into the 1980s and eventually appointed commodore and then rear admiral. Although they were frequently the only woman professional in their base of assignment, all worked with men who treated them professionally and respected their intelligence, work ethic, and capabilities. It is significant that all three were single, possessed of Ivy League Ph.D.s in the sciences, and found male and female mentors at crucial points in their careers. These factors undoubtedly eased their way into the military/scientific male world in which they flourished.

The four women scientists on whom Williams focuses her historian's lens were classic New Women of the early twentieth century who grew up during the first wave of feminism, benefitting from passage of the suffrage amendment in 1920 and from progressive families who encouraged them to follow paths of independence, risk, and high educational attainment. They were pioneers before the war, in other words, who were not very interested in homemaking careers but were passionate about intellectual pursuits. Sears was encouraged by her mother to study zoology at Radcliffe and worked at Harvard's Museum of Comparative Zoology while getting her Ph.D. in the early 1930s. Van Straten's parents urged her to major in chemistry as well as English so that she could support herself, and she received a Ph.D. in the former from New York University in 1939. Hopper, who helped design the world's first computer programs at Harvard during her wartime service, had parents who instilled in all their children a love of mathematics and the desire to be financially independent. Her excellent scientific education at Vassar led to a Yale Ph.D. in mathematics in 1934. Mina Rees, the only woman of the four to ever marry (and this late in life), overcame a financially strapped upbringing in the Bronx by taking advantage of fine curricula at Hunter High School, Hunter College, Columbia University, and finally the University of Chicago, where she got her Ph.D. in mathematics. These remarkable educational achievements were nurtured by a cultural sea change in American life that saw modern women as men's equals, at least in theory. Although it was a period when combining marriage or family life with professional careers was very difficult, these New Women set their sights on worlds outside the home and were well positioned for the wartime opportunities that came their way.

Williams's profiles are richly textured by the prodigious amount of archival work that went into this volume, as well as by the author's sophisticated, intricate understanding of the scientific breakthroughs, structures, and military research in which these women participated. The careful way all four are located within specific academic, scientific, bureaucratic, and historical trajectories illuminates their individual achievements as well as the immense boost World War II gave to American science and technological innovation. Threaded throughout are the personalities of these inspirational pioneers, whose lives were far from the grim stereotype of the lonely, joyless woman scientist created by popular culture. These were well-rounded women, Williams makes clear, who loved gardening, literature, creative writing, travel, cooking, sewing, knitting, and community activity. Unlike the vast majority of women, even well-educated college graduates, who could not get beyond low-level entry positions, poorly paid pink collar jobs, or fulltime family responsibilities, these four beat the odds and led full lives of splendid achievement. Williams calls them "improbable warriors" because of the odds stacked against them and the academic achievers they were, but they were also happy warriors, and getting to know

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them serves us well in our continued struggle to open the sciences to women today. Well written, thoroughly researched, and informed by a clear-eyed view of gender discrimination in scientific fields, Williams has made an important contribution to studies of World War II, the role of women in winning the war, and our image of the sciences as a realm in which women belong.

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GERD HORTEN. *Radio Goes to War: The Cultural Politics of Propaganda during World War II*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2002. Pp. xiv, 218. $45.00.

During World War II, the United States government abandoned the attempt to control radio broadcasts directly and encouraged radio stations, radio personalities, and advertisers to pursue their own versions of war patriotism. By withdrawing from the direct production of propaganda and limiting itself to providing suggestions and a measure of control, the U.S. government encouraged the privatization of public discourse by corporate sponsors and radio stations.

The first three chapters of Gerd Horten's book document the government's efforts at direct involvement in the production of radio propaganda from the mid-1930s to 1943. The Roosevelt administration made several attempts at using radio programs to explain New Deal efforts, but even before the U.S. entry into the war, Roosevelt had chosen to tone down governmental radio propaganda. According to Horten, radio's interventionist position before Pearl Harbor was due less to Roosevelt's direct pressures than to the passionate anti-Axis internationalism of radio personalities like H. V. Kaltenborn and Edward R. Murrow. In the first years of the war, government agencies tried to steer radio toward what they considered to be the correct war goals and resumed production of their own programs. This strategy had mixed results. Radio stations agreed to broadcast noncommercial government propaganda and in many cases removed from the air ethnic commentators that the government deemed unpatriotic or pro-Axis. Yet the limited popularity of these broadcasts contributed to relegate government programs to the "leftover" air times. Roosevelt's political opponents were also adamantly opposed to these activities, and the public was suspicious of government's intervention after the excesses of the Creel Committee during World War I.

In 1943, Congress attacked the domestic branch of the Office of War Information as excessively pro-Roosevelt and left leaning. As a result, the administration withdrew from the production of propaganda, and the shaping of the radio war effort was left in the hands of advertisers, radio personalities, and radio stations. According to Horten, the United States increasingly fought a propaganda war shaped by the interests of the private sector, which "provided a crucial link for the strengthening and relegitimation of the privatized culture of consumer capitalism" (p. 9). The second half of this book offers an analysis of the making of this privatized "radio discourse" in the cases of radio advertising, radio comedy, and radio soap operas. Left in the hands of private enterprise, the meaning of radio patriotism varied. Radio ads stressed the connection between the virtues of a specific product and the general welfare of the United States while comedians—in particular Bob Hope—glorified the common man in a GI uniform.

Horten impressively summarizes this story in an engaging book of less than 200 pages. The idea of the privatization of American public culture is fascinating, although it begs further development. Of course, the government did regulate the media during World War II, for instance by recommending, via the Policy and Principles Committee formed by J. Edgar Hoover in December 1941, the end of all Japanese-language broadcasts—but not those in German and Italian, which the government monitored but did not suppress. According to Michel Foucault, power is at its most effective when it is the least visible. Perhaps, then, the real question is whether the government did not need to enforce censorship because its point of view and that of advertisers and radio businessmen were largely overlapping. Yet if one is to judge from the story of other media—for instance, Hollywood movies—there were disagreements that in some cases prompted intellectuals who had decided to work in mass media to take their talents elsewhere. In one of the book's most interesting chapters, Horten recounts the case of Irna Phillips, one of the most successful radio writers of this time, who objected to the new social and economic roles the war economy offered women.

Horten's scant attention to the intellectual debates surrounding the political use of radio might have limited the value of his book by obscuring the connection between this story and the broader context of contemporary U.S. intellectual history. In these years, American intellectuals embraced mass media as a possibility to communicate democracy and antifascism to the general public. The integration of entertainment and political propaganda in Jack Benny's wartime radio shows recalled the progressive modernism of the Warner Brothers film *Confessions of a Nazi Spy* (1939) that, according to the Popular Front magazine *Film News*, interwove "documentary and dramatic material." This broader intellectual framework would have emerged had Horten cast a larger net and examined more closely his characters' political and intellectual biographies. This said, however, Horten has written an engaging account of a relatively neglected topic, and his book will make a nice assignment in a variety of classes in both U.S. and media history.

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THOMAS REUTHER. *Die Ambivalente Normalisierung: Deutschlanddiskurs und Deutschlandbilder in den USA, 1941–1955.* (Transatlantische Historische Studien, number 11.) Stuttgart: Franz Steiner. 2000. Pp. 476. DM 88.00.

This study combines traditional German thoroughness with post-1945 familiarity with America to provide an impressive survey of the attitudes of columnists, officials, and the public. It is odd reading American opinions *auf Deutsch*, experiencing the ring of familiarity and yet strangeness, while automatically translating the ideas back into English. Very often Thomas Reuther short circuits the process, using original paragraphs and "untranslatable" words, like "exceptionalism—world opinion," knowing that his native readers understand English.

Cited attitudes begin with the disappointment that "the land of brave thinkers" could not achieve the needed revolution in 1848. Newspapers then supported Prussia against Napoleon III and greeted the Second Reich. Otto von Bismarck avoided annoying America, but an English appeasement policy was longer lasting. Traveler Mark Twain pictured Germans as kind, generous, polite models of cleanliness and order. The blustering Kaiser Wilhelm II damaged that image, but Germany remained beloved as a tourist land, admired for its science and art, until the helmeted march into Belgium. President Woodrow Wilson, having no transatlantic threat, had to use a compelling *Feindbild* to weaken isolationism, making the war one against barbarians and for democracy, opposing which equaled disloyalty.

Despite the war's propaganda, anti-Semitism remained stronger than anti-Germanism. The Roper poll in 1938 showed Jews heading the list of disliked ethnic groups and, as late as 1942, nearly half of those polled thought them too powerful. Sixteen percent even agreed with Adolf Hitler's efforts to remove "Jewish power." The elite, including Franklin Delano Roosevelt, never understood the extent of the persecution. Films spoke most powerfully to American culture, but until 1939 Hollywood resisted attacks on Germany as bad for business, fending off the "Hate the Hun" propaganda of 1917–1918. Still, on December 22, 1941, sixty-four percent of Americans polled thought Germany the greatest danger. Japan became the most hated, but negative views toward Germans increased, although into the spring of 1945, the public estimated fewer than 100,000 victims of Nazism. Pictures of liberated camps were shocking, but the theme of Jewish suffering disappeared until the Holocaust pressure began in the 1960s. Columnists criticized Germans more for their "authoritarianism" and "anti-westernism" than their racism.

Dorothy Thompson, although she had early warned about Hitler and his racism, was criticized as too friendly because she opposed treating Germans as an evil race. Also helping refugees was Reinhold Niebuhr, whose Prussian father spoke more German than English in the home. The public was impressed with films of German ruins, as in Billy Wilder's *A Foreign Affair.*

William Shirer continued his critical stance from a novel into his best-selling *Rise and Fall of the Third Reich* (1960). Although distrust of Germans continued, most Americans came quickly to accept the creation of a German state. Unanimity against German rearmament lasted until the Korean War, but George F. Kennan and Walter Lippman pushed a policy of neutralization. Kennan was not anti-German but for Europe's independence, so that it could be a "third force." He had wanted a limited American involvement; ironically, his containment concept had created the opposite. More influential was John McCloy, who brought the Defense and State Departments to a pro-German policy. Dwight D. Eisenhower, as North American Treaty Organization (NATO) commander in early 1952, announced he had no resentment toward "the freedom-loving" German people and secretly shook hands with General Hans Speidel.

German reparations to Israel, after much American-Jewish pressure, helped to improve public opinion. When the French rejected the European Defense Treaty in 1954, the former enemy seemed the more reliable ally. By 1955, most Americans had friendly feelings, and seventy-four percent thought unification desirable.

Reuther's analysis does not increase confidence in columnists as wise and objective nor of the public as knowledgeable, but it does increase respect for the American scholarship that he utilized. He uses print marvelously but was less able to follow radio or TV commentators, who were perhaps more important than columnists. He seldom makes clear the connections among opinion makers, officials, public opinion, and policy. He sometimes indicates which officials used which columnists to sell which position, but what percentage of the public read and bought these "influential" writers? I was an avid follower of liberal columnists on domestic issues but rejected their critical line on Germany, having experienced the postwar reality.

Policy makers in closer contact with Germans, such as General Lucius D. Clay and McCloy, seem to have had the greatest awareness and impact. One could infer that observing more directly the physical, political, and psychological realities persuaded the on-site Americans to accept Germans back into the fold of humanity, and the nation followed its perceptive forward scouts.

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PETER MAGUIRE. *Law and War: An American Story.* New York: Columbia University Press. 2000. Pp. xii, 446. $30.00.

When he was twelve, Peter Maguire learned that in 1948 his great-grandfather had served as a judge on a

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war crimes tribunal in Nuremberg, Germany. This discovery sparked his curiosity, motivating him to undertake research that produced, first, an undergraduate thesis on the case his great-grandfather had tried and, eventually, this book. It is an impressive work, passionate and enjoyable to read. Maguire might have written a better one, however, had he stuck more closely to the subject that first excited him The further he wanders from the topic of how the United States dealt with German war criminals after World War II, the less coherent and convincing his book becomes.

It is an outstanding treatment of that subject. Maguire's research, especially into the trials that followed the famous prosecution of the major German war criminals before the International Military Tribunal in Nuremberg, is impressive. So is his thorough investigation of the diplomatic maneuvering that by 1958 had liberated all of the Germans imprisoned by the United States for war crimes. He provides informative accounts of little-known trials, such as the one in which his great-grandfather participated, and also offers a persuasive explanation for the lenient treatment that so many war criminals received. The reductions in sentence, early parole, and clemency from which they benefited resulted, Maguire demonstrates, from cynical American moves, intended to cater to German public opinion and enlist a rearmed West Germany in the Cold War against the Soviet Union.

Maguire also effectively refutes what he sees as two major myths about the post-World War II trials. Contrary to what many Americans believe, he shows, they did not have a redemptive effect on Germany. Germans never accepted their legitimacy and never absorbed the lessons they were supposed to teach. The German belief that the defendants were victims of a harsh victor's justice is equally erroneous, Maguire demonstrates. Although many of those the United States prosecuted were guilty of horrific crimes, most of them suffered only rather mild punishment.

Maguire's efforts to refute German and American myths about these post-World War II prosecutions are far more persuasive than his endeavors to relate those cases to earlier and later events. His first two chapters cover a period that reaches from the colonial era to 1945. Both lack coherence, and neither has a real thesis. Maguire does demonstrate in this part of the book that Americans (like Europeans) ignored, when fighting nonwhite peoples, the rules they were developing to govern combat among themselves. He fails, however, to make clear what this has to do with American prosecutions of Germans. Furthermore, some disturbing factual errors mar these background chapters. For example, Maguire states that Elihu Root was secretary of state when the United States entered World War I (p. 74) and that Herbert Wechsler was the attorney general in 1945 (p. 96). Woodrow Wilson scholars will be surprised to read that Henry Stimson originated the "new passive-aggressive principle" of withholding recognition from those who gained power by illegitimate means (p. 84).

These flawed background chapters do serve to introduce a concept that is central to Maguire's discussion of the post-World War II German cases: "strategic legalism." By this he means "the use of laws or legal arguments to further larger policy objectives irrespective of facts or laws" (p. 9). According to him, strategic legalism produced trials that were essentially just shows, because the punishments they imposed on defendants would later be reduced in order to satisfy public opinion or promote American diplomatic interests. This is an insightful way of explaining how the United States dealt with German war criminals following World War II, but Maguire's contention that strategic legalism was developed by lawyer-diplomats after the Spanish-American War seems highly questionable. John Marshall used legal arguments to further policy objectives in *Marbury v. Madison* (1803), and such notable domestic political prosecutions as the impeachment of Justice Samuel Chase (1805) and the treason trials of Castner Hanway (1851) and Lambdin P. Milligan (1864) fit within his definition of strategic legalism. Certainly, the 1971 court-martial of Lieutenant William Calley for the My Lai massacre is a clear example of the phenomenon. Although convicted of twenty-two murders, Calley served only a few months in prison, due largely to the cynical manipulation of his case by the Nixon administration. Yet, Maguire cites the Calley prosecution as an exception to what he sees as a pattern of superpowers carrying strategic legalism to new heights during the Cold War.

When Maguire strays from the post-World War II prosecutions, he tends to stumble into distortion and error. That is a shame, for when it sticks to the subject that first aroused his interest, this is a terrific book.

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THOMAS BORSTELMANN. *The Cold War and the Color Line: American Race Relations in the Global Arena*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2001. Pp. xi, 369. $35.00.

Thomas Borstelmann ably charts how U.S. leaders in the decades after World War II responded to rising pressures for racial justice both at home and abroad. The contours of Borstelmann's argument are familiar: "The African and African American freedom movements encouraged and reinforced each other . . . The unfolding of national self-determination across Asia and Africa . . . nourished the struggle for equality in America" (p. 2). Still, Borstelmann's skillful synthesis, vivid vignettes, and clear, often clever prose all give his story a fresh appeal.

Both black activists and American officials understood the rising stakes for the nation in adapting to a world whose once firm racial hierarchies were buckling. In 1947 W. E. B. Du Bois wrote a tract for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored

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People (NAACP), *An Appeal to the World*, that warned, "It is not Russia that threatens the United States so much as Mississippi; not Stalin and Molotov but [racist senators Theodore] Bilbo and [John] Rankin" (p. 77). Five years later, the U.S. Justice Department conceded as much in a brief for school desegregation filed in the landmark *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) case: "It is in the context of the present world struggle between freedom and tyranny that the problem of racial discrimination must be viewed" (p. 93).

Borstelmann displays both mastery and modesty in screening the racist baggage that burdened even America's ablest and most respected leaders. George Kennan, a founding father of America's Cold War strategy to "contain" Soviet schemes, ascribed Russia's diplomatic and ideological dangers to its "semi-Asiatic" roots and "attitudes of Oriental secretiveness and conspiracy" (p. 50). This does not prevent Borstelmann from lauding Kennan as "a strategist of great subtlety and even humility"; rather, if even "the most reflective of Truman's diplomatic elite" was mired in such "commonplace" and "traditional" biases, "his colleagues were unlikely to do much better" (p. 51).

Borstelmann similarly navigates the ambivalent racial attitudes of American presidents with precision rather than derision. Although even such a staunch civil rights advocate as Harry S. Truman opposed "social equality," "for a man of his place and time, the Missourian made impressive strides on matters of race" (p. 49). As for Dwight D. Eisenhower (of whom the NAACP's Roy Wilkins said, if he had fought World War II as timidly as he did for black rights, "we would all be speaking German today"), Borstelmann allows that despite the president's long service in a segregated military, he grasped "at least some of the political costs of Western white racism in the Cold War" and tried "to accommodate . . . a changing global racial order" (pp. 90, 133). "But for all his decency and shrewdness, Eisenhower "remained in part blinded by . . . nostalgia for the stability of the white-ruled era now slipping away" (p. 134).

During the 1960s, Presidents John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson each stepped up commitments to racial equality but, as Borstelmann shows, the bar of acceptable leadership was rising faster still. Johnson's record on race, as in so much else, was especially poignant: "The convergence of civil rights reform, racial polarization, and an anti-Communist but increasingly racially charged war in Southeast Asia made the Johnson years unparalleled: so much hope, so much achievement, and so much disappointment" (p. 222).

The African and African-American freedom movements at times resist Borstelmann's bid for synthesis, reflecting their decidedly secondary place in each other's concerns, let alone in the thinking of U.S. officials. Except for the period between 1963 and 1965, when civil rights protests reshaped the agenda of Congress and two strong-minded chief executives, race was at most an intermittent—and often incoherent—element in U.S. policy making. To his credit, Borstelmann refrains from outrunning his evidence, striving instead to recreate the complex, shifting, often confusing impact of race on U.S. officials.

Although granting that "race did not determine the main outlines of American policy toward the Soviet Union or U.S. plans for constructing a global capitalist order" (p. 268), Borstelmann concludes, "The far-reaching changes that swept through the American South in the second half of the twentieth century cannot be understood apart from the international context of the Cold War. The evolving civil rights movement fit into the larger story of decolonization and the Cold War struggle over world leadership and the meaning of 'freedom'" (p. 270). In contrast to so many accounts of the Cold War, he posits, "The destruction of white supremacy represented, in world historical terms, a more momentous achievement even than the conquest of Soviet Communism" (p. 271). In recounting this achievement, Borstelmann effectively demonstrates how "the issue of race . . . can illuminate the ways in which American history in the second half of the twentieth century was also international history" (p. 7).

ROBERT WEISBROT
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VOLKER R. BERGHAHN. *America and Intellectual Cold Wars in Europe: Shepard Stone between Philanthropy, Academy, and Diplomacy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2001. Pp. xx, 373. $39.50.

RON ROBIN. *The Making of the Cold War Enemy: Culture and Politics in the Military-Intellectual Complex*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2001. Pp. xvi, 277. $39.50.

The historiography of American Cold War policy has focused overwhelmingly on high government officials, with relatively little systematic knowledge being developed of the next level of bankers, manufacturers, civil servants, academics, and intellectuals. These two original studies contribute to illuminating the often crucial roles played by some of these groups in justifying and carrying out U.S. security policy.

Ron Robin offers a sweeping indictment of academic behavioralists—primarily psychologists, sociologists, and political scientists—for their uncritical embrace of the dominant paradigm of a ruthlessly expansionist communist enemy. Robin argues that behavioralists based at the Rand Corporation, the well-known Cold War think tank in Santa Monica, California, offered crucial observations on the nature of the enemy in support of American intervention in Korea and Vietnam.

Employing an argument developed by Thomas S. Kuhn for physicists, Robin argues that the paradigms of science ultimately are derived politically (or sociologically), typically in support of state-sponsored mod-

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els. These paradigms become axiomatic and serve to reward conformity and punish genuine intellectual inquiry. In this case, behavioralists failed to acknowledge that theoretical knowledge and policy were disparate and that the former focused on innovation, originality, and inquiry, whereas policy focused on results, cost effectiveness, and applicability. Robin argues that "The conflating of theory and policy in the Cold War military-industrial complex caused havoc and eventually ruined the credibility of the nation's academic establishment" (p. 5).

While behavioralists were willingly coopted, humanists and liberal arts scholars were not recruited in significant numbers by Cold War think tanks. The "triumph of behavioralists, and conversely, the invisibility of humanists" (p. 55) produced skewed policies that embraced state-centered paradigms and ignored indigenous forces in the two major Asian battlegrounds. Behavioralists thus interpreted the Korean War within the established parameters of Soviet-sponsored international communism. With a Kremlin initiative on the proverbial global chessboard long anticipated, behavioralists quickly signed on to the Truman administration's unquestioned assumption that the violence in Korea came on orders from Moscow.

In reality the Soviets approved, but did not order, the attack, but the larger point emphasized by Robin is that the behavioralists ignored crticial issues of causation in Korea such as decolonization, the need for social reconstruction, and complexity in general. Robin argues that "The superimposing of American-made theories of behavioralism on the Korean reality allowed policy makers to suppress the genuine differences of this distant land and pursue policies with only casual links to reality" (p. 93).

The poverty of behavioralist conceptions emerged fully in Vietnam, as they bolstered a "coercive counterinsurgency" that ignored many of the same social forces that had been at work in Korea. Ultimately the Vietnamese peasants "failed" to weigh the costs and benefits and make the "rational" choice to bow to American power and abandon their quest for national independence.

While a good deal of work has been done on the role of academics in nuclear weapons research laboratories, Robin's study goes beyond the "wizards of Armageddon" to focus on the role of academics and think tanks in the development of conventional Cold War strategy. His study offers an original, and damning, assessment of the role of behavioralists and the willingness of academics to abandon inquiry in favor of conformity. "The major fault of Cold War behavioralism," he concludes, however, "was not its mercenary nature, but, rather, its pervasive contempt for complexity, the uncritical acceptance of contemporary cultural mores, and the denial of its intellectual limitations" (p. 5).

Volker R. Berghan focuses on a different sublevel of national security policy in his assessment of transatlantic cultural links between Americans and their European Cold War allies. A blend of biography and sociocultural diplomacy, Berghan's book probes the career of Dr. Shepard Stone, Ivy Leaguer, journalist, and Germanophile who played a key role in anticommunist public affairs activities of the Ford Foundation in the 1950s and 1960s. Stone headed the International Association for Cultural Freedom, successor to the more well-chronicled Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) front organization, the Congress for Cultural Freedom—both of which employed millions of dollars to sponsor conferences, scholarly and intellectual journals, and carry out other aspects of cultural diplomacy. Stone's career thus linked philanthropy, academy, and diplomacy, the matrix of national security policy that Berghan illuminates in his study. The author emphasizes the role of conscious management in extending American power rather than the often presumably inexorable forces of Americanization or modernization. As Stone's career reflects, the determination to extend influence occurred in cultural affairs no less than security and economic aspects of diplomacy.

Berghan's study emphasizes the dual nature of American Cold War management of cultural relations. At issue was the perceived need not only to defeat the Soviet Union in a propaganda and cultural war but also to convince often suspicious Europeans to abandon their negative stereotypes of the United States and embrace American leadership. The philanthropic, academic, and public affairs programs carried out by Stone and others thus sought not merely to contain and eventually destroy the Soviet empire but to forge closer cultural ties between Americans and their European allies. Berghan establishes Stone as representative of a neglected category of advisors, well connected with wealthy and powerful benefactors, who had more influence than acknowledged in previous Cold War studies.

Like Robin, Berghan thus successfully identifies and illuminates the too-often neglected role of nongovernmental actors in the evolution of American Cold War diplomacy. Both of these studies are sharply conceptualized, original, and significant contributions to understanding postwar American national security policy.

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THEODORE HAMM. *Rebel and a Cause: Caryl Chessman and the Politics of the Death Penalty in Postwar California, 1948–1974*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2001. Pp. xi, 209. $16.95.

Forty-two years ago, Caryl Chessman was executed in the San Quentin gas chamber for sexually assaulting two Los Angeles women in 1948. The Chessman case engendered enormous national and international anti-capital punishment sentiment, more so than any other modern case. Theodore Hamm has written a fascinating and detailed account of the Chessman case. Thank-

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fully the book is not about guilt or innocence. Instead, Hamm uses the Chessman case to explore the politics of the death penalty in California and the United States in the years after World War II. Hamm brilliantly portrays Chessman as the darling of the champions for rehabilitation and the New Left movement.

Chessman was a twenty-seven-year-old parolee from Folsom Prison who had spent the better part of his adult life in and out of prison when he was arrested in Los Angeles, in January 1948, as the Red Light Bandit. Chessman signed a confession, which he later recanted, saying that it had resulted from police brutality. Eyewitness testimony from the victims, however, and other evidence led to his conviction. The jury, having determined that one of the kidnapping counts included bodily harm of the victim, was left with little discretion: the sentence was either life in prison without parole or death. Chessman received the maximum penalty: death in the gas chamber.

To the New Left, Chessman was the paradigm of rehabilitation and modern penal treatment. The condemned man was a writer, philosopher, and rebel who poked a finger in the eye of the establishment. The unusual case, along with the popularity of books about it, which were translated into a variety of foreign languages, led to an outpouring of pressure on his behalf from noted personages and ordinary people throughout the world. Norman Mailer (who later befriended the killer Jack Henry Abbott) became a strong advocate for Chessman. For "crime control" advocates, Chessman was a vicious street punk, and his crimes called out for harsh treatment. Most important to the New Right, Chessman was an unrepentant psychopath and a sex deviate. His case symbolized the disorder that was prevalent in postwar California. Indeed, there was no treatment for an incurable sex menace. Elimination or execution were the only answers. Between 1950 and 1960, the Chessman case wound its way through the judicial maze like a tennis ball, back and forth between state and federal courts and the court of public opinion. Chessman received seven stays of execution. Ironically, the man in the middle who decided Chessman's fate, the governor of California, Edmund Brown, claimed his hands were tied as an opponent of capital punishment.

Hamm has made a fine contribution to the study of the politics of this issue. The book is well written, organized, concise (168 pages), and makes use of original documents from Governor Brown's records. The quotes from ordinary Californians are fascinating and used appropriately. I can see this book being used in sociology, criminal justice, political science, and public policy classes. The issues in Chessman's case have direct bearing on capital cases today. My only problem is that the author is clearly on Chessman's side.

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YASUHIRO KATAGIRI. *The Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission: Civil Rights and States' Rights*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi. 2001. Pp. xxxv, 348. $40.00.

In recent years, civil rights scholars have increasingly investigated the diverse nature of southern white responses to desegregation. Yasuhiro Katagiri's study of the Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission adds to the literature by demonstrating that even in the Magnolia state, notorious for its fierce defense of Jim Crow, segregationists differed in their commitment to and favored means of protecting racial separation.

Created by the state legislature in 1956 to defend segregation against challenges from the federal government and the civil rights movement, the Sovereignty Commission relied on a director, a public relations director, a small team of investigators, private detective agencies, and a network of paid and unpaid informants. The commission's activities and approaches varied according to the priorities of Mississippi's governors and the disposition of its several directors, before Governor William L. Waller vetoed its appropriation in 1973, recognizing that the end of legal segregation had made it an anachronism. Based on the commission's records, first released in 1998 after years of litigation by the Mississippi branch of the American Civil Liberties Union and former civil rights activists seeking access, this is the first scholarly book-length study of an important agency in Mississippi's attempt to preserve Jim Crow and, after the early 1960s, to limit desegregation and manage it peacefully when change could not be avoided.

Katagiri has dealt with the commission's 132,000 pages of records by focusing primarily on policy making and the broad implementation of policy, with only a few examples of the commission's many local activities. Members of the commission, headed by the governor and leading state politicians, were often divided between unbending militant segregationists and moderate segregationists, who were prepared to concede limited desegregation rather than risk or accentuate the loss of lawful order, business investment, and federal funds.

Under Governor J. P. Coleman, a moderate segregationist, the commission focused primarily on publicizing the case for segregation to northern opinion makers, mostly newspapers, television stations, and politicians. It also subsidized black Mississippi publishers, several of them Baptist ministers, who endorsed segregation; paid African-American informers to gather information about local civil rights activities; and successfully cultivated many black college presidents. Coleman and the commission upset militant segregationists by favoring the building of a desegregated, federally funded Veterans Administration hospital in Jackson, and by their refusal to use the commission as a conduit for state funding of private, segregationist Citizens' Councils.

Diehard segregationist Ross Barnett, Coleman's

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successor, ensured that the commission subsidized the councils, but he could not prevent the desegregation of the University of Mississippi in 1962. With the encouragement of new governor Paul B. Johnson, Jr., the commission, under director Erle Johnston, worked to maintain law and order during racial crises, including managing such desegregation as federal authorities insisted upon. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, the commission operated primarily as an investigatory agency focusing on black radicals, student protests, and narcotics, in cooperation with local police and sometimes federal agencies.

Katagiri notes that some commission staff and many of the African Americans whose publications it subsidized, or who served as informers, were opportunists who used the commission for financial gain. He demonstrates that its investigations were sometimes trivial and that the commission itself often doubted the utility and reliability of its black informers.

However, the commission did and sought to do more damage to the civil rights movement than Katagiri acknowledges, and it continued such activities under Johnston's supposedly more benign leadership. Katagiri pays little attention to the commission's many attempts to sow dissension among black groups by infiltrating them, and he largely ignores its frequent efforts to find and disseminate information intended to discredit activists. Commission investigations were often poorly conducted and inaccurate, but they extended across the state and sometimes had important consequences. Katagiri, for example, does not discuss its informant in the Mississippi State Penitentiary, who supplied the commission with information about the jailed Freedom Riders and the operations of civil rights groups in the state. He makes no mention of the role of the commission in supplying Mississippi U.S. Senator John Stennis with information that helped him disrupt federal funding of the Child Development Group of Mississippi. He neglects important commission activities, such as its attempts to undermine the Delta Ministry and the commission's role in working with county voter registrars to keep blacks off the registration rolls. Despite such omissions, Katagiri has provided an important overview of the commission that will be a starting point for further research.

MARK NEWMAN
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DEBRA L. SCHULTZ. *Going South: Jewish Women in the Civil Rights Movement*. Foreword by BLANCHE WIESEN COOK. New York: New York University Press. 2001. Pp. xix, 229. $26.95

CLIVE WEBB. *Fight against Fear: Southern Jews and Black Civil Rights*. Athens: University of Georgia Press. 2001. Pp. xvii, 307. $50.00.

Although Clive Webb's book treats southern Jews and Debra L. Schultz's discusses mostly Jews from the North, many of whom met with negative or at least mixed responses from their southern brethren, these volumes have much in common. Both started as dissertations. Both authors use interviews, although these are Schultz's major source, whereas for Webb interviews are one of numerous primary tools. Both ground their findings in critical readings of the secondary literature, and both ask the right questions and provide balanced answers to highly controversial, politicized topics. Both also analyze African-American mixed images about, and responses to, Jews. Finally, neither Webb nor Schultz discounts negative conclusions.

Schultz's book is the more personal account. She describes her undertaking as a search for identity as a liberal Jewish feminist; relies on personal reminiscences of a small, not totally representative sampling; and ends with a call for renewal of the reform impulse. Coupled with a problematic organizational structure and anecdotal approach, this might lead the reader to dismiss her work, yet that would be a mistake. Her book explores the background, participation, later activities, and mixed motivations of women, many of whom placed their lives on the line in behalf of the civil rights movement. In so doing, it provides new insights into the roles of women, the varieties of civil rights experiences, and black-Jewish relations.

The fifteen or so women on whom Schultz concentrates typically worked for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) between 1960 and 1967. Although three were born before 1935, the majority were born between 1935 and 1943, years of Depression, World War II, and Holocaust. Children or grandchildren of East European immigrants, they grew up in non-normative families that viewed an imperfect America as a refuge in which one strove for acceptance even while advocating change. Their "multiple and contradictory identities" enabled them to empathize with and defend fellow underdogs and to "cross boundaries" (pp. 3–4). This work about "ordinary people [doing] extraordinary things . . . questions the category of 'whiteness'—particularly in the United States and particularly for Jews" (p. 21). Schultz subscribes to a "Jewish racial middleness" model (p. 107). Her women activists lived with danger and learned to conform to different values and ways of doing things. Their contributions were often behind the scenes fundraising, office work, and local organizing. Sometimes they were the only white women involved, and when the movement went toward black power, some felt left out and even betrayed. Yet they probably gained as much or more from their activism as they contributed.

Well written and organized, Webb's is the more scholarly of the two volumes. As a graduate student at Cambridge, he started with the question of why more southern Jews did not speak out in behalf of black civil rights. Yet his research led him to a more complex perspective. Jewish responses ran the spectrum, from segregationists Charles Bloch and Solomon Blatt, to people who joined the White Citizens' Councils out of terror and intimidation, to people of good will who

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remained frozen with fear, to crusaders for rights who suffered threats and worse. Important variables included the type of community and whether or not the Jews were descendents of old families or relative newcomers. Although Jews in the South appear to have been generally more receptive to black rights than the majority of southern whites because of their historical background as a persecuted minority and as a result of a religious/cultural thrust toward social consciousness, even the most ardent integrationists tended to work behind the scenes or through organizational frameworks. They eschewed marches and demonstrations and counseled northern activists about moderation and remaining out of the region. Part of their reticence stemmed from a belief that change could be had without violence and part from real trepidation.

In a section that overlaps with and finds resonance with Webb's work, Schultz notes that ten percent of the bombings in the South between 1954 and 1959 were aimed at Jewish community centers, houses of worship, and rabbis' homes. The sites of greatest civil rights agitation were areas of extremely small and declining Jewish populations. Southern Jewish paranoia was rooted in reality. As Webb astutely observes, a small but important cohort of rabbis and Jewish women stood out as catalysts for change and virtual spokespeople for the men whose businesses made them highly vulnerable to retaliation. In the end, Webb, like Shultz, emphasizes the grass-roots level that often remains invisible when tracing institutional efforts.

Where do these works fit within the historiography? I will do Schultz a disservice by concentrating on only two areas among many that she discusses. An extensive literature exists debating the mixed motivation and background of Jews involved in the civil rights movement. Did Jews battle for black rights to gain their own acceptance? Were those who participated "secular Jews"? These questions, originating in the perceived decline of a so-called black-Jewish "coalition," imply self interest and lack of religious impact and make Jewish activism problematic. Shultz's response is that although "not identi[fying] strongly as Jews" at the time, their broadly defined "Jewishness" nonetheless informed the commitment and the nature of the participation of the women who traveled South. To commit to black civil rights was "to embrace both American and Jewish identity" (pp. 3–4). How else can one explain the disproportionate participation of people of Jewish background among whites in the struggle, or the fact that Schultz's women were often the only whites in the field and office? Furthermore, if Jews participated to smooth their own road to acceptance, as Marc Dollinger (*Quest for Inclusion: Jews and Liberalism in Modern America* [2000]) and others contend, could they not have found a less controversial forum in which to do so? If racism against blacks in America comparatively shielded Jews from overt anti-Semitism, it is also true that the times of greatest persecution of each coincided.

Since Allan Krause analyzed a survey of Reform rabbis for a rabbinic thesis at Hebrew Union College ("The Southern Rabbi and Civil Rights" [1967]) and Leonard Dinnerstein and Mary Palsson edited *Jews in the South* (1973), the dominant interpretation has been that Jews in the South were so cowed into submission that only a few rabbis supported the civil rights movement, and those who did often met the wrath of their congregants. These findings were modified by most contributors to Mark K. Bauman and Berkley Kalin's anthology (*Quiet Voices: Southern Rabbis and Black Civil Rights* [1997]). In this volume, Webb continues the revision process with the most important book on the subject and a must read for anyone interested in multiple areas of research. What Webb finds is earlier, more, and longer sustained activism than hitherto ascertained. Is the record blemished? Most assuredly, but this has to be weighed in relation to the danger involved and disproportionate support for civil rights.

As African-American efforts are reconsidered from the bottom up, so too should Jewish participation be. Schultz and Webb offer outstanding additions to the literature and point the way for future research.

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STEPHEN G. RABE. *The Most Dangerous Area in the World: John F. Kennedy Confronts Communist Revolution in Latin America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1999. Pp. 257. Cloth $39.95, paper $17.95.

Ever since the debate during the administration of President Thomas Jefferson as to whether the United States should recognize the movements for independence in Latin America, the region has represented something of a paradox in U.S. foreign policy. Among Jefferson's advisers, as among the advisers of President George W. Bush today, it was asserted that Americans are tied to the other nations in the hemisphere through propinquity, a shared sense of separation from the nations of Europe, and shared values and attitudes toward freedom and democracy. And yet, from that first debate in the Jefferson administration nearly two hundred years ago to the present, the region never has received the same attention as Europe or, on occasion, Asia. As a consequence, U.S. diplomatic relations with the nations of Latin America have been characterized by a profound sense on the part of Latin Americans that they are either being taken for granted or given short shrift.

That is the message conveyed implicitly in this solid book by Stephen G. Rabe. Explicitly, his argument is that the Cold War tempered the efforts by President John F. Kennedy and his more liberal advisors to support democratic government in the region and to facilitate the modernization and development of Latin American societies. This is not a new argument, but it

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is here made in convincing fashion. The strengths of this volume, which serves as a companion to Rabe's earlier, splendid study of the Latin American policy of the Eisenhower administration, are its exhaustive empirical research and its commendable comprehensiveness.

The book consists of chapters devoted to the U.S. response to military interventions against elected governments in Peru, Ecuador, Argentina, Brazil, and Honduras; U.S. ambivalence toward reformers who might become radicals in Guyana, Chile, Guatemala, and the Dominican Republic; the obsession with Castro; and the Alliance for Progress. Rabe concludes that Kennedy gave more attention to Latin America than any U.S. president since World War II (p. 196); he gave a "special emphasis to relations with Latin America" (p. 198); and he brought high ideals and noble purposes to his Latin American policy (p. 199). Nevertheless, the Cold War drove Kennedy's policy, just as it drove Dwight D. Eisenhower's policy and as it would drive Lyndon B. Johnson's policy (and, I might add, Richard M. Nixon's policy, and Jimmy Carter's, and Ronald Reagan's). When a crisis occurred and a decision had to be made between supporting democracy and promoting social justice or fighting communism, the latter always won.

And, yet, I come away from this book with some qualms. First, to demonstrate that there was continuity across administrations is not to demonstrate that there were no differences of significance between Kennedy and his predecessor and successor. To push the reader in that direction is to fall into the same manichean trap of U.S. foreign policy that Rabe wants us to recognize and lament. Second, there is too much made of refuting arguments by Kennedy advocates that his administration was a shining moment in U.S. history. Rabe shows clearly that when push came to shove, Arthur Schlesinger and the most liberal presidential advisers were marginal to key decisions. That is the most telling point he could make.

Finally, by focusing so intently on proving Kennedy "as being firmly within the context of the history of 20th century inter-American relations" (p. 198), Rabe has missed two really interesting questions. One is the paradox to which I referred earlier: if Latin America is so important, why is U.S. policy toward the region formulated without taking into account the interests of the constituent nations? The other is why does the Wilsonian or liberal approach to foreign policy deny itself the moral authority of idealism through overweening hubris with regard to the superiority of the American way and an overwhelming preference for stability in Latin America? Is it possible to create democracy from outside? Is it possible to transform societies through outside aid or pressure, whether through a program like the Alliance for Progress, or through multilateral efforts in places like Afghanistan or Rwanda? A powerful argument can be made that there is a duty to try. Kennedy argued, in addition, as Eisenhower, Woodrow Wilson, and Theodore Roosevelt had argued before him, and as others have argued since, that impoverished and undemocratic societies were a threat to U.S. security. As it turned out, when that threat became real forty years later, it came from the Middle East, not Latin America.

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DEAN KOTLOWSKI. *Nixon's Civil Rights: Politics, Principle, and Policy*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2001. Pp. x, 404. $35.00.

Many scholars and pundits initially characterized Richard M. Nixon as a scheming man who adopted the southern strategy and employed racially charged "law and order" rhetoric to win two elections, fiercely opposed busing, and submitted conservatives Clement Haynsworth, Jr., and G. Harrold Carswell as Supreme Court nominations. More recently, revisionists have contended that Nixon deserves far more credit on racial matters. Dean J. Kotlowski falls into the latter camp. Acknowledging that Nixon privately held racist views (although he does not discuss these in depth) and was not always a staunch advocate for racial minorities, he nonetheless insists that the president "compiled a creditable record" (p. 3) that had long-term consequences for civil rights policy. The Nixon administration, he argues, redirected civil rights policy away from integration toward economic concerns, emphasized "deeds over words" (p. 14), steered the Republican Party toward a race-based southern strategy, and broadened the scope of civil rights by focusing on Native American and women's issues.

Kotlowski organizes the book thematically, with chapters on school desegregation, housing, employment, voting rights, minority businesses and black colleges, the stormy relationship between Nixon and African-American leaders, Native Americans, and women's rights. On race, Kotlowski accords Nixon the most credit regarding economic issues, where he "established the Office of Minority Business Enterprise (OMBE), expanded federal procurement from firms owned by African Americans and Hispanic Americans, and laid the basis for contract set-asides from minority owned firms" (p. 125). The administration fought the integration of black colleges in the South but increased federal funding for them. More important, the Nixon administration backed, at least for a while, the Philadelphia Plan, which helped pave the way for affirmative action programs.

Nixon drew a sharp distinction between racial issues in the workplace and those involved in schooling and housing. Although he opposed legal barriers to black advancement, Nixon was not troubled by de facto segregation. He regularly voiced support for the Supreme Court's ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education* and instructed aides to focus on eradicating de jure segregation. The Nixon administration, Kotlowski maintains, "desegregated southern schools on an un-

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precedented scale" (p. 41) and thus provoked the ire of many southern conservative leaders. At the same time, however, cold political calculations and personal beliefs drove Nixon to stick closely to the letter of the law, endorse freedom of choice plans, push for a slowdown in desegregation in the South, and resist busing to integrate urban schools in the North. Nixon regularly clashed with Housing and Urban Development Secretary George Romney, who supported a more ambitious approach to integrating suburbs. Nixon's reluctance to push strongly for integration, Kotlowski ably shows, led to a contentious relationship with mainstream civil rights leaders such as Roy Wilkins and Clarence Mitchell.

Similar views guided Nixon's Native American policies, where he won praise from many tribal leaders (and criticism from activists) for boosting federal spending and emphasizing tribal self-determination over assimilation into the broader society. Nixon offered "halfhearted leadership" (p. 258) on women's issues, Kotlowski argues. He tepidly endorsed Equal Rights Amendment and opposed abortion rights and day care, but he also supported affirmative action, increased hiring of women in the federal government, and opened further access to higher education.

Kotlowski concludes that Nixon was "neither a crusader nor an outright villain" (p. 93) regarding the 1970 extension of the Voting Rights Act. He criticizes the president for trying to end pre-clearance, the procedure by which southern states had to obtain approval from the Justice Department before modifying voting laws, but credits him for fighting for provisions that forbade literacy tests nationwide.

This book is well researched; Kotlowski has done extensive work in dozens of manuscript collections. Like other revisionists, he makes a persuasive case that Nixon's views and record on civil rights are more ambiguous than early critics contended. The chapters on Native Americans and women are important contributions. There are, however, several important issues that are unfortunately omitted or given scant attention. The 1972 Equal Employment Opportunity Enforcement Act, which expanded the powers of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, is mentioned only in passing. Kotlowski also largely avoids discussing how some administration officials used the Federal Bureau of Investigation in their relations with Ralph Abernathy and other black leaders. Kotlowski is more interested in policy than politics, and thus there is little on how Nixon used civil rights issues to win the Republican nomination and the election in 1968, and how he attempted to woo George Wallace and his supporters four years later. Kotlowski's argument that Nixon offered white southerners more rhetoric than concrete action is belied by the Haynsworth and Carswell nominations, which receive too little analysis. Kotlowski emphasizes differences between Nixon and later Republicans on civil rights, but on issues such as minority set-asides and aid to black colleges, Ronald Reagan and George H. W. Bush followed in Nixon's footsteps.

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BILL OSGERBY. *Playboys in Paradise: Masculinity, Youth and Leisure-Style in Modern America*. New York: Berg. 2001. Pp. xii, 232. Cloth $68.00, paper $20.00.

Bill Osgerby's book, *Youth in Britain since 1945* (1997), was a genuinely pioneering and original tour de force that broke new ground as a history of youth in twentieth-century Britain. In it, Osgerby convincingly argued that Talcott Parson's concept of "youth culture" had no application in the British context (as sociologists before had tended to assume it had) because British young people continued to be divided by class. Hence there developed the richness of British youth experience: from "ikey lads" to "teds" to "skinheads," and from "mods" to "rockers."

Now Osgerby has attempted to do something similar to his earlier work on Britain for the American context. As Osgerby recognizes, this poses all sorts of difficulties, not least that historians of the United States have paid far more attention to youth than their British counterparts. Very often the author seems to be going over well-worn ground, especially since, apart from examinations of *Esquire* and *Playboy* magazines, he draws largely on secondary sources.

Yet, as a whole, Osgerby's new book works, and he has made an important contribution that deserves very wide attention: a history of U.S. youth style from a European angle. This is especially true because of his integration of the late (and great) French cultural theorist, Pierre Bourdieu, into the literature. Osgerby's earlier work showed how working-class males largely created British youth as a distinctive entity. He understands that in the United States "youth culture" must needs be a middle-class formation. Using Bourdieu's work in *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste* (1984) on the post-World War II French middle class, Osgerby notes that in France "power and profits were increasingly dependent not simply on the production of goods, but also on the continual regeneration of consumer desires" (p. 9). This demanded the emergence of a "new petite bourgeoisie" that "championed the cause of commodity consumption and judged people 'by their capacity for consumption, their 'standard of living' (and) their lifestyle as much as by their capacity for production" (p. 9). Central to this group were what Bourdieu called the "cultural intermediaries" that dominated areas like advertising, the media, fashion, and journalism. For Osgerby this group was already present by the mid-1950s. "Cultural intermediaries" then found "employment in the burgeoning realms of advertising, publishing, the media and the range of industries related to cultural production and circulation" (p. 12). This group was "denoted by their skills in 'the art of

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living'—defining their social status and sense of cultural identity through distinctive, consumption-driven lifestyles, their values and codes of behaviour laying an accent on stylistic self-expression, self conscious display and an 'ethic of fun' " (p. 11).

Osgerby's intent is to write a history of the youthful masculine leisure style that emerged in the light of the shifts Bourdieu identified. Hence he embarks on a study of this style in both *Esquire* and *Playboy* magazines and of how the "fun ethic" extended into popular culture through the 1950s and 1960s before becoming almost a parody of itself in the "culture of narcissism" of the 1970s first identified by the late Christopher Lasch. Here, unfortunately, Osgerby abruptly stops.

Osgerby's book works because it is so boldly ambitious and daring in its scope, and because of its European flavor. But the reader will wonder what different perspective Bourdieu can offer on U.S. history. Martha Wolfenstein, for example, first identified a "fun morality" in the 1950s (see Wolfenstein and Margaret Mead, eds., *Childhood in Contemporary Culture* [1954]). Barbara Ehrenreich's classic work, *The Hearts of Men: American Dreams and the Flight from Commitment* (1983) makes a very similar argument. More seriously, although Osgerby makes sound use of Stuart Blumin's work on middle-class formation, he seems unaware of Robert Wiebe's pioneering use of Max Weber's work in history in his concept of the "new middle class" in *The Search for Order, 1877–1920* (1967). This omission startles an experienced scholar. A whole literature developed from Wiebe's foundation by historians of the consumer culture in the 1980s also goes uncited. Above all, perhaps, Osgerby discusses criticism of Bourdieu's relevance to America by Michèle Lamont in *Money, Morals, and Manners: The Culture of the French and American Upper-Middle Class* (1992) that stresses the survival of "moral imperatives based around the qualities of honesty, hard work and personal integrity" (p. 10). He admits the likely continuation of this concept of manliness among American youth as a "competing version," although he dismisses it meaninglessly as "conservative" (pp. 8–9).

But the point is that a stress on "hard work, thrift and moral self-discipline" actually colors how young Americans take their fun. Ehrenreich noted twenty years ago that "*Playboy* had nothing against work. The early issues barely recognized the white-collar skills so fashionable in popular sociology. Instead there were articles on accoutrements for the rising executive, suggesting that work too, could be a site of pleasurable consumption" (*The Hearts of Men* [p. 46]). One sociological analysis even referred to "sex as work" (Denis Brisset and Lionel S. Lewis, *Social Problems* [1968]). What Osgerby has missed is the rootedness in core American values, the very centrality of "conservatism" to the American male's worldview, whatever his lifestyle. To a young American there is no conflict or contradiction between the hedonistic, consumerist models of manliness and more "traditional" forms. Both perspectives are fully integrated. This, of course, is what Hugh Hefner realized, and it was how he made his millions. How extraordinary that in a culture of consumption an ethic geared to production should stay so strong. Americans are still Puritans at heart. That is the really interesting story about American youth, and it represents America's triumph over European decadence.

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University of Portsmouth

CARIBBEAN AND LATIN AMERICA

ANNE PÉROTIN-DUMON. *La ville aux Iles, la ville dans l'île : Basse-Terre et Pointe-à-Pitre, Guadeloupe, 1650–1820*. Paris: Karthala. 2000. Pp. 990. € 59.46.

Cities should have no place in Caribbean history. The dependency theorists of the 1960s and 1970s believed that capitalist agriculture in the New World centered on plantations connected not with the region in which they had been established but only with the outside world. Europe, North America, and Africa sent slaves, managers, food, and building materials in return for the proceeds of cash crops. Caribbean cities would only endanger this "system." Planters might be enticed to live and to spend money in cities, and runaway slaves could hide in them. No wonder that the only Caribbean cities worth speaking of were situated in the Spanish Caribbean, where the colonizers obviously did not know how to make money.

Over the past twenty years, historians have given a new lease on life to the Caribbean city. The impact of the transatlantic connections seems to have been grossly exaggerated by the dependency theorists, despite the fact that before 1800 most Caribbean plantation economies were indeed more dependent on import and export than any other region. Yet new calculations show that almost half of the economic activity in the British Caribbean was generated locally, and that port cities played a central role. This book by Anne Pérotin-Dumon confirms that the same was true in the French Caribbean. The growth of Basse-Terre and Pointe-à-Pitre on Guadeloupe is a case in point, but Pérotin-Dumon's massive study (more than 700 pages of text, 250 pages of appendixes, 75 tables, and 45 figures and maps) also provides information on the plantation economy at large. As the first comparative history of the French Caribbean, it will be the main reference work for some time to come.

Pérotin-Dumon has crossed the many language barriers that are so persistent in the historiography, and she is well aware of the historical debates regarding the other parts of the region. This enables her to present new information on the origins of the "sugar revolution." The sudden changeover in the British islands from growing subsistence crop and tobacco to cultivating sugar cane has puzzled many, as it remains unclear whether the revolution was caused by changes in local or transatlantic conditions. Was it based on the rise of local entrepreneurship and the increased invest-

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ment in local port cities generated by regional trade and privateering? Or was it triggered by changes in the transatlantic economy such as fluctuations in the relative price of indentured laborers, slaves, and shipping? The author supports the first position by showing that local conditions inhibited the advance of sugar planting in the French Caribbean. Money and expertise were lacking. Where cane was cultivated, the mills and fields were in separate hands, as in Brazil, and it took longer to arrive at the all-in-one plantation than in the British Caribbean. The transatlantic conditions seemed to have differed less as the British and the French Caribbean both had access to Dutch (slave) traders, both welcomed experienced sugar planters from Dutch Brazil, and both were subject to rising shipping costs due to increasing protection. Improving local conditions made the French Caribbean into the premier plantation area of the eighteenth century, not its transatlantic links.

In a survey of this kind, it is always easy to find flaws and inadequacies. New data on the demography of the French Caribbean would have been welcome, as we are still unable to explain the inordinately high decline of the slave populations in the tropical New World. The relevant section here only confirms what we already knew. The author is right in pointing out that mortality in Old Regime cities was high and even higher for city populations in the tropics, especially for Europeans. Yet, mulattoes should have experienced lower mortality, as their mixed parentage provided immunities to many of the deadly diseases prevalent in the Caribbean. The figures for the percentage of mulatto children among the city population seem to bear this out, but there is no discussion. Do they confirm the hypothesis that high mortality is responsible for the continuous demographic decline in the plantation Caribbean, and not reduced fertility?

In many ways, this book refutes the impression that the French Caribbean was but a poor cousin of its British counterpart and that it was handicapped by its connection to a less-efficient metropole. This drawback, Pérotin-Dumon proves, could be neutralized over time by the astounding growth rate of the capitalist plantation economy, in which local cities played a pivotal role.

PIETER C. EMMER
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ANTONI KAPCIA. *Cuba: Island of Dreams.* New York: Berg. 2000. Pp. xvi, 295. Cloth $65.00, paper $19.50.

Is the Cuban Revolution over? The answer to this question is by no means clear. For some scholars, the revolution ended in the 1970s when Sovietization suffocated the creative energy of a nationalist and antidictatorial struggle. For others, the revolution is so inextricably linked with Fidel Castro that the revolution will die only when he does. There is another group of Cubanists who think that the revolution is still alive, if not particularly healthy. This last group points to the reality that despite the profound crisis of the past twelve years, the regime is firmly in power and Castro continues to be widely respected, if no longer as uncritically revered as in the past. What is clear is that the crisis of socialism has not meant that Cubans are willing to embrace capitalism. Most serious observers of Cuba acknowledge that the survival of the revolution does not rest on repression alone: whatever the failings of socialism in Cuba, most Cubans appreciate that their identity, past and present, is a result of "the revolution."

It is precisely this tension between national identity and "the revolution" that is the subject of Antoni Kapcia's book. Kapcia's text is explicitly interpretive in the sense that he wants to offer a holistic explanation of the revolution's origins, evolution, and survival. Early in the book, Kapcia points to the fact that much of the literature on the Cuban Revolution takes a Eurocentric approach on such issues as the ideological foundations of Cuban nationalism and the meaning of revolution. Cuban nationalism, like other Latin American nationalisms, does not fit easily into European models of national and nation-state formation. Similarly, most of our analytical frameworks of how and why revolutions occur are equally Eurocentric. This is not to say that European-oriented scholarship is not useful to Latin Americanists, and Kapcia shows an excellent grasp of the European and North American literature on ideology and revolution. Yet the Cuban Revolution presents the scholar with a number of difficult problems that challenge common preconceptions and conventional wisdom about Cuba. Kapcia's book provides the reader with an excellent discussion of the strengths and weaknesses of existing theoretical models and their applicability to the Cuban case. The author's objective is to raise what is perhaps the central issue that confounds the Cuban historian: what is it that accounts for the continuity, success, and adaptability of the Cuban Revolution?

At the heart of Kapcia's answer to this question is a nuanced discussion of how the ideology of *Cubanía*, or the teleological belief in *cubanidad* (Cubanness), was forged within the context of Cuba's four revolutions (1868–1878, 1895–1898, 1933, and 1952–1959). The evolution of the ideology of *Cubanía*, according to Kapcia, can best be grasped through an analysis of myth. Kapcia builds on the work of C. Fred Judson and Nelson P. Valdés, who were two of the first scholars to employ the concept of myth as an interpretive framework for Cuban political culture. Myths and myth making involve the elevation of symbols and codes into a historical narrative. Most important, myths must be accepted by large collectivities within society (a class, an ethnic group, regional cultures, generations) or even by society as a whole. Myths can carry ontological weight insofar as they help define the fundamental principles of being, and they can also serve to mobilize people. Kapcia traces how the myths, codes, rituals, and ambiguities and outright contradictions of *Cubanía* have evolved since its origins among the white

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creole elite in the late eighteenth century, through the two wars for independence in the late nineteenth century, and up to the Cuban Revolution of 1959. The author then discusses the survival of the Cuban Revolution today, and he explains this survival by arguing that for all the failures and contradictions of Cuban socialism, the myths—the dreams—of *Cubanía* are inseparable from "the revolution."

Kapcia's book is a welcome addition to Cuban studies and to the study of political culture in general. While the emphasis on myth is not easily accommodated by attempts to explain the concrete aspects of Cuban revolutionary policies and history, Kapcia's attempt is laudable. There is much to quibble about when we turn to specific topics, people, and events, but Kapcia's book deserves to be read with great care. His many insights and suggestive interpretations should provide much fuel for an already heated debate about why the Cuban regime is still in power.

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PETE SIGAL. *From Moon Goddesses to Virgins: The Colonization of Yucatecan Maya Sexual Desire*. Austin: University of Texas Press. 2000. Pp. xxii, 320. Cloth $45.00, paper $19.95.

Pete Sigal's exploration of Maya sexuality writes new layers of complexity into the story of how one of the Americas' most famous ethnicities adapted to life under colonialism. The author's field of interest is not land, labor, or taxes but rather the field of human sexuality: better said, how people used sexual behavior to conceptualize their social, religious, and political lives. As Sigal puts it, "More than 'what did the Maya do?' the two central questions for me are 'what did the Maya think?' and 'why did they think what they thought?'" (p. 9).

While the Maya peoples spanned many areas and centuries, the book focuses on the Yucatec Maya from the late post-Classic period through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries under Spanish rule. In Sigal's telling, sexuality of one sort or another informed most of what the Mayas had to say about their life and times. Modern terms such as "homosexuality," "lesbian," "bisexuality," and so forth meant nothing to them. What the Mayas did understand was that sexuality provided the necessary metaphor for political and social power. Maya war culture celebrated the phallic warrior, and precolonial discourse stigmatized losers as feminine beings whom the victors were to penetrate. Similarly, physical healing involved sexual penetration of the patient as a way of taming the divine beings that caused illness. Given the semidivine status of the nobility, Maya culture placed critical emphasis on royal bodily fluids such as the blood Maya men drew from their penises using stingray spines, or on the menstrual blood of female counterparts. Maya thinking on the related matters of religion and polity emphasized gender parallelism, the importance of lineage, and the ubiquitous notion of sexuality as power.

The central figure in all of this was the Moon Goddess, known in Maya as Ix Chel. She began her supernatural career as a bisexual being whose erotic encounters in some way ensured the continuation of human life. Dualities defined her: the goddess was bisexual, simultaneously symbolized both good and bad, and existed both in cyclical and linear time. Her encounters gave birth to the Maya royal lines, and "In a Maya world so concerned with lineage, the Moon Goddess would be an extremely powerful, perhaps *the* most powerful, deity" (p. 100). The coming of the Virgin Mary resulted in complex and confusing syncretisms wherein the Moon Goddess became an "unvirgin virgin." Only over the long sweep of colonial history did the Spanish dimensions of this unusual being come to dominate over the original Ix Chel.

The underlying argument of the book, and one that Sigal forcefully underscores in his conclusion, is that for the Mayas sexuality and social power were inseparable. In this sense, the influence of Michel Foucault becomes evident. However, Sigal breaks with Foucault's notion of "an almost universal erotic art which preceded the modern Western era of sexuality" to argue instead that all societies constructed their vision of sexuality to suit current power and politics. In other words, there was no sexual Golden Age. Sigal takes the matter further by documenting the retention of pre-Columbian discourse well into the colonial period. The Maya nobility had a deep personal stake in maintaining the old beliefs, since the symbolism and logic of those beliefs all undergirded the nobility's own superiority over Maya commoners.

Certain questions inevitably arise regarding a work such as this. Despite Sigal's disclaimer that he is only studying the mentality and discourse associated with sexuality, the reader cannot help but wonder about real, verifiable behavior. If people thought in these terms, were they not somehow reflections of their actual lives? To what degree did pre- and postcolonial Mayas' sexual behavior differ from our own? The matter of sources also raises questions. In fact, Sigal's book confronts the same dilemma of all who have tried to develop historical arguments out of esoteric documents such as the *Chilam Balam* books or the *Rituals of the Bacabs*: namely, how to situate these texts socially and historically? Indeed, how many people really read, listened to, or even knew of such works? If they did have contact with them, then when, and under what circumstances? And how can we really know that they understood them in the sexual terms that Sigal maps out? These highly abstruse sources, and Sigal's often equally abstruse interpretations, at times leave readers scratching their heads and may limit the book's audience to specialists in the field. Sigal does incorporate the occasional historical case, but these are fairly limited. Despite such reservations, however, the book opens new ground for the study of both human eroticism and colonized peoples. Whatever the Yucatec

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Mayas may have thought about their not-so-private parts, we can be certain that Sigal's analysis will further complicate the image of a people once believed to be philosopher-kings presiding over a Mesoamerican utopia.

TERRY RUGELEY
University of Oklahoma

JAMES SCHOFIELD SAEGER. *The Chaco Mission Frontier: The Guaycuruan Experience*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press. 2000. Pp. xviii, 266. $50.00.

James Schofield Saeger provides a historical study of the Guaycuruan people during the colonial era that is thorough, compelling, and unique in its interpretation. The essence of his book is that the Guaycuruans made the choice to enter into the Spanish mission system and used that experience to benefit themselves. Thus, he challenges an interpretation advocated by some historians that indigenous people were mere victims of a repressive Spanish mission system.

Drawing on anthropological studies and Jesuit chronicles, Saeger reconstructs the Chaco-dwelling Guaycuruan society prior to the 1700s. These seminomadic people profited in many respects from the arrival of Europeans. Horses, iron weapons, and material goods propelled the Guaycuruans to a dominant position in the region by 1700. Although they periodically ravaged Spanish colonial settlements and threatened larger towns such as Salta and San Miguel de Tucumán, they also traded with the Spanish. Consequently, items such as Guaycuruan-treated animal hides and horses broken to ride became important to commerce along the roads linked to the mining region of Potosí. Early in the eighteenth century, however, the tide turned against the Guaycuruans. Territorial encroachment by the Spanish coupled with environmental degradation by the Guaycuruans, principally caused by over hunting, created a crisis in the Guaycuruans' world. At that point, the Guaycuruans encouraged Jesuits to establish missions in the Chaco region.

Individual Guaycuruans' experience in the missions, for the most part, either proved fruitful or they departed. The Guaycuruans' diet improved, and they had access to better medical treatment. Up to the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767, the Chaco missions enjoyed bountiful supplies, and afterward some missions' produce remained vital to local markets. Guaycuruan males in some cases became adept artisans or, more often, valuable *vaqueros* (cattle herders). Females appreciated the security of European marriage conventions. Many aspects of Guaycuruan life did not change; war between various groups remained important for males, and elements of their religion coexisted with Catholic beliefs. If they were vexed by Spanish culture, Guaycuruans retained the option to leave mission life. This flexibility allowed many Guaycuruan missions to flourish until the end of the colonial era.

There is much to commend in this book. Most chapters are arranged to provide a pre-mission description of some aspect of Guaycuruan life (i.e. economy, religion), and then Saeger relates the alterations that occurred as a result of missionization. He also offers comparative material to other indigenous experiences in the New World that significantly augments many of his points. Appendixes, drawings, and an engaging writing style further bolster this book. The only noteworthy weakness is the decision to insert an entire chapter on Guaycuruans in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Not only does the content of that unit appear shallow in comparison to the other portions of the text, but it distracts the reader from Saeger's central themes. As is often the case, less is more.

Saeger makes an important interpretive contribution to the literature on Spanish missions. Although he employs many of the same methodologies used and promoted by such "new" mission historians as Erick Langer, Robert H. Jackson, and David Sweet, he reaches much different conclusions. The aforementioned scholars assert that the Spanish forced missions on native people, and that the experience hastened the annihilation of indigenous cultures while failing to inculcate the Catholic faith among them. Saeger offers an alternative perspective. He portrays the Guaycuruans as active agents in the Chaco region's history. They embraced a horse culture when they realized the economic benefits associated with European equines. The Guaycuruans prospered for a century from that decision but, like other societies, they over exploited their resources. Spanish missions offered a way out from a collapsing lifestyle and provided some acceptable options. Guaycuruans took from mission life what they desired, modified some Spanish cultural norms to suit themselves, but rejected others with impunity. Moreover, mission life did not lead to a demographic disaster.

Finally, Saeger concludes that Guaycuruans embraced Christianity in a manner consistent with any people, along a continuum. Being a Christian (or an adherent to any religion) means different things to individual professed believers. Surely not every eighteenth-century Spaniard accepted and practiced the tenets of Catholicism equally, including the missionaries themselves. Saeger concludes, quite rightly, that one should not expect any more from the Guaycuruans. In short, Saeger's Guaycuruans are active participants in their historical development, and he provides scholars with a strong example of writing Native Americans back into their history.

JIM NORRIS
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SILVIA MARINA ARROM. *Containing the Poor: The Mexico City Poor House, 1774–1871*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2000. Pp. xii, 398. Cloth $59.95, paper $19.95.

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Silvia Marina Arrom's history of the Poor House in Mexico City constitutes a significant intervention in the growing literature on state and civil society in modern Mexico City. Keeping a close focus on the institution itself, Arrom follows the history of the Poor House from its creation in 1774 until 1871, when legislative changes lifted the prohibition on begging that had been established, along with the asylum, by Bourbon authorities. Arrom gives careful consideration to the projects and regulations that framed the Poor House (transcribed in an accompanying website), the membership of its governing bodies, its relationship with state and church, and its finances. The result is a reappraisal of the influential narrative of modernity and "social control" (p. 7) through a critical look at the disjunction between projects and implementation. Arrom's thorough reconstruction offers a stark contrast with the all-encompassing machines devoted to the internalization of power relations of Michel Foucault's model: the Mexico City Poor House was constantly revising its original aims, always short of resources, chronically unable to fulfill its own goals in terms of social reform, and intermittently porous to prisoners who wished to leave and those seeking entrance in search of genteel poverty. Even though the evidence about everyday life in the Poor House is scarce, as Arrom readily admits, enough of it trickles out of official reports to suggest a picture of disease, crumbling infrastructure, insufficient food, and corruption inside, and of negligible impact on the life of the urban poor outside.

The Poor House's initial intent was to realize a secular dream of Mexican elites: to rid the capital's more respectable spaces of the annoying presence of beggars. Yet the institution had contradictory functions: it was meant to concentrate Christian charity and provide paupers with shelter, food, and the means to improve themselves while, at the same time, punishing those who insisted on soliciting the charity of individuals. This ambivalence referred implicitly to the difference between "true" and "false" beggars. According to the bylaws, only those who were authentically unable to sustain themselves were to receive protection. The others would be trained and sent back into the world to begin productive lives. The distinction implied that authorities could judge the authenticity of poverty, and as such has remained a trope of elite construals of social problems in Mexico City well into the twentieth century. Yet, as Arrom notes, the distinction was also based on a "'moral economy' of begging" (pp. 4, 32) whereby beggars exercised the right, sanctioned by religious doctrine as much as urban tradition, to request a share of the wealth of those who walked on the same streets and attended the same churches. The Poor House did not intend to eliminate this basic exchange, only to organize it in a less unsightly manner. The main failure of the institution, therefore, was not so much its inability to eradicate begging (an unrealistic goal, given its limited infrastructure) as its inability to enhance the state's role within the moral economy. Indeed, the state's impact on poverty decreased during the nineteenth century, and modernizing liberals never quite replaced the notion of (Christian) charity with that of (secular) beneficence. This explains beggars' persistence, police reluctance to round them up, authorities' half-hearted funding, and wealthy donors' uneven performance as sponsors.

The book follows the phases of the Poor House's evolution. In its beginnings under colonial rule, the institution had ambitious goals and embraced the worthy poor regardless of age and ethnicity. As funding became scarce and the Catholic Church lost much of its influence, the focus of the institution narrowed to the education of orphans and the protection of a limited number of white women who preferred seclusion rather than shameful indigence. Hence, the punitive component of the project gradually disappeared, even as state authorities often tried to intern juvenile delinquents. A remarkable characteristic of this process was the stability of the Poor House's staff, governing bodies, and strategies, despite the turmoil that characterized the political system. The book presents a convincing argument about the continuities between pre- and postindependence institutional strategies, the affinities between the rival regimes of liberal Benito Juárez and Emperor Maximilian's short-lived but influential rule, and the increasing role of women in the institution's governance.

Some readers may wish that gender relations played a larger role in Arrom's analysis, but this book is indeed a sound contribution to the history of state building in the nineteenth century, as well as an example of the benefits of studying specific institutions without losing sight of everyday practices.

PABLO PICCATO
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MATILDE ZIMMERMANN. *Sandinista: Carlos Fonseca and the Nicaraguan Revolution*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press. 2000. Pp. x, 277. Cloth $54.95, paper $18.95.

Scholarship that examined the Sandinista Revolution was once voluminous. During the mid-1980s, in the aftermath of Anastasio Somoza Debayle's collapse and the ensuing Contra war, substantial attention was paid to the root causes of the revolution, the ideological framework of the Sandinistas, and America's role in the revolutionary process. Historians from Richard Millett to Thomas W. Walker contributed to a significant body of work. With the passage of time, however, academic attention diminished, almost mirroring the declining fortunes of the Sandinistas in Nicaragua over the past decade. Important work continued nonetheless, with studies such as Mark Everingham's *Revolution and the Multiclass Coalition in Nicaragua* (1996) that explored unrecognized facets of the Nicaraguan conflict.

Matilde Zimmermann's book revisits the founda-

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tions of the Sardinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) by examining the life and times of the person most responsible for its creation and survival. Zimmermann's use of biography as history has been attempted many times by historians interested in the Somoza family. However, her work stands in sharp contrast to these efforts in being the first sustained effort in the English language to discuss Carlos Fonseca Amador not simply as a revolutionary ideologue but as a Nicaraguan reacting to his own life and times.

Zimmermann's goal is to demonstrate that much of Fonseca's life served as a template for his ideology. Key personal moments are placed in parallel to significant historical events throughout the work. As a young boy, Fonseca experienced a world "dominated by sharp and sometimes violent contrasts" (p. 12), an upbringing that applied to his own relative poverty, politics, and understanding of the Nicaraguan people as well as his later attitudes toward women and monogamy. Mother-child metaphors populated his later writings. As a student, Fonseca was transfixed by Soviet Communism during a 1957 visit to Moscow. As a young revolutionary in the 1960s, he struggled with his cohort of guerrilla revolutionaries to overcome inexperience and ignorance of rural Nicaragua while translating Sandinista ideology into a workable doctrine.

Zimmermann does not allow herself completely to reduce historical causation to biography. She is careful to qualify her narrative by pointing to issues that transcended Fonseca's life. His break with the Nicaraguan Socialist Party and endorsement of armed revolution, she argues, was not the product of youthful impatience with the progress of the anti-Somoza opposition but a reflection of the larger Nicaraguan political culture that had already embraced violence as a legitimate revolutionary method.

One of the most interesting issues discussed in the book is the evolution of the Sandinista Revolution as a distinct social movement within its leadership. Zimmermann's narrative illustrates a self-contained group of men and women whose lives were shaped by the mountains, barrios, safehouses, and prisons of Nicaragua. The dictates of survival created within this group a circumspection that became second nature. Conversely, the close proximity their quarters demanded also mandated a degree of intimacy. This was especially true for Sandinista women, who existed within the sometimes awkward confines of Nicaraguan machismo, Marxist ideology, and Fonseca's own puritanical approach to gender.

The true value of the book is its ability to humanize a revolutionary icon and explain the process that eventually transformed Fonseca into a Sandinista martyr. Zimmermann has adopted an almost forensic approach to Fonseca's lifetime of writing, utilizing an impressive collection of work that stretches back to his student days in the early 1950s. The author's extensive use of interviews establishes an important counterbalance to Fonseca's evolving mental blueprint for a post-Somoza Nicaragua. Childhood neighbors, political associates, and friends accompany more important figures such as Ernesto Cardenal and Fonseca's wife María Haydée Terán to flesh out the biographical picture and offer important contextual information regarding the roots of Fonseca's ideology. Further bolstering this body of work is an unprecedented array of documents drawn from the Nicaraguan National Guard and the Office of National Security, institutions that monitored Fonseca's activities for more than two decades.

Taken as a whole, this book represents some of the best scholarship produced on the Nicaraguan Revolution in the past decade. Zimmermann's ability to transcend existing standards of research and analysis has raised the bar for future historians interested in understanding a pivotal event in modern Central American history. Similarly, Zimmermann's aptitude in dissecting Fonseca himself marks the book as a standard for historical biography as well.

MICHAEL D. GAMBONE
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EUGENIA RODRÍGUEZ SÁENZ. *Hijas, novias y esposas: Familia, matrimonio y violencia doméstica en el Valle Central de Costa Rica (1750–1850)*. Heredia, C.R.: Editorial Universidad Nacional. 2000. Pp. 178.

Few families in Latin America have preserved their records and letters and made them available to historians. A compensation for this obstacle can often be found in the abundance of official documentation in census, church, and judicial records. Eugenia Rodríguez Sáenz's book provides an example of how one historian has utilized these sources to study the position of women within the Costa Rican family. By focusing on the one hundred years following the introduction of coffee cultivation, the author describes changes in family life and the position of women.

Coffee cultivation benefitted from the rich volcanic soil in the Central Valley where more than eighty percent of the population lived and where the four major cities were located. The adaptation from a subsistence-cattle economy to labor-intensive coffee production altered the landscape, resulted in population growth in both country and city, and effected Costa Rica's integration into the world market. During the one hundred years between 1750 and 1850, the Central Valley had less than 100,000 inhabitants. Well-preserved official documentation and a census taken in the middle of the 1820s, as well as the small size of the population, permitted the author to read all the records of judicial and church archives rather than having to undertake a sampling.

This study of women in the family focuses on two points in their life cycle: as daughters in the process of getting married, and as wives. These events provide a view of the process of arranging marriages but tell us the most about difficult marriages. Through the voices of women, filtered through notaries and witnesses, we

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learn something about daily life in a country undergoing social and economic change.

Contemporary travelers' accounts characterized the peasants as "primitive and immoral" (p. 159), but Rodríguez Sáenz reveals that community influences and pressures operated in ways foreign observers could not understand. Her imaginative research shows that the rural communities had influence in marriage choices. Older women played an important role as community representatives in the lives of younger men and women, a role they lost in the cities (or, at least, the influence of women in urban areas did not get preserved in documents). She also observes that, with the growth of the coffee export economy, the size of rural families grew as prosperity increased their incomes and also their need for family labor to work in coffee production. The community choice of partners helped at times to mitigate the effects of the inheritance laws, which decreed that legitimate offspring receive an equal share of the property. One might surmise that some young men and women were not encouraged to marry, although the late marriage age typical of Europeans did not prevail.

In the urban areas, families determined the fate of their offspring without much interference from the community, but this reduced the role of older women. Contrasting concepts of public and private further differentiated the two regions from one another. Also, in the nineteenth century, there was a marked decline in illegitimacy rates as Costa Ricans sought to become more "respectable" and adopt European notions of proper family life.

The depiction of troubled marriages in both ecclesiastical and judicial records has an uncomfortably familiar resonance. Women, seeking to protect themselves from violent husbands, who were often unable to support their families, sought remedies from church courts before independence in 1821. They often sought a divorce, which meant separation without possibility of remarriage. Sometime after 1821, women had access to civil courts, from which they expected a more sympathetic hearing. The reality depicted in these documents seems far from the ideal marriage reflected in court statements, which expected that a man would provide for his family and a woman would be a dependent housekeeper and subservient to her husband. Nonetheless, the effect of the nineteenth-century laws was to regulate or "civilize" masculine power, and to modify but still uphold it.

Rodríguez Sáenz indicates the continued importance of arranged marriages in both city and country. For her account of daughters and *novias* or fiancées, she has used church records to study the instances in which individuals applied to the church for permission to marry, especially when there might be some objection, such as familial relationships between potential spouses. As the church had a rule prohibiting marriage within seven degrees of consanguinity, in small towns the marriage pool was limited, and people often requested that they be permitted to marry cousins. It is in looking at these documents that we begin to get a sense of who the people were and whose word was respected. Here the community honored the opinion of women as well as that of men.

In urban areas, fathers determined who their offspring could marry, and if community members had influence, the documents did not reflected it. Prosperous coffee merchants often selected foreigners as husbands of their daughters as these men might bring capital and marketing experience to their coffee enterprises.

The author knows the bibliography about Latin American families written in the United States and Latin America and provides a different vision than historians such as Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500–1800* (1977); Ramón A. Gutiérrez, *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in New Mexico, 1500–1846* (1991); Patricia Seed, *To Love, Honor, and Obey in Colonial Mexico: Conflicts over Marriage Choice, 1574–1821* (1988); and Edward Shorter, *The Making of the Modern Family* (1975). These authors often assumed the rise of marriage for love rather than considerations of family and community that continued to govern Costa Rican marriage choices during these years. This small book is filled with information presented quantitatively and qualitatively and provides a vision of how the private life of individuals in one small corner of Latin America changed because of the adoption of an export crop.

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IVÁN MOLINA JIMÉNEZ. *La ciudad de los monos: Roberto Brenes Mesén, los católicos heredianos y el conflicto cultural de 1907 en Costa Rica*. San Jose: Editorial de la Universidad de Costa Rica and Editorial Universidad Nacional, Heredia, Costa Rica. 2001. Pp. 253.

Iván Molina Jiménez captures a surprising moment in the history of Costa Rica in the early part of the twentieth century. In the small town of Heredia, located about five miles outside the Costa Rican capital, religious and secular forces squared off over evolution. What began as a local dispute between a parish priest and the director of the local school soon embroiled the nation in a printed war of words that nearly unleashed a fratricidal conflict and ultimately prompted the national government to wrest the school from local control. Translate the title of Molina Jiménez's monograph and you will capture his gist: *The City of Monkeys: Roberto Brenes Mesén, Heredia's Catholics and Costa Rica's Cultural Conflict of 1907.*

The author argues that this historical moment offers readers the possibility of "comprehending key transformations" (p. 17) in Costa Rican society at the beginning of the twentieth century by looking at "the most important religious confrontation in Costa Rica" (p. 205). Two defined groups competed for the hearts and souls of their fellow citizens by vigorously defend-

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ing their positions in local and national newspapers and printed circulars and by attempting to occupy crucial posts in the local and national government. A young radical group of intellectuals, led by the chief protagonist in the conflict, the school's director, Roberto Brenes Mesén, sought to free Costa Rican society from religious inhibitions and sexual prohibitions. A passionate young clergyman, Rosendo de Jesús Valenciano, who never tired of waging holy war against the secular incursions into his beloved country, mobilized local forces against the suspect professors who had found refuge in Heredia's only school, the Liceo de Heredia.

Molina Jiménez locates the starting point of the conflict in a lecture on April 20, 1907, when a professor allegedly "impugned the divine descent of man" and argued that "primitive man was equal to the monkey" (p. 21). The local rumor mill and clerical denunciations of Heredia's school prompted the school's director, Brenes Mesén, to demand a judicial inquiry into possible defamation and calumny. This only fueled the fire. Within weeks, Costa Rica's leading newspapers had hijacked the debate, and their Manichean presentations, Molina Jiménez argues, raised tensions to an explosive peak. Intervention by leading political officials in the school debate did not help. By summer's end, secular forces led by Brenes Mesén warned of clergymen who preyed upon confessing wives and daughters in the sanctity of the church, while Catholic padres adroitly challenged the patriotism of the leading secular officials and editors, linking them with that imperial pariah, the United Fruit Company.

Molina Jiménez skillfully places his analysis within the broad conflict that swept through the Central American nations in the nineteenth century. With his refreshing perspective, which challenges Costa Rican and Central American historiography, Molina Jiménez links the classic church-state showdown of 1884 with the popular insurrection of 1889. The author rightly infuses a sense of dignity into the popular resistance among the Catholic believers fighting state forces that had attempted to impose their own values of progress and modernity. Thus, the conflict in Heredia in 1907 represented one more stage in a battle that had already erupted and gave cause for state officials to intervene in a Draconian manner.

In lively and graceful prose, Molina Jiménez succeeds in bringing attention to a fascinating struggle between the common people and the elite in Costa Rica during the first decade of the twentieth century. Some historians of Costa Rica and Central American history might question the conflict's significance in the larger drama of church and society in Costa Rica during the twentieth century, given the church's extraordinary role in the revolutionary decade of the 1940s. Nonetheless, Molina Jiménez's strong evidence and clever argument, based on an array of archival materials and printed ephemera, will force future authors to reference his insights.

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VICTOR M. URIBE-URAN. *Honorable Lives: Lawyers, Family, and Politics in Colombia, 1780–1850.* (Pitt Latin American Series.) Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press. 2000. Pp. xii, 276. $50.00.

The purpose of this study is to show how lawyers came to occupy a central role in Colombian government and politics during the closing years of Spanish rule, the struggle for independence, and the early decades of the republican state. It argues that the legal profession had become an important bridgehead for the entry of Colombia's elites into government under colonial rule, that lawyers were thus in an influential position to shape the politics of independence after 1810, and that, once the republican regime was firmly established after 1819, the law and legal training exercised an even more powerful influence in civil and political life.

The steps in this argument are clearly marked out. Victor M. Uribe-Uran starts by showing the means by which the legal profession achieved its standing during the late colonial period, when it served as a conduit to bureaucratic office. Because bureaucratic posts were a source of honor, and thus a vital means of maintaining and displaying status, elite families put their sons into the legal profession where, if successful, they acquired government positions that provided the family with prestige and influence. This nexus of lawyers, elite families, and government remained a source of stability until 1810; then, when Spain's crisis undermined the legitimacy of Spanish rule, the elite families sought to take command, and their lawyers were transformed from pillars of the colonial establishment into leading proponents of political change. The transfer of power was far from smooth, but one important continuity with the colonial past remained. In their quest for status, the civilian elites still yearned for public office, and competition for office, intensified by a widening entry into the legal profession, fueled political discord. Uribe-Uran thus offers a reading of postindependence politics that has "empleomania" as its touchstone. Postindependence political culture, he suggests, focused on office holding rather than economic or social conflicts until, by around mid-century, the unseemly scramble for public office had diminished its prestige and, helped by economic expansion, persuaded the elites to see wealth rather than honor, economic enterprise rather than office, as the keys to social and political power.

This book is, evidently, much more than simply a "guild history." Not only does the author use the legal profession to penetrate the meaning of early Colombian politics, but he also aims at some larger targets. Latin American historiography has, he contends, tended to distort understanding of the transition from

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colonial to independent states in various ways. Because historians have become too attached to the belief that postindependence politics was shaped primarily by the impact of war and militarization, and by the shift of power from urban to rural areas, they have attributed excessive importance to caudillos and personalism in postindependence politics, or have wrongly sought to understand political conflicts in terms of economic interests. By the same token, they have underestimated the significance of political and social change, dismissing elections as meaningless and failing to apprehend the political impact of new patterns of social mobility.

By challenging these tenets in the context of Colombia, Uribe-Uran offers a fresh perspective on Colombia's transition from colony to republic. His research presents a clear picture of the social positions and "public service" orientation of lawyers, shows how they helped transmit elite values from the royal to the republican state, and makes a persuasive case for seeing them as a key group in postindependence Colombian politics. There are particularly good chapters on the part lawyers played in constructing the republican state and strengthening the public sphere, an illuminating account of disputes over legal education and their meaning, and sharp comments on the emergence of political parties. There are also some gaps. For example, the author says little about the contribution made by lawyers to creating and disseminating a republican ideology during the conflict with Spain. How, for example, did legal training influence lawyers' political thinking and behavior, particularly in the so-called "Patria Boba" when they were so prominent in politics? Were they simply the vanguard of elites fighting for status among themselves, or did contact with foreign ideas give them some ideological autonomy? Moreover, by focusing so intently on lawyers, this study tends to magnify their role while blurring that of other social and political actors. That lawyers were prominent in formal politics is unsurprising: not only were they generally from elite families but they were, apart from priests, the most educated group in society and thus almost inevitably became important spokesmen. However, this does not necessarily mean that theirs were the most important voices or that they spoke only for the elites, or that the rural areas were untouched by burgeoning public debate and participation in politics.

These caveats do not, however, detract from this book's worth. It makes an important contribution to the historiography of early republican Colombia and, with its stress on urban centers and civil society, it offers a healthy counterweight to interpretations that have emphasized the law of force rather than the force of law. It thus enriches our general understanding of the processes of independence and state building and will be welcomed by all those interested in the social and political history of Latin America during this period.

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CHRISTINE HUNEFELDT. *Liberalism in the Bedroom: Quarreling Spouses in Nineteenth-Century Lima*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2000. Pp. xix, 388. Cloth $75.00, paper $25.00.

Disputes over family-related issues and institutions (dowries, inheritance practices, domestic property, alimony, sexual wrongs, disobedience) mirror individual and collective perceptions/reasoning concerning class, ethnic, and gender hierarchies. This book's challenging task is to link family struggles and perceptions to larger economic and political transformations; that is, to connect the individual/family and society. Christine Hunefeldt strives, in particular, to connect female agency, knowledge, and "desire," as they surface in court arguments and testimonies, to changes ("shifts") in power relations within a patriarchal society. She finds that although women's inferior legal status remained the norm, male predominance was constantly questioned and redefined.

This long monograph discusses Peruvian women's day-to-day interactions with their husbands, families, and society at large. Its sources include 1,000 conjugal disputes in Lima's archepiscopal, civil, criminal, and notarial records; census data; legislation; travelers' accounts; and abundant secondary literature. Hunefeldt emphasizes women's strategies for defending their legal rights in court and the way their arguments reflected social, legal, and cultural changes in male/female relationships and attitudes throughout the "long nineteenth century" (1780–1910). To gauge these changes, she identifies three cycles in Peru's political economy: the end of the colonial period, 1800–1820; the age of guano, the export boom climaxing in 1840–1860; and the period of reconstruction after the War of the Pacific, 1890–1910. Liberalism became more influential in all spheres of social life as these periods unfolded. The author attempts to evaluate how this ideology intervened in the transformation of bedroom-related negotiations and disputes at a time when feminist discourse was as yet undeveloped and citizenship had become the dominant "modern" way to frame one's claims and vindications.

The book's early pages establish the demographic profile of nineteenth-century Lima. Hunefeldt's research discovers growing concern about moral and social disorder as the century unfolded, as well as the blurring of racial boundaries and growing female participation in the urban economy. Society responded to these pressures through the strengthening of racial and gender stereotypes and discrimination. At the barrio level, however, neighbors, friends, and relatives intervened—physically and/or in the courts—to assist women and set limits on male abuse. Also during this period, the author argues, the church gradually lost

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control over traditional family-related prerogatives, including its monopoly on marriage. While it remained closely involved in the lives of families and couples seeking dispensation, the resolution of divorce and annulment cases—handled by the church until well into the twentieth century—shows that the church and canon law afforded escape routes for couples who could demonstrate irrational parental opposition to marriage, breaches of free consent to marry, or sexual incompatibility. For women, marriage litigation of these and other problems (adultery, battering, drinking, "disobedience," abandonment) usually meant being sent to *beaterios*, special homes for the seclusion of divorcées, widows, prostitutes, and other "deviant" women. These homes, which were run by nuns, were dependencies of Lima's archbishopric and required payment from the interns or their husbands. Accommodation for women from very different social backgrounds and ethnicities was arranged hierarchically.

The book's second part discusses conflicts over premarital sex, dowries, and the participation of women in the family economy. The author claims that all of these disputes reflect the advancement of, or "adaptation" of society to, liberal ideas of "personal rights and freedom, equal opportunities, and civil rights" (p. 178). Their participation in these conflicts is an indication that, far from being "mute historical witnesses or mere victims" (p. 315), women were outspoken and defiant. Their court arguments challenged patriarchal control and contributed to redefining gender roles, shifting the ground of contention from individual claims against particular forms of abuse to social claims in favor of the rights of wives and mothers. To be sure, women's increasing resort to liberal arguments met with a heightening of male moral discourse and counterattacks (against female adultery, drunkenness, promiscuity, lack of virtuosity). Continuing prejudices also kept women from achieving legal equality.

Although the connections between liberal ideology and gender struggles are not always made clear, particularly in the book's first part, this study is both informative and well documented. Its empirical base is perhaps stronger than its theoretical promises, and it offers many thought-provoking suggestions and implications. It is an indispensable item for any research library and contributes to fill a noticeable gap in the historiography of gender relations, which, in the case of Latin America, tends to be larger for the colonial period and the twentieth century than for the critical period in between.

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NANCY PRISCILLA NARO. *A Slave's Place, A Master's World: Fashioning Dependency in Rural Brazil*. (The Black Atlantic.) New York: Continuum. 2000. Pp. xi, 212. £50.00.

Since the publication of Stanley J. Stein's classic, *Vassouras: A Brazilian Coffee County, 1850–1900* (1957), Vassouras has epitomized nineteenth-century Brazilian plantation society. Nancy Priscilla Naro reprises this town's history in the second half of the century but sets its coffee plantation society and economy in a broader context by comparing it with another, very different town in Rio de Janeiro's hinterland. Lowland Rio Bonito produced relatively little coffee (and even less for export), instead growing foodstuffs for the capital city's large market. This book reflects the thrust of much recent work at the Universidade Federal Fluminense's program in the social history of agriculture, which over the past fifteen years has revealed a considerably more complex rural world than a simple model of monocultural plantations would suggest. Naro stresses the complex, negotiated social relationships that, as slavery declined, focused on claims to land. Land was easier to obtain in Rio Bonito than in Vassouras, where coffee planters clung to slavery until the bitter end in 1888; in the latter town, abolition was a more confrontational process than in Rio Bonito, where "post-emancipation society . . was based on incorporation rather than exclusion through family-based farming, trade, food production and marketing networks" (p. 11).

While containing numerous insights and presenting some fascinating details about the possibilities of slave life in rural Brazil drawn from criminal records and contested inheritance suits, this book is uneven, and the author's reach often exceeds her grasp. The chapter on the social significance of space on coffee plantations, influenced by the work of Roberto da Matta, is an elegant cultural analysis of power relations embodied in the built environment that easily stands alone. By contrast, an introduction that stresses the persistence of Africa in postabolition Brazil raises questions that are not fully developed. While much of the book underscores the complex imbrication of master and slave worlds and the introduction posits a "hierarchy of complementarity" among them (p. 8), Naro's discussion of masters' fears of Africans' supernatural power and the analysis of public restrictions on slaves (pp. 127–29) flatten much more complex, negotiated terrains. Rather than simply fearing and seeking to repress manifestations of Africans' supernatural power, whites increasingly sought to access this power by participating in its rituals. Naro writes that "surveillance and the supervision of slave activities united the private and public spheres against Brazil's non-citizens" (p. 129), but police records suggest that individual masters often ignored state regulation of their bondsmen.

Although Naro has much interesting material on dependency under slavery, the discussion of postabolition social relations is sparse. Influenced by the recent controversial work of Hebe Maria Mattos, she raises the issue of citizenship and ex-slaves' struggles for it without effectively analyzing the evidence for Vassouras and Rio Bonito (pp. 11–12, 169–71, 177). In

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part, this may reflect the fact that the most explicit Afro-Brazilian political manifestations, such as Rio de Janeiro's Black Guard (1888–1889), were confined to large urban centers and were quickly repressed after the proclamation of the republic in 1889. But the marginalization of Afro-Brazilians after abolition suggests that, in fact, "citizenship" may not be the best category of analysis for their experience, which involved fashioning alternative communities and a struggle for peasant autonomy. In short, Naro does not effectively show how the dependency fashioned during the last years of slavery functioned after abolition.

There is an unfortunate air of sloppiness about much of this book. Jean Baptiste Debret could not have taken photographs in Brazil between 1816 and 1831 (p. 25), for the daguerreotype had not yet been invented. *Moreno* was not a census category in 1872 (pp. 110–11), nor did the "freed class" outnumber slaves in that year's census (p. 116); *free-born* people of African descent, however, did, and this data is later presented correctly (p. 139). Slavery was abolished in Portugal in 1773, not 1858 (p. 136). The speculative *encilhamento* boom is incorrectly dated to 1898 in the text, but the accompanying note gives the correct date of 1891 (pp. 158, 174, n25). Some of the population tables are presented in confusing fashion, with overlapping or omitted column categories that make them difficult to decipher; another has an addition mistake and still another bears the wrong title (tables 2.7, 2.9, 4.8, 5.1, and 7.1). Salvador's population in 1890 was about 174,000, not 1.8 million (p. 175, n53). The important questions with which this book deals deserve more careful treatment.

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GAIL D. TRINER. *Banking and Economic Development: Brazil, 1889–1930*. New York: Palgrave. 2000. Pp. xv, 333. $59.95.

If Latin American economies fell behind in the nineteenth century, they most probably did not do so during the latter part of that century. The period analyzed by Gail D. Triner was one of relative convergence, when important, lagging Latin American economies were catching up in economic terms. Then came populist economic policies, and the previously gained ground was lost again. Triner's pioneering work on the largest Latin American economy's banking history corroborates this scenario.

Despite continued, misguided apology for socialist or nationalist policies among unbending Latin Americanists, it is increasingly recognized that the so-called period of "modernization" was one of the most successful in Latin America's checkered economic history. This modest success, however, fueled several decades of populist and nationalist plunder.

Triner's study is a most important and up-to-date contribution to the banking history of Latin America. It is solidly grounded on theoretical assumptions but does not drown in theory and technicalities. Triner is a historian with a clear sense of the important institutional, evolutionary development of key banking institutions within a particular historical context. She is interested primarily in the relations between a growing state apparatus and banking institutions within the Brazilian economy's complex regional characteristics. Monetary policy and public debt were central to this evolution, and she discusses them with authority.

Triner's evaluation of the banking performance of the years 1889–1930 is optimistic. Banking contributed to economic development in Brazil, injecting fluidity into the flow of funds among the coffee, industrial, and public sectors at the national and provincial levels. Also, the most important bases for a modern financial and economic system were laid down: private property rights, industrialization, urbanization, and the development of a middle class. However, she argues, the seeds of the serious problems faced by the banking sector after 1930 were already present before that fateful date. Excessive wealth concentration, monopolization, centralization, an interventionist state, and the politicization of banking institutions and state intervention began developing before 1930. Banking interests, at their own peril, were unable to stay away from political mechanisms of governance.

The evolution of Brazilian banking in the period included a slow recovery until 1906 after a crisis in 1891–1892 (*Encilhamento*). Thereafter a consolidated, stable banking system and a conservative, orthodox monetary policy emerged. After World War I, however, reliance on domestic financial resources brought the increased political involvement of banking leaders and expansionary monetary policy until 1930. The private sector was thus dragged behind state-centered initiatives and policies.

Triner's research and quantitative information are impressive. She has combed archives and libraries in search of detailed statistics that allow her to develop coherent and convincing arguments. Her book is a model of organization in the analysis of many complex issues; it provides abundant information helpful to the specialist and the undergraduate and graduate student.

Obviously, there are many factors that could have been treated in more detail if Triner's goal had been to write a general financial history of Brazil. Even within the limits she set herself, the key mortgage credit market and the development of real estate property could have been explored more. The same applies to the role of the stock market and other financial institutions besides banking, since they are so intimately linked to key interest groups that influenced the evolution of banking. Likewise, the banking transformations during the Vargas regime fall outside the scope of the book. To complement Triner's perspective, an overall interpretation of the Brazilian lessons in banking history of the post-1930 period needs to be developed.

Triner's book is a classic, foundational study for future researchers on the subject. The author brings a

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breath of fresh air of institutional new economic history to the study of the banking history in Brazil. There has been a scarcity of good studies regarding banking in Brazil, in part due to the ideological blinders of many economic historians who have studied the subject. One day we will be able to explore more freely the reasons for Latin American financial failures. Financial institutions are essential to understanding the leaps and falls of Latin American economic development. One needs to look at this crucial sector in a more objective light, as Triner has done for Brazil with optimal results.

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EUROPE: ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

PAUL BENTLEY KERN. *Ancient Siege Warfare*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 1999. Pp. 419. $35.00.

Paul Bentley Kern's book on ancient siege warfare from Neolithic times to the end of the first century A. D. is a useful addition to scholarship in spite of its shortcomings. Each segment of the five-part work (plus introduction and epilogue) includes two or three sections, the first dealing with a survey of the period's sieges, the second with a treatment of the captured cities, and the third, when present, with a more detailed analysis of the main personality. Kern argues that siege warfare, the most brutal form of combat in the ancient world, is best described as total war. The adoption of the modern term "total war" is hardly appropriate for the ancient period. Also, brutality in the past could reach extremes not just at a siege's conclusion but, as the Assyrian documents show, on the battlefield as well.

Kern tries to cover all aspects of siege warfare, but in the end he is forced to choose the areas in which he is most knowledgeable or where the documents are of easier access. This means that his emphasis on the ancient Near East is placed mainly on the Hebrews and on the Assyrians. Unfortunately Hittites, Babylonians, and Persians are dealt with quickly. The same treatment (but rightly so) is given to the least warlike civilization of the ancient Near East: the Egyptians.

Kern opens his survey of the ancient Near East with a chilling portrayal of the Hebrews' conquest of the Promised Land, relying mainly on the Bible and on the work of the great Israeli historian Yigal Yadin. "In the cities of these people that the Lord your God gives you . . . you shall save nothing alive that breathes, but you shall utterly destroy them" orders Yahweh, regardless of whether the opponents resisted or not. More humane treatment is offered only to the inhabitants outside the Promised Land, where "the besieged, if they do not offer resistance will live but shall do forced labor for you" (p. 63). It was only with David, when the Hebrews had finally mastered the process of siege craft, that they adopted a less harsh attitude.

Kern's attempt at differentiating on the standards of cruelty of the people of the ancient Near East is not always convincing. The destiny of the losers who had resisted during the siege of their city was hell on earth, whether the losers were Hebrews, Mesopotamians, or Assyrians. The Assyrians with their catalogue of terrible atrocities (impaling, blinding, mutilating), says Kern, were the most brutal of all. Probably this is true; yet full reliance on what the Assyrian scribes left for us should not be seen as an accurate picture of what happened. The accounts were clearly propaganda messages whose aim was to terrorize mentally the opponents while emphasizing the greatness and power of the Assyrian kings. The destiny of the people that the Assyrians conquered was probably deportation more than torture and death.

Siege craft in the ancient Near East, as shown for instance in the reliefs of the Assyrian Sennacherib's siege of Lachish (701 B.C.), reached a degree of sophistication that was not equaled until the end of the Hellenistic period. That the classical Greeks were rather primitive in siege warfare is not surprising. Their wars ended normally in a single major battle fought near the gates of one of the contestants' cities, on relatively flat terrain, and where the casualties of the losers were at the highest near twenty percent. Things started to change during the Peloponnesian Wars. By their end the tyrant of Syracuse, Dionysius I, had mastered all the methods of siege warfare in the lands of the Sicilian Greeks.

For the early years of the section on the Greeks, Kern's heavy reliance on Homer and the playwrights seems misplaced. Their accounts are dramatic and stunning, but I wonder whether it was wise to depend on works where drama and horrifying behavior are mandatory. For the rest of the Hellenistic period, Thucydides and Diodorus Siculus are Kern's main sources. The problem here is the lack of novelty (Thucydides is probably the best-known source of ancient Greece) and the veracity of a historian as notoriously unreliable as Diodorus.

The least interesting section of Kern's book is his survey of Rome's siege warfare, which covers the period until the fall of Masada in 73 A.D. Initially the Romans, like the Greeks, were inefficient in siege craft, but, as Rome expanded its empire, it became necessary to master all the subtleties of battering down an enemy town. Eventually Rome's skill in siege warfare became one of the reasons why its army was irresistible against civilizations, Gallia for instance, where towns were predominant. The Romans, too, tended to be ruthless against any city that resisted them and, as Kern says, their brutality could be "systematic and calculated" (p. 338). Yet the Romans also took pride in their sense of justice and clemency, which translated into humane terms toward their enemies. All depended on particular circumstances and on a commander's nature.

On the whole, this is an interesting book. Its shortcomings do not weaken the attraction of its narrative.

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It would have been better, however, not to overstate the issue of total war or the assertion that siege warfare changed the warriors' standards of honor and prowess. The truth is that in the earlier period, in the Assyrians' case for instance, honor and prowess mandated a brutal treatment of the conquered city. Behaving in a different manner would have meant a defiance of the standards they held dear.

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MARIA MICHELA SASSI. *The Science of Man in Ancient Greece*. Translated by PAUL TUCKER. Foreword by GEOFFREY LLOYD. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2001. Pp. xxx, 224. $34.00.

When ancient thinkers who spoke Greek turned their analytic gaze on their fellow humans, what categories did they use to classify them? Maria Michela Sassi's exploration of this question has now been translated into English. Her book is eminently accessible to the nonspecialist: all Greek is translated, and the citation of other scholars is largely confined to the footnotes. Greek thinkers did not practice anthropology per se, but Sassi has definitively established that quasi or proto-scientific modes of thinking informed their seemingly indefatigable impulse to schematize the diversity that is humankind.

Sassi first became interested in these questions while undertaking a study of Greek words for color: why did Greeks see men and women as being different colors? The color spectrum, simplified into light and dark, encoded social ideology: women were represented as pale because they belonged (theoretically if not actually) within the house, whereas men belonged out of doors. This social division of space makes itself felt most intriguingly at the margins, in the ambivalent status of the boy and the craftsmen, who were both male but excluded in the former case from outdoor political life and in the latter case from outdoor work. The philosopher is also a marginal figure, and in a fashion typical of this book we pass quickly through centuries of cultural change, from the Presocratics to the Emperor Julian, in pursuit of what is basically a synchronic analysis (pp. 16–19). What about other races? Here Sassi's thinking has evolved somewhat, from emphasizing that Greeks tended to explain ethnic differences primarily as the result of geographical factors to acknowledging that appealing to environmental factors does not in itself offer immunity from racist thinking (p. 24). At any rate, the Greeks (a category Sassi does not interrogate) were quite sure of their cultural superiority.

One of the pleasures of Sassi's approach is that its catholic interest in all forms of schematization turns pseudo-sciences like physiognomy and astrology from dross into gold. This alchemical effect opens up a vast array of would-be technical treatises to interrogation by the historian or cultural anthropologist. Sassi demonstrates conclusively that these disciplines attempted to span the leap between the particularities of the individual and the generic characteristics of the type by applying a kind of abstract thought to the characteristic signs (*semeia*) that the experienced eye can detect in the individual subject (see the discussion of physiognomy as abduction, and as syllogism, on pp. 69–81). This is not true empiricism, however (if such there be). Rather, dualities enshrined as obvious truths determined culturally what kind of characteristics were considered relevant. In zoological physiognomy, traditional beliefs about the characteristics of animals evolved to incorporate Aristotle's theory of the excellence of the mean: the eyes may be large, medium, or small in size, but medium eyes are to be preferred, since "the intermediate indicates the best sort of temperament" (p. 45) (from one of Sassi's many translations of original texts). In terms of hair, complexion, and many other factors, the free Greek male occupied the enviable intermediate position while women and barbarians occupied the extremes.

Gender brings into play the opposition of hot and cold, wet and dry, right and left. Women tend to be cold and damp, and gestated in the left side of the womb. Once women have been so classified symbolically, this classification evolves into an explanatory system: women are always pale and their veins are invisible because they discharge surplus fluid in menstruation (p. 98). We get what Sassi felicitously terms "*a priori* embryology" (p. 99). Among males, different climates—cold, temperate, and hot—produce different thicknesses of the blood and, correspondingly, different combinations of courage, intelligence, and the ability to dominate other peoples politically (p. 116, summarized by charts on pp. 118–19). Not surprisingly, Greek males occupied the optimum position, a status appropriated for the Romans in an interesting quotation from Vetruvius (pp. 126–27).

Astrology had its anthropological and geographical aspects, too, as Sassi demonstrates in chapter five. Ptolemy incorporated the canonical temperaments into astrology by employing the quasimedical concept of *krasis* or mixture.

This review can only hope to whet the reader's appetite, although scholars who are more interested in the precise nuances of the individual historical moment should be warned that Sassi is more interested in the generic than the particular and takes a very broad-brush approach to historical change.

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THOMAS FIGUEIRA. *The Power of Money: Coinage and Politics in the Athenian Empire*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1998. Pp. xix, 627. $49.95.

Fifth-century Athens generally stands convicted of economic imperialism, although the date at which that despotism began has long been the subject of intense, even passionate dispute. Central to this controversy is the Coinage Decree, the focus of Thomas Figueira's

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book. Epigraphists have offered various restorations of its poorly preserved text, but the consensus has been that it ordered subject states to use Athenian weights, measures, and coinage. This interpretation, however, depends upon the restoration of crucial passages that are missing.

Figueira offers an intricate review of the numismatic, archaeological, literary, and epigraphical evidence and proposes an innovative revisionist interpretation. The task he has performed might be termed Herculean, or perhaps more appropriately, Sisyphean. In addition to restoring, dating, and interpreting the significance of the decree, he proposes to place it within the framework of Athenian "monetary policy."

A mint-by-mint survey of the coinage of subject states comprises about one-third of the book. This painstaking effort relies on the work of numismatists who have studied the coins' die-links and types as well as hoard evidence in an attempt to date the issues. Figueira sometimes disagrees with the dating suggested by the experts, especially when their views contradict his theory, but the significance of the numismatic evidence is dependent on the date and one's interpretation of the Coinage Decree. If it is dated *ca.* 449–448, and if one believes the decree banned minting of silver coins by subject states, one would expect a noticeable gap in the minting of those states. If one dates the decree in the 420s, there might not be such a noticeable gap, since the cessation of minting would have been more brief. That would only be true, however, if the decree did make such a ban and if the ban took effect. Some numismatists have thought they detected evidence of minting gaps and some archaeologists have posited a change in amphora volumes which they associated with the decree. Others have suggested that the decree was never fully implemented.

There are too many possible explanations for the apparent lack of a cessation of minting in some states for this argument to carry much weight. Moreover, the argument is circular: the issues cannot be dated independent of the Coinage Decree. Thus, the numismatic evidence is a frustrating dead end at present. Any suggestion that the evidence disproves the idea that the Coinage Decree attempted to ban subject state minting operations is open to dispute. Figueira finds that some local mints did cease operations, while others slowed minting operations or converted to minting drachms and fractions. These coins did not compete with the Athenian tetradrachm, which was minted in large numbers, widely circulated, and frequently imitated.

The enormous task of studying the issues of the Athenian mint which should have increased its output to compensate for the coins not produced in subject states has not been attempted. Although a great increase in the number of dies used in the late 450s is noted (p. 188, table 7.1), only eighteen pages are devoted to the Athenian mint and those focus on the years of the Pentecontaetia.

150 pages are devoted to a minute analysis of the Coinage Decree itself, fragment by fragment, line by line, considering previous restorations. This is the most significant part of the book, because Figueira's restorations are radically different from those suggested heretofore. He is at pains to deny that the decree banned "allied" minting and imposed Athenian coins on all states within the empire. He suggests that Athens merely required states minting their own silver coins to recognize Athenian coins, weights, and measures as well. Subject states were only invited to send any foreign coins they wished for reminting at Athens. In this restoration, the harsh penalties mentioned in the decree were to be imposed on Athenian officials to insure they implemented its provisions, not on the "allies." The point of the decree was simply to facilitate acquisition of Athenian coins with which to pay the annual tribute. One wonders why the tone of the decree is so punitive if the Athenians were simply trying to facilitate subjects' paying their tribute. Figueira accepts the traditional early 440s dating of the decree based on the three-bar sigmas found on the Kos fragment, though he suggests it may have been part of a series of monetary decrees issued over a number of years.

This tome is not light reading. Even the specialist will find it difficult and sometimes almost impenetrable. Figueira provides a meticulous review of the ancient evidence and modern interpretations. One must admire the breadth of learning demonstrated. He propounds an interesting new theory. If Figueira's suggestions are accepted, our understanding of mid-fifth-century Athenian imperialism is changed; however, in my view this tour de force does not resolve the issues that have so long bedeviled historians.

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MARK MUNN. *The School of History: Athens in the Age of Socrates*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2000. Pp. xii, 525. $37.50.

Despite its general-sounding title, this splendid book focuses most importantly on Thucydides and Plato. Although scholars have rarely linked these two names, Mark Munn argues that the same events significantly shaped the works that the historian and the philosopher were to write. It was the long and devastating Peloponnesian War between Athens and Sparta (431–404 B.C.), and the period of political revolution at Athens following it, which constituted the "school of history" for these two men. Munn focuses particularly on the immediate postwar period, when "unique and significant conditions were generated . . . that both did away with Socrates and gave rise to a profound desire to express the truth, a desire that shines brightest in the pages of Plato and Thucydides" (p. 249).

Thucydides saw the war begin as a young man, lived through it and probably for a significant period afterward. Plato lived his whole life with the war and its

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aftermath. Both Thucydides and Plato belonged to the Athenian aristocracy, but both at some early point in their lives shared an idealized sympathy with Athenian democracy. Thucydides puts compelling words of praise for democracy in the mouth of Perikles, and Plato sets the most glittering of his dialogues at the height of Athens's power, when the right of the sovereign assembly of *all* adult male citizens to rule went unchallenged and the prospects for victory over Sparta were bright. But finally both men turned against democracy. Thucydides calls an olgarchic junta that ruled Athens briefly late in the war its best government, and Plato describes (in his Seventh Letter) the disillusionment that led to the *Republic*, his antidemocratic tract.

Socrates in fact plays a relatively small role in Munn's account. It is no wonder a restored democracy quickly condemned an old man known to prefer the opinion of the wise few to that of the foolish many. Munn devotes much more space to the brilliant turncoat Athenian hero, Alcibiades, who was at various times and often simultaneously both the reason why Athens lost the Peloponnesian War and why it almost won. Munn describes Alcibiades's triumphant return to Piraeus harbor in 408 with typical rhetorical flair: "Even the routine sounds of the busy harbor were a matter of remark, Aristophanes tells us. The effects of sight and sound, in this natural theater lined with echoing colonnades, were surely not overlooked on this occasion, not by Alcibiades" (p. 166).

Munn is particularly good at investing with both drama and suspense the head-spinning postwar coups and counter-coups at Athens. His account is especially valuable because this is a period only described fully by the pedestrian Xenophon and spottily and with strong personal bias in later surviving forensic and political speeches.

Despite so many brilliant and original insights, Munn does make what many scholars will see as a few distracting missteps. Throughout, Munn assumes an improbably high level of literacy at Athens, tendentiously citing ancient evidence now put into perspective by such works as William V. Harris's *Ancient Literacy* (1989). It is unattested and highly improbable that audiences scribbled copious notes during political speeches and later wrote them out for an "immediate market" (p. 302) and that Thucydides used these amateur texts in his research. Such writing facility did not arrive until late medieval times. If he had had such resources, Thucydides would not have so famously complained (1.22.1) about the difficulty of ascertaining the exact substance of speeches that were *reported* to him.

Munn may be right that Thucydides largely put his work together after the war, but the historian's own statement (1.1.1) that he began writing up the war at its beginning and the presence in his text of numerous indubitably "early" passages need to be accounted for. Munn further asserts that Thucydides breaks off his work deliberately before the end of the war with an implied dedication of his book "to Artemis." But the last sentence in our texts begins with a "first of all" requiring an answering "next" and could not have been the last thing the author intended to write. Finally, Munn's copious endnotes often contain matter that could have been worked into the text or else more efficiently expressed in a parenthetical reference. Because Munn cites modern sources by author's name and date alone, the conscientious reader will need three thumbs to get through this book.

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KATHERINE CLARKE. *Between Geography and History: Hellenistic Constructions of the Roman World*. (Oxford Classical Monographs.) New York: Oxford University Press. 1999. Pp. xi, 407. $85.00.

This erudite book examines the relationship between history and geography in the extant writings of three Hellenistic figures: Polybius, Posidonius, and (especially) Strabo, each of whose works were composed in response to Rome's domination of the Greek East. From Herodotus onward, the narratives and preoccupations of ancient historians were suffused by geographical concerns, while ancient geographers frequently defined and explained the significance of places in terms of past events. This overlap, in Katherine Clarke's view, is problematic, and one of the purposes of her book is "to question the ease with which we classify ancient works and authors according to genre" (p. 2).

The modern difficulty in defining the disciplines of geography and history is taken up in the first chapter, which is lengthy and cluttered but adequate to demonstrate that there is no modern consensus on the topic. The discussion is detailed and well informed, although at times the distinction between history and geography seems to be confounded with (not the same thing) the distinction between ancient geographies and histories. Clarke is attracted to the approach of the *Annales* school and rightly aligns it with the methodology of Herodotus. She then turns to the venerable assertion of Felix Jacoby that, for the Greeks, "all prose genres were originally indistinguishable" (p. 59), a view that might help to explain the overlap of interests in historical and geographical writings as these genres differentiated themselves. But Clarke, aware of the criticisms leveled against Jacoby's claim, instead underscores the achievement and subsequent influence of Herodotus in establishing the importance of geography in Greek historiography. All of this is reasonable enough, though the complaint might be raised that the author is unduly troubled by the overlap in content between ancient histories and geographies: similar overlapping is common in poetic genres, after all, and, whatever one makes of Jacoby's claim, it is undeniable that the Greeks tended to regard Homer's epic poems as the common origin of history and geography. In the end, Clarke concludes that geogra-

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phies and histories are in fact separate genres, even if "narrow definitions of history and geography are unsuited to these writings" (p. 73). The theoretical issues of this chapter are revisited, briefly, in chapter four.

In chapter two, Clarke examines Polybius's geographical consciousness. His universal history takes place in space ultimately to be defined by Rome's conquests and influence, a redefinition of the place of Greece in the scheme of things. Polybius's interest in geography is pervasive, and this chapter goes a long way toward providing an account of the various habits of mind by which Polybius approached these matters.

The third chapter turns to Posidonius, whose *Histories* (which picked up where Polybius's left off) and whose geographical treatise, *On Ocean*, survive only in meager fragments. Clarke rightly criticizes the narrow notions of history and geography that have informed the allocation of these fragments by previous editors, and she goes on to develop a proposal by José-Miquel Alonso-Núñez that Posidonius's history was organized regionally (and not strictly chronologically).

And, finally, Strabo is the subject of chapters four through six. Here is the most significant part of the book. Clarke argues that Strabo's *Geography* described a world "created around and tied to a central focus at Rome" (p. 307) and that the purpose to which he put history (in this work) was to explain the present, very Roman, world. Still, traces of Strabo's native outlook persist: the importance to Strabo's universalism of Pompey's eastern conquests reflects his Pontic origins.

The book closes with an epilogue that summarizes the conclusions of the previous chapters. There are three useful appendixes and helpful indexes. All citations in Greek, German, French, and Italian (but not Latin) are translated into English.

There are good things in this book, as well as much that will provoke disagreement. It is by no means an easy read, not on account of stylistic obscurity but because the author indulges too frequently in digressions and is extremely repetitious. For future work on Strabo and for any future consideration of the assignment of Posidonius's fragments, Clarke's book will nevertheless remain essential reading.

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Matthew B. Roller. *Constructing Autocracy: Aristocrats and Emperors in Julio-Claudian Rome*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 2001. Pp. xii, 319. $39.95.

Between the rise of Julius Caesar and the death of Nero, Rome acquired an empire and underwent a revolution. Or it did not. Indeed, little about the understanding of that extraordinary century went uncontested between contemporaries or among succeeding generations, and the questions that were then central to the identity and survival of the Roman elite have continued to fix the attention of intellectuals. For long centuries after the humanist rediscovery of Tacitus, the nature and history of the Roman revolution and its first dynasty preoccupied historians and political theorists alike, and they remain the subject of rich and controversial debates in the study of ancient history.

Matthew B. Roller's book is a further contribution to these debates. He seeks in the first instance to analyze the Roman aristocrats' "conceptual and constructive engagements with the imperial regime" (p. 5). Roller's title advertises his theoretical allegiance: he reads literary texts for their representations of autocratic power, in the belief that these not only described but also "constituted and sought to alter the social world in which they were embedded" (p. 19). On this basis, Roller produces a study in two parts. The first, in two chapters, studies the poetry of Lucan and the ethical treatises of his uncle, the younger Seneca. Lucan's epic emerges as a systematic critique of the bases on which the Julio-Claudian regime sought to found its legitimacy during and after the civil wars of the late republic. Seneca, however, advocated Stoicism because its grounding of virtue in mental dispositions rather than actions permitted aristocrats to retain their privileged status in a political system that offered few opportunities for the display of excellence as it had been understood under the republic.

Part two proceeds rather differently. Its two chapters treat not individual texts but different ways of conceiving and representing the figure of the emperor, turning first to his roles as a giver and receiver of gifts and then to metaphorical construals of the emperor's authority as analogous either to the arbitrary power of a master over his slave or to the nurturing but no less final power of a father over his household.

Roller is a sensitive reader and fluent writer. Even where his arguments offer little advance on earlier studies, his statements of particular problems can be recommended for the clarity of their exposition. But do the many fine readings that comprise this book substantiate Roller's claims to theoretical and historiographic novelty? Here the nonspecialist in particular could well be misled by Roller's methodological and polemically motivated elisions. I offer two examples. First, it is crucial to Roller's argument that the political order established by Augustus have been novel, that it indeed have "marked a massive and unprecedented relocation of power and authority" (p. 6), and he offers what he explicitly hopes will be a "broadly uncontroversial" sketch of the social and economic structures that sustained this change (pp. 7–8). That hope would in any event be difficult to realize, but Roller does not help himself by ignoring the work of Ronald Syme, whose *Roman Revolution* (1939) argued passionately and persuasively against the sort of "relocation of power" here presupposed, or by dismissing what he calls the "constitutionalist" view of the principate (pp. 286–87). Roller justifies doing so by arguing that "aristocratic contemporaries did not . . . see the principate in these terms" (p. 287). But this is patently untrue and can be sustained only because Roller relies exclusively on literary evidence (p. 6). Yet

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it should not be controversial to say that Augustus made his most aggressive and widely intelligible claims to legitimacy through art, monumental architecture, and ceremonial, or that a central tenet of his propaganda was precisely that he had *not* diminished the authority of the institutions "in which social and political power had been vested through the five centuries of the republican regime" (p. 6).

Roller similarly sets aside ancient ways of understanding the social structure of Rome's governing class, referring instead to an undifferentiated "aristocracy" (p. 6). But documentary evidence from the Julio-Claudian period makes it abundantly clear that republican juridical and censorial categories remained current and may, in fact, have achieved new political import in this era. It is hard to reconcile Roller's interest in ideology with his dismissal of this problem: it seems to have been a principal mechanism by which Roller's "aristocracy" was induced to misrecognize its potential for precisely the sort of solidarity that he imputes to it.

Conceding for a moment the validity of social construction as Roller understands it, the most remarkable absence in this book is that of the Julio-Claudian emperors, who were themselves authors, readers, and dedicatees of literary texts—participants, in other words, in precisely the discursive habitus Roller adumbrates. The sixty-two pages of chapter two, for example, focus resolutely on Seneca without once revealing that he dedicated ethical treatises to Nero (this in a chapter that invokes James C. Scott's *Domination and the Arts of Resistance* [1990]). By the time we do hear their voices and see them acting (pp. 253–58), the emperors of Rome—whose monopoly on power Seneca all but conceded (p. 239)—seem irrelevant, stick figures subordinate to and constructed by whatever all-powerful author whose text we happen to be reading.

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GARY K. YOUNG. *Rome's Eastern Trade: International Commerce and Imperial Policy, 31 BC—AD 305*. New York: Routledge. 2001. Pp. xv, 303. $85.00.

Two seminal works of twentieth century classical scholarship are Michael Rostovtzeff's *Social and Economic History of the Roman World* (1926) and its sister study, *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World* (1941). An innovative feature of both works was the marriage of the different types of evidence—literary, epigraphic and above all archaeological—to write what seemed to be a coherent analysis of the "economy" of those periods. Equally as important was the fact that Rostovtzeff defined a subject about which ancient historians and archaeologists feel they can now legitimately write. Today the value of Rostovtzeff's conclusions are commonly criticized for the conceptual limitations of what he thought to be the economy, influenced as they were by the circumstances of the time. Rostovtzeff, like others of his generation, adopted a modernist interpretation, where "the economy of the ancient world was only quantively and not qualitively, different from that of modern times." Since Rostovtzeff, there have been countless kindred studies, where differences of opinion revolve around the interpretative framework deployed. The culmination of the reaction to Rostovtzeff's positivist definition of the ancient economy was the minimist, substantivist position advanced in Moses I. Finley's *The Ancient Economy* (1973), where social relations and not supply and demand drove economic activity. In this view of an embedded economy, themes such as scale of production, the development of markets, and even the issue of state management are irrelevant if not meaningless. While these two contrasting positions, irrespective of their efficacy continue to generate their own debate, the existence of an (ancient) economy, whatever its size and form, has never been challenged nor have attempts to write about it or the facets considered to be part of it been inhibited.

To the study of the ancient economy can be added to this volume by Gary K. Young, which coincidentally draws on a lineage going back to Rostovtzeff's now highly unsatisfactory analysis of the great Greco-Roman commercial cities of the eastern Mediterranean, *Caravan Cities* (1932). Young's thesis is simple. It challenges what he calls the prevailing view,of those who argue that long-distance trade in the Roman Empire was closely administered and regulated by the imperial authorities. Such was imperial interest in trade that it supposedly influenced foreign policy, from the causes and courses of military campaigns to decisions to annex territory. Imperial interest is also supposed to be apparent in imperial attempts to stimulate and protect commercial activity. Through seven chapters, Young explores many of these "facts." Chapter one defines the scope of the study. Subsequent chapters examine the regions and aspects of the trade, seaborne and terrestrial, from the orient. The routes include those across the Indian Ocean and onto the western littoral of the Red Sea and into Egypt (chapter two); up the Persian Gulf and thence overland either across the Arabian peninsula or up the Euphrates and then west to the Mediterranean coast via any combination of cities between that river and the sea (chapters three through five); the Arabian incense trade, the commercial power of the Syrian city of Palmyra, and finally the other Syrian trade routes. The analysis culminates with two chapters on long-distance trade and imperial government and a conclusion.

To prove his thesis, Young considers the history, infrastructure, and various modes of execution of long-distance trade through Rome's eastern possessions. This permits identification of the rise and fall of particular routes. His approach is first to summarize received wisdom, then to analyze the quality, quantity, and the way the evidence has been used by others. Unsurprisingly Young draws heavily, often critically,

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on the work of others, whether it be general overviews (e.g. M. G. Raschke, Lionel Casson, Fergus Miller) or regional studies (e.g. Steve Sidebotham on Egypt). What he finds is the sum of the parts frequently does not match the whole. For instance, the organization and activities along each of his routes bear little relation to what was occurring on other routes. Instead he argues that long-distance trade was left very much to its practioners and the communities through which it passed. Where and when Roman government took an interest was to ensure that the taxes to be derived from the passage of luxury commodities through its possessions were protected (by close monitoring, the channelling of caravan traffic to the points of payment, and the military protection of routes). But this was largely a reactive, parasitical arrangement rather than the authorities being proactive. What Rome did was maintain whatever had prevailed prior to the arrival of the empire. That there was little or no effort to standardize the arrangements and tariffs levied when commodities entered the empire, nor to control the outflow of Roman bullion to pay for the imports, proves the point.

The general thesis seems fair and the proof largely convincing, even if one might dispute certain points and the execution is slightly uneven. In particular, the second part (chapters six through seven) is less satisfactory, not least because there is a degree of repetition from the preceding chapters. Occasionally, the argument degenerates to gainsaying. Irrespective of these reservations, this monograph can be recommended to scholarly and lay readers for the way it provides a cogent counter-blast to the established explanation of Roman long-distance commerce.

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JOHN F. MATTHEWS. *Laying Down the Law: A Study of the Theodosian Code*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2000. Pp. xv, 314. $40.00.

Long considered the ugly stepsister of Justinian's *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, the Theodosian Code is finally getting some respect. This is the third book on the Code to appear in the past five years, the others being Tony Honoré's *Law in the Crisis of Empire 379–455 AD* (1998) and Jill Harries's *Law and Empire in Late Antiquity* (1999). The authors take different approaches, but all three argue strongly for the vitality of law making and the legal process in the later Roman Empire.

The Theodosian Code, published a century earlier than the more wide-ranging Code of Justinian (which drew heavily on its Theodosian predecessor) epitomizes this legal culture. The Theodosian Code collected, in abridged form, imperial legislation from the reign of Constantine (306–337) to the time of its publication in 438 under Theodosius II (408–450). Its sixteen books contain laws on imperial administration, marriage, inheritance, slavery, military affairs, and religion, on which historians have often drawn to depict a declining empire beset by government corruption, rampant bureaucracy, and workers bound to their jobs in perpetuity. It is just such indiscriminate mining of the Code for grim vignettes of everyday late Roman life that John F. Matthews seeks to counteract by putting the work in its intellectual, social, and political context as an essential preliminary for its proper use as a historical source.

This is not an easy undertaking. Although the Code's editors (following Theodosius's instructions) deleted much imperial verbiage, the laws were written in a highly rhetorical, often opaque style; the dating of many laws is doubtful; and worst of all, much of the first five books has been lost. Matthews's book thus has two purposes, carried out in alternating chapters: to explain the composition, promulgation, and reception of law in the late empire; and to examine the making of the Code itself and reconstruct what it contained in its original, complete state.

Chapters one ("The Historical Moment") and three ("Senatus Amplissimi Gesta") begin at the end with the Code's official publication, its formal presentation by Theodosius II in Constantinople in 437, and its enthusiastic reception a year later by the Senate of Rome. These were highly ceremonial occasions, intended to underscore the empire's unity despite its now permanent division between two emperors, Theodosius II in the east and his cousin and son-in-law, Valentinian III, in the west. Chapters two ("Emperors, Law, and Jurists") and seven ("Delivering the Law") look at the sources of law, the process of law making in late antiquity, and the reasons, legal and political, why the time was ripe to undertake a comprehensive review and collection of imperial laws from the past 130 years. These chapters, written in the engaging style with which readers of Matthews's earlier books are familiar, will be most useful for those interested in the workings of late Roman government and law making rather than the process of codification itself.

Chapters four ("Editing the Code") and eight ("The Editors at Work") address Matthews's second purpose, setting out in detail his view of how Theodosius's editors worked and where they found copies of the laws that they then excerpted and placed into discrete books and titles. Chapters six ("The Sirmondian Constitutions") and nine ("Edicts and Letters: Four Last Examples") look at some fourth and fifth-century laws that are preserved complete in other sources (legal, epigraphical, and ecclesiastical), as well as in abbreviated form in the Code. Comparison of the full version of a law with its abridgement illustrates and supports Matthews's arguments for the editing procedures discussed in chapters four and eight.

Chapter five, "The Text of the Code," lies at the heart of the book. Matthews unravels the Code's complicated textual tradition, stressing that, for its first five books, we are dependent on later collections (especially the Visigothic *Breviarium of Alaric*) that included some, but by no means all, of the Theodosian

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laws. He does not seem to have consulted any of the actual manuscripts himself (which would be impossible in the case of the crucial manuscript T, destroyed by fire in 1904) but rather summarizes clearly and concisely the "Prolegomena" of the Code's great modern editor, Theodor Mommsen. Matthews departs from Mommsen's methodology, however, in one important respect: he prefers the (unfinished) reconstruction of the Code made by Paul Krüger, Mommsen's collaborator and rival. Unlike Mommsen, Krüger inserted in his text all laws of the period 313–337 that are found in the Justinianic Code but not in the now-lacunose Theodosian Code. This chapter is the most complex and technical and—for this reviewer—the most problematical.

A brief conclusion sums up the earlier chapters, reiterating Matthews's arguments for the editors having drawn their texts from a variety of sources, including not only imperial archives in Constantinople but also local archives, both official and private.

This is a book of major importance: well written and readable, but also dense and difficult, controversial (Matthews often respectfully disagrees not only with Mommsen but with contemporary scholars), and in the main very persuasive. It is not the last word on the Theodosian Code or its sources. Rather, it opens the way for new, informed readings of the Code and a greater appreciation of the achievement of Theodosius's editors and of government and law in late antiquity.

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BRIAN CROKE. *Count Marcellinus and His Chronicle*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2001. Pp. xvi, 300. $72.00.

The chronicle compiled by Marcellinus in Constantinople shortly after the accession of the Emperor Justin I in 518 (which he subsequently continued as far as Justinian I's reconquest of Africa in 534) is an important text. Brian Croke completed a doctoral thesis on Marcellinus in 1977: since then he has published a series of incisive articles and essays related to this and other chronicles, which were reprinted in *Christian Chronicles and Byzantine History, 5th-6th Centuries* (1992), and also *The Chronicle of Marcellinus: Translation and Commentary* (1995). Croke now offers a fully rounded study of Marcellinus and his chronicle as the fruit of more than twenty-five years of reflection and careful research. This is a substantial scholarly achievement.

The first part of Croke's book, entitled "The World of Marcellinus" (pp. 17–142), sets the author in his political and cultural milieu. Like the emperors Justin and Justinian, Marcellinus was a Latin speaker who came from the eastern praetorian prefecture of Illyricum (possibly from Scupi, Croke plausibly suggests) and settled in Constantinople as a young man. The chronicle, whose preface proclaims an eastern perspective, starts where Jerome ended, and its first edition covered the years 379–518. Croke demonstrates not only that the text must be understood and evaluated as the work of a man whose historical perspective was shaped in Constantinople in the early years of the sixth century but also that Marcellinus composed it before he entered the service of Justinian. The second part of the book studies the composition of the chronicle, its relationship to other late Roman chronicles, and its fate after it left Marcellinus's hands (pp. 145–265).

Croke has produced an exemplary study: it is reliable, accurate, judicious, and sensitive to recent studies of the nature of historical writing of different types. Even those who regard themselves as specialists in late Roman or early Byzantine history can learn from Croke's discussions of the content, significance, and the cultural and historical context of individual entries. But what will be of most interest to nonspecialists is Croke's development of the thesis that he expounded in his long article "A. D. 476: The Manufacture of a Turning Point" (*Chiron* 13 [1983]: 81–119). Marcellinus is the earliest extant writer who construes the deposition of the western Emperor Romulus Augustulus in 476 as "the fall of the Roman Empire in the West." Modern historians before Croke had seen that this must be a later and anachronistic interpretation of an event that lacked such obvious significance in the political turbulence of the 470s; in 1983, Croke showed that Marcellinus' interpretation reflects an eastern viewpoint, not a western or Roman one, and now he places this interpretation in the context of the period shortly before 520, when the possibility of reuniting Italy to the eastern empire was already being contemplated. Croke notes, moreover, that what Marcellinus says about 476 should not be evaluated without reference to his comment on the murder of Aetius in 454: "with him fell the western kingdom and it has not yet been able to be restored."

Croke's analyses of how Marcellinus put his chronicle together and of how his choices of what to include and what to emphasize reveal significant facts about Marcellinus himself, about the city of Constantinople, about imperial ceremonial and propaganda, and about early Byzantine cultural and political attitudes are not likely to be surpassed or superseded in the foreseeable future—except perhaps in one area of minor importance. In his correct insistence on interpreting Marcellinus as an eastern author working in Constantinople and reflecting a Constantinopolitan milieu, Croke in effect denies that he used any western written sources other than Orosius and Gennadius (pp. 186–207). However, while Croke asserts that none of the entries in the chronicle for various western events between 383 and 480 need "derive from a local western document or documents," he is obliged to concede that "it is possible that Marcellinus found some or all of these

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entries in an Italian chronicle" (p. 189). That possibility may be more real than Croke is willing to allow.

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Jacques Voisenet. *Bêtes et hommes dans le monde médiéval: La bestiaire des clercs du V^e au XII^e siècle*. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols. 2000. Pp. xvi, 535.

Genesis reports that animals were created before humans, and although Adam was given domininion over them, animals never "fell" and thus retained a special place among creatures. What that place was is suggested by another biblical text the Middle Ages knew well: Job's advice to "ask the beasts, and they will teach you." Thus, clergy investigated two books: the sacred text and the book of nature. Jacques Voisenet's own fascinating book is about what the clergy learned from reading the book of nature and what they passed on to their culture. His major point, already implicit in Job, is that animals were not important in themselves but rather as messengers of other realities. That those realities require more than five hundred pages to relate testifies to the richness of the theme and the sophistication of Voisenet's analysis.

Reflections on animals are ubiquitous in medieval sources. Voisenet had no trouble finding grist for his mill in encyclopedists such as Isidore of Seville and Hrabanus Maurus and in biblical commentaries, letters, penitentials, poetry, selected works of art, and especially in more than two hundred saints' lives. Some 420 animals, from bees to vultures, parade through his sources and, more importantly, through the medieval imagination. To judge from the book's index, sheep, dogs, eagles, deer, doves, dragons, lions, wolves, bears, and especially snakes inspired clerical comment. The sheer mass of information available might have led in the direction of an interesting catalogue of beasts, but Voisenet chose a more sophisticated and illuminating path. The first of three thematic sections of his book presents fauna largely as medieval encyclopedists arrayed them along vertical and horizontal axes. Unlike humans, who are fixed to the earth, animals occupy three zones: air, earth, and water. Generally birds enjoy higher status than terrestrial animals. Creatures that live in the waters (oceans were mostly meant) are lower down on the scale of values. Gradations occur within each species, as when high soaring birds such as eagles are valued more than ground and tree-dwelling birds. Along the horizontal axis, animals that live in close proximity to humans, generally domesticated animals, are viewed more favorably than wild beasts that live in dangerous, untamed places.

Not all of the categories were airtight. An animal might be despised in one light, favored in another. Serpents carried a whole host of negative connotations generally associated with penetration and sexuality, but they also signified fertility. Lions and tigers were terrifying and cruel, but panthers were reputed pleasant carnivores who could stand for Christ. The book's second major section explores the multiple relationships between animals and humans as described by clerical authors. Animals appeared in dreams, visions, and miracles carrying messages, usually of peril, as when a wolf entered a church and pulled on the bell cord to warn of an impending fire. Clergy wrote that hunting animalized humans. When hunters pursued their prey they engaged in ruses and if successful became murderous. Animalization, on the other hand, could be a stage on the way to redemption. Holy men and women who let their hair grow long and shaggy and went about naked or covered in animal skins were sometimes mistaken for animals. Humility required humilification. Relationships with humans changed animals as well. Lice, normally the lowliest of the low, were valorized when they populated a holy man's beard. A ferocious bear that killed a saint's pack animal made up for it by docilely carrying the saint's burden into town on its own back.

The book's third section describes how humans used animals to talk about humans. Lacking a social science vocabulary, writers applied animal models to human behavior. A beehive under the authority of its king (!) could be used to describe ideal society. Big fish eating little fish who ate even littler fish described the behavior of a lawless society. The bear as pack animal suggests the possibilities of conversion and salvation. Animal examples were particularly compelling since animals, unaffected by the fall, provided humans with a living link to an Edenic world.

Voisenet sticks closely to the clerical view of animals, a view nourished by Greek, Roman, and Jewish texts and not by actual encounters with animals. There is nothing here of real animals in the economy or at war. But that does not matter. Clerical writers, like modern writers of advertising copy who sell machines named for animals (Ram, Lynx, Mustang, Cougar, Beetle, Taurus, Impala), were creating powerful, enduring images, images in which humans saw themselves.

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Bernhard Jussen. *Spiritual Kinship and Social Practice: Godparenthood and Adoption in the Early Middle Ages*. Translated by Pamela Selwyn. Newark: University of Delaware Press. 2000. Pp. 362. $55.00.

This work is a translation and slightly expanded version of Bernhard Jussen's *Patenschaft und Adoption im Frühen Mittelalter: Künstliche Verwandtschaft als soziale Praxis*, first published in 1991. The expansion comes in the first chapter, which surveys sponsorship and adoption in the light of kinship studies. Jussen argues powerfully that kinship is not simply biologically determined but is, rather, a culturally specific mental construct. Early medieval people could thus regard as kin relations all those social ties that were described using the vocabulary of kinship. Adoption and godparenthood could in these terms generate "real" kinship

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relations. The author then goes on to show how possible relations multiplied as Roman forms of adoption and early Christian spiritual kinship were shaped by a complex adaptation to different early medieval social and cultural needs. When the church began to extend incest prohibitions to cover the new range of kinship relations, the result seemed to be a mass of unworkable restrictions that were largely ignored. Here Jussen shows a beautifully nuanced understanding of how norms developed, and of how people could both draw upon them to legitimate particular strategies and also discard them when it suited. The rest of the book is in effect a sustained demonstration of how adoption and godparenthood were pragmatically employed in social and, above all, political strategies.

Jussen's focus is on the adoption and spiritual kinship strategies practiced in late sixth-century Gaul, the source for which is the *Decem libri historiae* of Gregory of Tours. The king Gunthchramn occupies center stage here. Jussen concentrates on what is basically an analysis of political history in order to show how Gunthchramn's adoption of his nephew Childebert was less an act of avuncular charity than an attempt to gain control of all the Merovingian kingdoms. His adoption and then spiritual parenthood of his other nephew Clothar likewise served his political needs. Those making adoptions and effecting spiritual kinship might trumpet religious obligations and duties in order to draw upon legitimating norms. Equally, all ties could be dropped like hot bricks if a better option arose. Thus King Chilperic also adopted the fatherless Childebert, but abandoned him as soon as a son of his own was born. This, argues Jussen, was also the case in the famous "Grimoald coup" of the 650s, when the mayor of the palace Grimoald succeeded in having his son adopted by the childless King Sigibert III, only to be left out on a limb when a son was eventually born to Sigibert. In the last chapter, the author broadens the survey beyond the pages of Gregory and samples a range of later hagiographical examples to show again how, through the vocabulary of kinship, godparenthood, like the *coniuratio* or oath-brotherhood, created relationships that were practical, flexible, and ultimately disposable.

Jussen's argument for pragmatism naturally translates well into English, and his overall picture seems entirely sensible. The weakness of the work lies in the use of Gregory to illustrate social practice. The author admits that Gregory of Tours is now seen as a more complex author than he was in 1991, but this does not stop him from treating Gregory as a "chronicler" rather than a "historian," analyzing his writing as simple nominal information. Ignoring Gregory's textual strategies in this way throws up three main problems. First, one cannot discuss the behavior of Gunthchramn and the other main actors without first determining Gregory's attitude toward them in the light of his overall portrayal of Merovingian kingship, and, importantly, queenship. Second, one cannot generalize from Gregory about social practice without being more aware of his generally pessimistic attitudes toward the Frankish elite. Third, one must ask (as Jussen nearly does) whether Gregory idealized the norms of spiritual kinship in his narrative in order to highlight the advantages of correct Christian behavior. In addition, one could take issue with many of the author's other examples. He does not grasp, for instance, the crucial position of Queen Himnechild in the "Grimoald coup"; he dips in and out of hagiography without a word on genre and dating; and quite unjustifiably he thinks the Saxon Widukind became simultaneously a "vassal" and godson of Charlemagne. In fact, "vassals" are rather too prominent in his conception of the Carolingian world. It is a tribute to Jussen's lucidity and persuasiveness that one can disagree with so much and yet believe that he is basically right. Even though one can find fault in the details of many of his examples, they do consistently support the idea of pragmatic practice. One can in fact think of more and better narrative evidence to support his argument. One serious omission, however, is a discussion of why a social practice so prominent in normative and narrative sources, and one which had significant implications for the distribution of property, is not reflected in charter material. Without such a discussion, one cannot generalize from the actions of rulers and prominent religious leaders. On the basis of narrative examples alone, we cannot really estimate the importance of spiritual kinship as social practice, as opposed to political strategy.

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BART JASKI. *Early Irish Kingship and Succession*. Portland, Oreg.: Four Courts Press. 2000. Pp. 360. $55.00.

This book is based on Bart Jaski's dissertation on the rule of succession in early Ireland but broadens its horizons to place this topic in the wider context of medieval Irish kingship. The chapters concerned with the more general issues of "King and People," "Sacral Kingship," "Lord, Kin and Client," and "Dynastic Kingship" work well, as they provide an excellent overview of scholarship on these subjects. With the exception of the challenge offered to the views of Edel Bhreathnach and Colmán Etchingham on the nature of the kingship of Tara (pp. 214–18), Jaski steers clear of controversy, preferring instead a neutral and useful summary of key issues. No fault can be found with his command of the extensive secondary literature, but with regard to the Tara question, and several other topics covered in this book, it should be noted that the author did not have the opportunity to consult Thomas Charles-Edwards's *Early Christian Ireland* (2000), which offers modifications of his views.

The chapters on "Seniority," "Qualifications for Succession," "Loss of Noble Status," and "The Heir-apparent" are where Jaski stakes his claim to offer a new and convincing interpretation of succession to

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kingship in medieval Ireland. He wisely bases much of his argument on case studies of individual families/dynasties, particularly those of Ua Briain and Ua Conchobair, but is also prepared to use literary and legal texts to bolster his case. The tale *Eachtra mac nEchach Muigmedóin*, for instance, is introduced to discuss rules of succession among brothers (pp. 162–70). His suggestion that Donnchadh Ó Corráin was incorrect to argue that the poem version of this tale derived from an earlier prose account is convincing, but it is disappointing that he does not state more clearly his own opinion on when the two versions were first produced. His use of the late seventh-century legal text *Cáin Fhuithirbe* to challenge the views of Charles-Edwards and Etchingham on the links between loss of status and loss of land (pp. 177–85) is more sure-footed, and he is also happy to use a range of sources in support of his challenge to Ó Corráin, Charles-Edwards, Gearóid MacNiocaill, and Eoin MacNeill on the significance of the title *rígdamna* as applied by the annalists to certain members of royal dynasties (pp. 241–47).

This book represents a worthwhile contribution to its area of interest, but it is compromised by some important deficiencies. The most obvious is the unacceptable standard of presentation, which includes poor English, some erratic footnoting, and sloppy proofreading. Turning to the matter of the book, the almost complete absence from the discussion of comparisons with other parts of Western Europe is to be regretted, especially as the author is clearly aware of the secondary literature that might have made such comparisons possible. Periodization also presents problems: at certain points, contrasts are drawn between the Old Irish and Middle Irish periods, while at others the divide is between pre-Norman and Norman. If these terms refer to the same time span, why use both? If they refer to the same time span but in different contexts—one for literature, one for "politics"—why fail to explain or justify such methodology? This lack of clarity is also at the heart of the most important flaw in the book; the absence of a convincing discussion of how the different sources used by the author are best deployed. In the preface we read: "There is no document available which discusses the rule of succession and its consequences, so we must turn to all those sources which contain information on succession, lordship and kingship and related topics. This has resulted in a broad study in which annals, genealogies, regnal lists, laws, wisdom-texts, saga-literature, poetry, hagiography and other sources have been taken into account and compared" (p. 14). Unfortunately, there is very little comparison of these sources, and a preliminary chapter dealing with source analysis is sorely missing. Despite these serious shortcomings, it is beyond doubt that this book, which contains many valuable and provocative insights, deserves to be read by all scholars interested in early medieval Ireland.

BRENDAN SMITH
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NORA BEREND. *At the Gate of Christendom: Jews, Muslims and 'Pagans' in Medieval Hungary, c. 1000-c. 1300*. (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, number 50.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2001. Pp. xvii, 340.

Two achievements stand out in this impeccably researched and beautifully organized book. The first is valuable. Hungary is a major European country whose language makes its historiography, and so, its history, hard for anglophones to penetrate. Further, its modern experience tended to force scholarship on the medieval period into nationalist, or ultramontane, or Marxist molds. Old motifs recur in latter-day laments on "defective" Hungarian feudalism, where nobles and king are depicted as locked in struggle, with the state losing out. Re-envisioning medieval Hungary has required not just the formidable linguistic and methodological skills of the old tradition but a radically new, and recent, intellectual formation outside that. Nora Berend, having trained first in Budapest, then in Paris (where she worked on high medieval parent-child relations, and on changes in canon law) and New York, applies both keen source-criticism—she deals equally effectively with a fake law and a misinterpreted experimental issue of copper coins—and theoretical sharpness, refusing to accept a procrustean "frontier" model for a kingdom whose wild east was no enticing field for expansion but a zone under threat, frequently reduced by attackers from the steppe. Medieval Hungary, Berend persuasively argues, was "neither a tolerant nor a persecuting society," but a "cellular" one in which multiple "guest" groups, some consisting of Christians, were privileged, that is, lived under special legal arrangements, under royal protection (pp. 53, 103, 190). Notwithstanding canon law's prescribed segregation, Jews could be accepted as witnesses in cases involving Jews and Christians; Muslims accusing Christians could be required to take the ordeal; Cuman migrants within Hungary were a *universitas* under royal charter, whose representatives sat alongside those of the "Saxons," nobles and ecclesiastics, in a proto-parliament. In appointing tax-farmers or moneyers, kings might appoint Jews and Muslims, although most appointees were Christians. Kings enjoyed freedom of maneuver, too, in using Cumans as special forces, rather as Frederick II used the Saracens of Lucera (or Richard II, in the next century, the men of Cheshire). In perhaps her most interesting chapter, Berend shows how papal attempts to impose canonical rules on Hungary were handled by resourceful kings: they sidestepped ecclesiastical claims to rights and revenues, ignored demands that non-Christians be segregated, countered the ambitions of wily archbishops of Esztergom and scheming legates, and exploited crusading ideology to construct Hungary's identity as the "gate" or "shield" of Christendom (pp. 163–71). Kings, clergy, and people could agree on the conversion of the Cumans, although the process would be longer than anyone expected.

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Berend's second achievement is invaluable. In focusing on the thirteenth century as a critical formative period for Hungary, she highlights features that characterize Western monarchy at large. This means rethinking periodization: no longer bathed in a rosy glow, the thirteenth century emerges as harshly etched, although not quite on the lines proposed by R. I. Moore in 1987. It was the papacy's deployment of privilege, and its broad challenge to regnal authority, that provoked royal redefinitions of rights, and new experiments with fiscal agents and agencies, and new definitions of identity dividing insiders from outsiders. It was papally engendered anxiety, following repeated crusading failure, that promoted (if it did not create) intolerance of non-Christians as one royal means to state-building. Yet substituting a gloomy age for a golden age is no part of Berend's business. Her take on the formation of Christendom foregrounds the constructedness of perceptions and identities, the resourcefulness of individuals seizing options and opportunities. Like truth, Berend's story is never pure and rarely simple.

One final small reservation: although Berend cuts deep, traces remain of vestigial Hungarian exceptionalism, and of older stereotypes of Hungarian kings threatened by "political fragmentation" and "growing forces of anarchy." If Frederick and Alfonso X offered parallels to Béla IV and László IV, why not Henry III of England, Louis IX of France, and Alexander III of Scotland, too? Thirteenth-century monarchs encountered similar challenges and met them more or less *ex officio*. Of course, each realm had distinctive traits and found peculiar strategies. But even Hungarian uniqueness needs qualifying. Berend's thirteenth-century Hungary firmly belongs, without anachronism, to a single Latin Europe.

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DOMINIC SELWOOD. *Knights of the Cloister: Templars and Hospitallers in Central-Southern Occitania c.1100-c.1300*. Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell. 1999. Pp. xvii.

The expansion of interest in the Templars and Hospitallers in recent years has been accompanied by serious exploration of neglected European sources for the history of the military orders in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This, in turn, has led to a concentration on the relationship between the Templars or Hospitallers and the West European territories where they held most of their lands and from which they extracted most of their income, as well as their recruits: one thinks of the work of Michael Gervers on England, for example. However, one of the richest seams proves to be southern France, the area where the orders first built up extensive estates, delicately poised between the Mediterranean, which gave access to the Levant, the seat of the international headquarters of the orders, and Spain, itself a frontier against Islam and a part of Europe in which the military orders from a very early date acquired considerable influence, notably as a result of the mysterious will of King Alfonso the Battler of Aragon, first drawn up in 1131. Given the intimate cultural, political, and economic links between southern France and Catalonia, events across the Pyrenees had considerable impact on the fortunes of the military orders in Occitania as well.

Dominic Selwood does a fine job of explaining the role of the military orders in southern French society. He looks at their relationship with the secular church, less fraught than is often supposed; at their way of drawing in lay brothers, which he sees as flexible and innovative compared to (say) the Cistercians; at the trading and banking activities of the orders, in particular the maritime links between Provence and the Levant; and at the inner life of the orders, which he brings out well, but briefly, with a small study of the Templars of Santa Eulalia in Languedoc.

Selwood sets out convincingly the argument that the orders functioned in southern France less as monastic institutions than as exemplars of the new knighthood. In southern France, they stood aside from the conflicts that engulfed the region at the start of the thirteenth century, even though one observer, in the pro-Occitan tradition of the second half of the *Chanson de la croisade albigeoise*, wondered why they did not stand with the Occitans and fight the Albigensian crusaders. Selwood considers that their emphasis on fighting the infidel rather than Christians precluded involvement in the Albigensian crusade, although of course part of the argument of the crusaders was that the Cathars were not really Christians at all. Another view might be that the most important problem for the orders was the need to protect their own lands in a time of general turbulence. Partly for this reason, one would like to hear more in the book about the relationship that developed between the orders and local rulers; some of the most important, such as Charles I of Anjou, count of Provence, make only fleeting appearances. Yet his reign is well documented, and has been closely studied in recent years by historians in Britain and France. Indeed, the book does not distinguuish carefully enough between Provence, where strong government was rapidly re-established by the Angevins, and where in any case an elaborate administrative system was already in place, and Languedoc, which was far more fragmented. One might also like to hear more about the response of the military orders to the expansion of French royal power west of the Rhône.

The book has a number of flaws. Its attempt to set out the background in Occitania is generally well conceived, but there are errors in the dates (for example, the Pisan-Catalan conquest of Majorca should be dated to 1115 rather than 1116). On one occasion we have Frederick I being crowned king of Arles-Burgundy (rightly), but later in the book he is transmogrified into Frederick II. There are many errors in the spelling of the names of authors: Joseph Shatzmiller becomes "Schatzmiller," and the illustri-

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ous Christopher Cheney is labelled A. Cheney; the bibliography is at times a mess. Editions that are not very reliable or very dated are sometimes used: for example, Benjamin of Tudela's travel narrative. The discussion of the economy of Occitania relies to an excessive degree on an excellent, but very general, book by Robert-Henri Bautier. These are the hallmarks of a Ph.D. dissertation, one that was certainly worth publishing. However, there is a lack of breadth of vision in the author's treatment of southern French history and of the Crusades that sometimes results in a narrowing of focus.

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S. D. CHURCH. *The Household Knights of King John*. (Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, Fourth Series, number 44.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 1999. Pp. xix, 177. $59.95.

In his seminal study of Angevin kingship, published in 1955, J. E. A. Joliffe gave a pessimistic view of the possibility of identifying the household knights of the crown in the period, even for the reign of John when administrative records were more abundant. S. D. Church has therefore done a considerable service not only in discovering who John's knights were, but also in providing information on what they did in royal service. In terms of identification, he has used three lists. The first, for the campaign in Scotland in 1209, names thirty-six knights of the household; the second, for the campaign in Ireland in 1210, names sixteen; the final list relates to John's campaign against the Northerners in 1215 and names forty-seven such men. It would have been very helpful to have been provided with an appendix showing these lists, not least to make clearer whether any men were on more than one list, or, if not, why there was a high turnover. Although some case studies of individual knights are provided in the last chapter, the approach of the book is thematic rather than prosopographical. Thus, although the comment is made that all were already knights at entry to John's household and thus must have received their training elsewhere, there is little said about age, marital status, families, wealth, and geographical origins. Sources are no doubt a limitation, but some of these topics might have been considered.

The actual military role of the household knights is taken for granted and so receives little detailed attention, although evidence is adduced to show just how important they were in logistics and castle command. Their role in royal government in the center and localities is also discussed, although again one might have expected more quantitative analysis of, for instance, the number who also held shrievalties or other offices. It is clear that few received direct monetary reward. Of eleven who held money fiefs, nine were of foreign origin. But they did benefit from ease of access to royal patronage, especially to the custody of feudal and regalian rights accruing to the crown.

Yet the king could not rely on their loyalty. "Time and again they withdrew their support when the king needed it most" (p. 111). This is perhaps the most important conclusion drawn: "the loyalty of these knights . . . became conditional on the king's maintenance of power." As John failed to keep his authority, some of his knights defected, although others did not and were of paramount importance in the military activities of 1215–1216. There is much of interest in this study for those interested in the politics of John's reign and of the way he sought to run his government. It also makes clearer his fall from grace in 1194, and how the minority government of Henry III did not deploy many of the knights of John's household.

The book is less effective as a study of contemporary knightly or gentry society. Broader issues, such as the meaning of the term "knight" in the administrative and military context, are avoided. The quality of research and the interest of detail are high, but the book operates within a rather limited perspective and conceptual framework and on occasion deploys leaps of faith in its general observations. Can we really be certain, for instance, that "no man joined the ranks of the royal knightly establishment without first proving himself with arms" (p. 73)? The conclusion of the book is distressingly short, if not perfunctory. Ideally, more comparative discussion could have been included in it. The size of John's knightly household, estimated at around one hundred—presumably the three lists added together—is compared only with those of a few magnates, but not with those of any other kings (p. 153). The whole work has the feeling of a good doctoral thesis that has been little changed for the press and that might equally well have been published as a series of articles.

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BRUCE M. S. CAMPBELL. *English Seigniorial Agriculture, 1250–1450*. (Cambridge Studies in Historical Geography, number 31.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2000. Pp. xxvi, 517. $95.00.

This book by Bruce M. S. Campbell is a landmark in the economic history of medieval England. Its scope, detail, and accuracy have no previous parallels. Readers may simply want to mine the book for information about the nature of farming in England between 1250 and 1450, but it also makes a significant contribution to debates about the level and pattern of economic development in the medieval era. Evidence is drawn from two main types of documents: manorial accounts, which record the agricultural activities on directly managed demesne farms; and *inquisitiones post mortem* (IPM) extents, which describe and value the land held by tenants-in-chief of the crown at their time of death. Both types of document are well known; what sets this study apart is the sheer quantity used: 9,000 IPM extents dating from 1300–1349, and accounts from over 1,000 manors across the country dating from

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c.1250–1450. Neither class of document is unproblematic. Ecclesiastical landlords are overrepresented among the manorial accounts, as are manors in southeast England and East Anglia. The IPMs counteract these biases, relating only to lay landlords and providing a more even geographical coverage; however, they are also less detailed and less accurate than manorial accounts.

Armed with this impressive bank of data, Campbell proceeds to analyze in detail the farming practices used by manorial lords (he estimates lords directly managed twenty percent of arable land in England c.1300, p.59). In turn, the size of seigniorial farms, land values, types of pastoral production, the relationship between pastoral and arable agriculture, the crops grown, the proportion of produce sold, cropping systems, and levels of productivity are all considered. This descriptive analysis forms the bulk of the book. Two great strengths are the way in which agriculture is treated as an integrated system of production and the author's sensitivity to regional difference. The sheer quantity of evidence and the rigor of its presentation in tables and figures sometimes makes for difficult reading, but this is a result of the precision and detail of data rather than any lack of clarity in the prose. The picture presented of medieval agricultural production is largely an optimistic one. Rather than a crisis of over-stretched arable production on under-fertilized land leading to falling yields, Campbell finds that only a small part of the south Midlands was seriously deficient in pasture, and that numbers of livestock units remained stable rather than declining between 1250 and 1349, despite an expansion in the sown arable area (p. 172). Indeed, there was potential for agriculture to be further intensified and yields increased, given existing levels of knowledge and technology, in the pre-plague era. What held agriculture back was not the limits of natural resources but a lack of demand: labor costs, low grain prices, and poor access to markets made it uneconomic to intensify agriculture further over much of England.

In a final chapter, estimates of agricultural production are used to recalculate the English population c.1300. Given minimum levels of calorific intake necessary for survival, Campbell suggests population levels could have been no more than 4.00–4.25 million (p. 402), considerably lower than the six million suggested by some previous writers. It is here that the book is at its most speculative: if the assumptions about diet and arable land area are correct, the key question is the relative productivity of the peasant sector. It was less commercialized than seigniorial agriculture, but was it more or less productive? Campbell assumes productivity levels were similar, given that peasants were under resourced but more highly motivated. To understand more about seigniorial agriculture, it is now necessary to return to the peasantry. Here lies the answer not only to questions of overall productivity but also to those concerning "lack of demand" in the market. How did peasant and seigniorial agriculture compare, and how did they interact? We need to know more about labor on the seigniorial farms: the servants, laborers, and servile tenants about whom Campbell says little. If lack of demand for grain in the market coexisted with famine situations, surely this points to dire poverty amongst the bulk of the population, and thus to the distribution of wealth as a crucial issue in economic development. Manorial lords appear in much of the book as frustrated capitalists rather than the exploitative overlords of a partially unfree, poverty-stricken population. Campbell has provided us with a wonderfully detailed picture of seigniorial medieval agriculture; the future challenge is to integrate this into our picture of medieval society and economy as a whole.

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DAVID BURR. *The Spiritual Franciscans: From Protest to Persecution in the Century after Saint Francis*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 2001. Pp. xi, 427. $17.00.

As the bibliography to this superb new volume demonstrates, the "Spiritual Franciscans" have been very popular among historians for much of the twentieth century and especially since 1960. Many scholars have written important book-length studies of individual figures. Hundreds of articles have been written on various aspects of the history and thought of the Spirituals. Two works of general scope were written in the twentieth century. One, by Decima Douie, concentrated on the Italian *fraticelli* (*The Nature and Effect of the Heresy of the Fraticelli* [1932]); the other, by Raoul Manselli, concentrated on the Provençal Spirituals (*Spirituali e Beghini in Provenza* [1959]). Both were outstanding contributions. However, much work has been done over the past few decades, and both are now dated. Moreover, neither really brought the French and Italian "wings" or groups together into a comprehensive study of the movement.

One of the many virtues of David Burr's book is that it studies both groups (and underlines the differences between them as well as the themes and concerns that united them). It is also exhaustive in its scholarship. The author has read and absorbed all the important primary and secondary work in the area, and he is the leading authority in the world on one of the key intellectuals in the movement, Peter Olivi. Burr also is a beautiful prose stylist, and his judgment here, as always, is sure.

Another of the volume's virtues is the way in which it fruitfully complicates the category "Spiritual." Burr acknowledges that, to some extent, the category is a construct of modern historians. First of all, the term is somewhat anachronistic as applied to thirteenth-century Franciscans. Second, it obscures the differences between some of the individual groups to whom the adjective would later be applied and the issues by which they were absorbed. Burr recognizes that it is problematic to lump together the southern French

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Spirituals and the Italian *fraticelli*, for example, or the great French intellectual leader Olivi with the Italian apocalypticist Angelo Clareno. Poverty was a concern for both, but for the former the issue was poor use and its source, while for the latter it was obedience and the degree to which the order had lapsed from primitive usages. Again, Burr observes, helpfully, that the Spiritual controversy was not just one controversy chronologically. Instead, we have a controversy that occurred in several stages, first at the provincial level until the 1290s. During the last decade of the thirteenth century, however, the papacy began to take an interest in the zealots and to move against them. Then, in the first decade of the fourteenth century, the papacy organized a sustained persecution of them. Finally, in 1317, we pass a point at which the Spirituals ceased to be a dissenting but loyal movement within the order and the church and became a renegade heretical order that viewed the pope as the Antichrist and felt it had to sever its ties with a church so corrupt. So there is plenty of complexity when we refer to the "Spirituals" or the Spiritual controversy.

Nonetheless, by the early fourteenth century, Burr observes, his subject was recognized (by inquisitors, among others) as the "Spiritual" component of the Franciscan order (and their lay followers). More importantly, the reality to which the term refers certainly existed before the nomenclature. Indeed, by the late 1270s, we begin to see groups with common interests and grievances (not to mention factions) forming. If Burr's subtle and important distinctions greatly add to our understanding of the Spirituals, so does his concentration on the commonalities. Both French and Italian Spirituals felt the Franciscan vow bound the friars not just to renunciation of ownership but to observation of poor use. Both lacked confidence in the leadership not only of their order but of their church. Both expressed this pessimism (as well as optimism for a renewed Franciscan observance) in terms of a well-developed apocalyptic scenario. Both had interest in mystical experience and associated it with a dawning new age in ecclesiastical history. Thus, it remains true that the Spirituals were never so close or coherent as to share a completely common agenda. But the commonalities were strong enough to allow them to resist leaders of their own order and, when the time came, the papacy.

To summarize the book in this way is to do it some injustice, because these large conclusions emerge only at the end of thirteen chapters of very close analysis of early Franciscan sources, "protospirituals," the *usus pauper* controversy, the Council of Vienne and the collapse of the Clementine settlement, the "blitzkrieg" of John XXII, a close analysis of several case histories in southern France, Ubertino da Casale, and Clareno. No other scholar has carried off so masterful an analysis of such disparate figures and movements; no other could. The fruit of a lifetime of careful study of its subject, this examination of the Spirituals will not soon be surpassed. In fact, it is done so well there may well be no need, or possibility, of surpassing it.

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OLIVER JENS SCHMITT. *Das venezianische Albanien (1392–1479)*. (Südosteuropäische Arbeiten, number 110.) München: R. Oldenbourg. 2001. Pp. 701. DM 148.

"In order to secure strategic and economic interests, a 'Western' state intervenes into a conflict in the Balkans. First troops are deployed, then civilian experts and officials dispatched. A protectorate is established and the administration of the crisis zone is organized. In the beginning, the locals are sympathetic. However, when the sense of external threat diminishes their enthusiasm for the protector shrinks" (p. 15). These introductory remarks are neither about Bosnia and Herzegovina nor about Kosovo in the late twentieth century but about fifteenth-century Albania. In a voluminous monograph, the outgrowth of a Ph.D. dissertation, Oliver Jens Schmitt covers Venetian rule over northern Albania during the nine decades from the Signoria's conquest of Durazzo (Durrës) in 1392 to its retreat from Scutari (Shkodër) in the spring of 1479.

In the modern historiography on southeastern Europe, Venice is an almost forgotten empire. Only recently did authors like Wendy Bracewell or Larry Wolff rediscover the Adriatic as an integral part of the western Balkans. Whereas Bracewell and Wolff concentrate on the early modern Venetian-Ottoman-Habsburg frontier zone in Dalmatia, Schmitt deals with the late medieval frontier situation between the Serenissima and the Ottoman Empire in Albania. In his view, the occupation of Durazzo, Scutari, and surroundings by the Republic of San Marco was triggered by a vital interest in securing the maritime passage from the Adriatic into the eastern Mediterranean, preventing the Ottoman westward expansion from reaching the Adriatic coast and pacifying the unruly Albanian littoral.

The author starts out with a masterful portrait of Albanian society on the eve of Venetian rule. He then analyzes Venice's penetration of Albanian territory and its administration, economy, nobility, and culture, as well as Catholic and Orthodox churches. In great detail, the Signoria's attempts at reorganizing the legal system, trade and agriculture, customs, and, in particular, the fiscal system and defense, are covered. A special interest is devoted to the decades of low-intensity warfare against the Ottomans before the "long Turkish War" of 1463–1479, and to this war itself. In an impressive chapter on war-induced changes in everyday life, social relations, and state-society relations, the author convincingly argues that the erosion of the central state's *Gewaltmonopol* resulted in the emergence of the *kanun*, northern Albania's common law, including *besa*, a special form of blood revenge. It is one of the ironies of history that,

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five centuries later, in 1997, in the wake of fifty years of communist dictatorship, the reemergence of *kanun* and *besa* triggered yet another Western intervention into Albania.

The book is based primarily on the vast materials in the Archivio di Stato di Venezia. In addition, the polyglot author has made use of a large amount of published sources and historical studies in Latin, Italian, German, French, and English, as well as in a number of Balkan languages, among them Albanian, Greek, and Serbo-Croatian. Along with a detailed bibliography and a thorough index, the book contains two useful maps: one on the regions, noble families and clans of Albania (p. 64), the other on its towns and fortresses (p. 80)—and a short documentary appendix of four Venetian reports on the war years 1466–1467, as well as a helpful concordance of place names in Italian, Albanian, Greek, and Southslav.

Schmitt's study of Venetian Albania, which won the annual award of the German Südosteuropa-Gesellschaft, is social history at its best. It is a well-researched, balanced, and highly readable account of a crucial episode in the history of the eastern Adriatic. The author has fully reached his aim of "drawing a picture as coherent as possible of a turbulent time" (p. 21).

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COLIN RICHMOND. *The Paston Family in the Fifteenth Century, Endings*. New York: Manchester University Press. 2000. Pp. x, 262. $74.95.

This is the third and final volume of Colin Richmond's idiosyncratic and problematic study of the Paston family. Richmond has been reading the Paston letters for over forty years, and it is hard to imagine anyone knowing them better. He embarked on the project because of a feeling that historians who used the Pastons to illustrate this or that point about the fifteenth century or fifteenth-century families did not give them "their due." But, as he himself comments, giving them their due is no easy matter (p. 238). For Richmond, reaching that goal meant presenting as complete a picture as possible of the Pastons, their central preoccupations, and the people with whom they interacted. Throughout his focus is on individuals and their personalities, an approach consistent with his belief that the only "truly satisfying explanation . . . that satisfies historical truth" is that it is "strictly personal" (p. 208). In this volume as well as its two predecessors, Richmond does create persuasive and sympathetic portraits of his subjects. Most notable, perhaps, is his appreciation of John II, whose father strongly disapproved of his courtly and chivalric personality but whom Richmond credits with an important contribution to the Pastons' eventual recovery of Caister Castle. He also paints a more favorable picture of Margaret, who is often dismissed as cold, stingy, and calculating.

Beyond this, Richmond refuses to go. He is very critical of what he calls historians' "natural vice," claiming to know about the past, although he does not explain why anyone should read history if that is true. To avoid this trap, his method is to let the Pastons speak for themselves and to eschew any effort to place them in context or to draw larger conclusions from their lives. He takes for granted that his readers are familiar with the work of historians who have previously "flooded" the fifteenth century with light and can draw conclusions of their own. Underlying this strategy are the assumptions that "facts" or documents are transparent and the more "facts" the better, a kind of positivism that ultimately makes the book as unreadable as the analytical history its author condemns so roundly.

Richmond has surrounded his discussion of the Pastons with the considerable information he has uncovered about the people who appear in the letters, no matter how peripheral they were to the family or whether the material adds anything to his account. Thus two pages on Edmund Bohun end: "Knowing a little more about Edmund Bohun has not amounted to knowing much" (pp. 153–55), and six on James Arblaster with the admission that he was not, after all, "a servant of the Pastons" (pp. 179–85). Although Richmond pronounces "The Age of the English Antiquarian . . . long past" (p. 250), the result of his piling up of this material is an antiquarian volume. As such, it supplements Francis Blomfield's eighteenth-century *Essay Towards a Topograhical History of the County of Norfolk* (in eleven volumes) and will undoubtedly function as a useful reference work for scholars working on fifteenth-century East Anglia.

Richmond's renunciation of interpretation notwithstanding, he does, of course, have opinions about fifteenth-century England. These are frequently presented in the form of questions, giving them a tentative quality that relieves him of responsibility. He also regularly muses at length about subjects such as morality and war or violence, the function of war, and the response to newcomers in fifteenth-century East Anglia. It is hard to be patient with these rambling discussions, which reach such obvious conclusions as that members of the nobility and gentry got away with murder in fifteenth-century East Anglia and that some newcomers won easy acceptance and others did not. Richmond's discussion of war seems particularly misguided. He asserts that English kings had to choose between war abroad and war at home; they could not have peace in both arenas. Starting from this assumption, he blames large-scale domestic violence on Edward IV and Henry VII because they refused to commit themselves to war with France. Contrary to these assertions, Henry VII chose a third alternative that eventually succeeded: renouncing war, building up the resources of the crown, and reducing the amount of disorder at home.

All in all, this is a frustrating volume, unlikely to commend itself to historians because of Richmond's

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contempt for the historical enterprise as we normally understand it or to general audiences because of its density.

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EUROPE: EARLY MODERN AND MODERN

SHMUEL FEINER. *Haskalah and History: The Emergence of a Modern Jewish Historical Consciousness*. Translated by CHAYA NAOR and SONDRA SILVERSTON. Oxford and Portland, Oreg.: Littmann Library of Jewish Civilization. 2002. Pp. x, 404. $67.50.

The thesis of Shmuel Feiner's meticulously researched book is that the Jewish Enlightenment movement (Haskalah) in Germany, Austria, and Russia, which has been portrayed since the nineteenth century as either ahistorical or antihistorical, was in fact permeated by an acute historical consciousness. In the process of substantiating this argument, Feiner has produced what may be a definitive account of the Haskalah in its different manifestations, since the question of history turns out to be a superb lens for refracting many of the central tenets of the movement.

Feiner begins by describing the difference between traditional Jewish historiography and "maskilic" ("enlightened") history. Traditional chronicles had no use for "world" or "universal" history, focusing rather only on the *Heilsgeschichte* of the Jews. Such history was therefore driven by theological doctrine. The Enlighteners (maskilim) rejected traditional history, but although they did not typically write histories of their own, Feiner argues that they nevertheless cultivated an alternative historiosophy. In addition to translations of historical works from European languages, in their philosophical and publicistic writings they used figures from Jewish history, such as Moses Maimonides and Isaac Abravanel, as demonstrations that the Haskalah had historical legitimacy. The past fed propaganda for the political battles of the present. By the early nineteenth century, a new hero was added to this pantheon: Moses Mendelssohn, the putative founder of the German Haskalah. Indeed, the image of Mendelssohn, often detached from the historical Mendelssohn, rose and fell as did the image of the Jewish Enlightenment itself.

One figure who generated considerable controversy within the Haskalah was Benedict Spinoza. Whether one accepted Spinoza as a proto-maskil or rejected him as a heretic became a touchstone for distinguishing "moderate" and "radical" strands of Enlightenment. It would have been interesting for Feiner to have developed further the role of heretics in the historical consciousness of the Haskalah. While he does allude to the treatments of such figures as Elisha ben Abuya and Shabbetai Zvi, he does not delve at length into the question of heresy. Jesus, for example, receives no mention, even though a number of Jewish writers in Germany and Eastern Europe struggled with how to treat Judaism's most famous heretic.

In Austria, the Haskalah developed its historical ideas in polemics against Hasidism, the pietistic movement that the maskilim viewed as the worst example of medieval obscurantism. In Russia, writers like Abraham Mapu turned to the Bible as an ideal age, contrasting it to the authoritarianism and factionalism of later Jewish history, including their own contemporary context. When all of these different forays into history are added up, they amount to a significant, if "unscientific" historiographical alternative to the *Wissenschaft des Judentums*, the German Jewish scholars who have hitherto been considered the sole repository of historical work.

One of the great virtues of Feiner's account is that he is not only interested in elite, literary culture (the maskilim never numbered more than a few hundred in any given place or generation). In what is probably the most path-breaking chapter, he demonstrates how the ideas of the maskilim were popularized and disseminated through Hebrew and Yiddish newspapers, as well as in the popular works of authors like Isaac Meyer Dik and Kalman Schulman. One route of dissemination that Feiner does not treat was in Russian, a language that was increasingly adopted, especially by urban Jews, toward the end of the nineteenth century.

By the 1870s, the Haskalah vision of history as a didactic project to "Europeanize" the Jews came under attack. Peretz Smolenskin, a writer and editor in Russia, criticized the Haskalah on "proto-nationalist" grounds for denigrating the national virtues of the Jews in favor of assimilation into European national cultures. Not surprisingly, Mendelssohn became his *bête noir*. After the pogroms of 1881 and the rise of Jewish nationalism in Eastern Europe, Smolenskin's critical views were adopted by the literary successors to the Haskalah. Now, writers became increasingly sympathetic to radical and heretical figures from the past as they eschewed the more moderate views of the maskilim. Yet they also sought to affirm the unity of Jewish history and were therefore more willing, for example, to see virtues in the previously despised Hasidim. In their rejection of European acculturation, these secular thinkers ironically returned to some of the insular elements of traditional Jewish historiography. At the same time, as Feiner shrewdly acknowledges, the proponents of the new "nationalist" or "anti-maskilic" history owed much more than they were prepared to admit to the historical views of the Haskalah, which had prepared the ground for its own demise.

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ROBERTO ROMANI. *National Character and Public Spirit in Britain and France, 1750–1914*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2002. Pp. ix, 348. $65.00.

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Concepts such as national character and national characteristics are commonly used. They can be immensely powerful; and, at a time when right-wing parties across Europe appear to be cashing in on national identity by raising fears of its dilution, this power is again particularly apparent. Yet, powerful as the concepts may be, they remain singularly nebulous. In this wide-ranging, forcefully argued, and intellectually sophisticated monograph, Roberto Romani begins by stressing that national character has to be conceptualized properly to enable any serious debate or discussion. Implicitly he rejects some of the recent essays that have sought to identify and chart the development of Englishness, Frenchness, or whatever since, for Romani, the real issue is how such depictions of national character have been put to use. Particularly he is concerned with how depictions of national character have been used by political philosophers and significant social scientists. With his focus on the period from the mid-eighteenth to the early nineteenth centuries, Romani's "main thread is variation in the discussion of national dispositions conveying the issues of people's suitability for liberty" (p. 3).

The book is divided chronologically into two parts. The first deals with perceptions of national character in France and Britain from the Enlightenment, through the upheaval of the French Revolution, on to the mid-nineteenth century. From Montesquieu to Alexis de Tocqueville, Romani argues, the French were much preoccupied with self-criticism. At the same time, there were significant shifts in awareness and understanding. During the Enlightenment, the nation was perceived essentially as the leisured class; but in the aftermath of the revolution the nation was extended to include all citizens. For most thinkers of the Enlightenment, national character was something molded by climate and by national institutions; reform the institutions, they believed, and a moral nation brimming with virtue might be established. The experience of the revolution shattered such aspirations. In the early nineteenth century, national character was perceived increasingly as the root cause of the type and style of national institutions. In Britain over the same period, by contrast, there was no massive constitutional dislocation. Those who addressed the issues of national characteristics did so in an environment that tolerated free expression, and they were able to employ styles that ranged between the conceptual and the popular. There were, moreover, in Whiggism and the notions of English liberty perceptions of national character that could appeal to, and be drawn upon, by conservatives, liberals, and radicals. Nevertheless, over the century British thinkers also increasingly dismissed ideas that universal criteria such as civic virtue might be reproduced anywhere as they turned to a perspective that accepted each nation as rooted in a distinct cultural reality. Romani concludes this part of his book with an illuminating and carefully nuanced discussion of how British thinkers wrestled with what they saw as the problem of the Irish character from the Act of Union in 1801 to the Great Famine.

The second, marginally shorter part of the book, assesses the changing shape and use of national character from the mid-nineteenth century until World War I under the combined impact of the new intellectual framework of the "social sciences" and the developing physical environment resulting from recent economic achievements. British thinkers began increasingly to discuss the need for a social dimension to their understanding of citizenship; the problem, as they saw it, was to make mass society work, and the development of altruistic traits and an emphasis on neighborly relations within society appeared essential. In France, where the nineteenth century had been punctuated by revolution and coup, the focus was much more on how to generate social cohesion and thereby political stability.

Romani wears his learning lightly. He ranges confidently from Montesquieu via David Hume and James Bryce to Emile Durkheim, taking in the ideas of some lesser intellects whose work, often popular and influential with their contemporaries, helps to flesh out the argument. Throughout he emphasises the importance of context, and that national character was discussed neither solely in the abstract nor simply in order to solve practical problems. The two consistently merged. The content of the book is dense and detailed and, at times, the key threads and arguments become a little obscured. Dangerous and simplistic notions surrounding national character need to be confronted; proper conceptualization is necessary. Romani's book will not be the last word on the subject, but it is a significant contribution.

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CHRISTOPHE CHARLE. *La Crise des sociétés imperiales: Allemagne, France, Grande-Bretagne (1900–1940)*. (Essai d'histoire sociale comparé.) Paris: Editions du Seuil. 2001. Pp. 596. € 25.92.

Christophe Charle attempts several tasks in this ambitious study. He suggests that political history can no longer make satisfactory sense of an increasingly remote twentieth century that nonetheless includes periods, such as Vichy France and Nazi Germany, that are still highly contentious. Instead, he turns to social history for the necessary analytical perspective. However, his continental focus requires a concept that will allow social history to explain wars and diplomacy while also accounting for key differences among nation-states. Charle chooses "imperialism." Rejecting exclusively economic or colonial definitions, he adapts that given by the pacifist intellectual Romain Rolland in 1914. "Imperialism" is understood as the bid by the most powerful and cohesive nation-states of later nineteenth-century Europe to achieve external dominance by various cultural, economic, political, and colonial means. Only Britain, France, and Germany

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were in this league, and the result was intense rivalry. Charle uses the internal dynamic and external interactions of these societies to create a master narrative of the European "crisis" that opened with World War I and reached its nadir in World War II.

Based on impressive mastery of the historiography in three languages, the resulting analysis is anything but reductivist. Yet its own logic subordinates political, intellectual, and cultural factors to social processes. Central among the latter is the challenge mounted against the elites by social groups that sought inclusion and upward mobility as a result of urban and industrial transformation. The nation-state offered a framework in which this challenge could be met in a variety of ways, including reform, "imperialist" expansion, and combinations of both. The lineaments of the argument are scarcely new. "Social imperialism" and the German *Sonderweg* are classic concepts. The outstanding merit of this book is to map the "special paths" of three societies, not one, and to explore the very different forms of imperialism that served to externalize the unresolved tensions and dense cultural antagonisms that each path produced. If the individual cases are often familiar, the rigor of the comparison provides novel insights. Two examples must suffice. Charle highlights critical moments when social coalitions favoring reform were frustrated by a structural impasse. This allows him to draw a striking parallel between Weimar Germany and Popular Front France, with the latter's domestic crisis in 1940 echoing that of Germany in 1933. Similarly, the crucial turning point before World War I when Germany switched from colonial to continental "imperialism" marked Germany off from Britain and France. Yet the concept of "imperialism" allows radical German colonialism in the European east to be compared (as well as contrasted) with the conduct of all three powers outside Europe.

With such a sharply focused thesis, it is inevitable that more questions are raised than answered. When the social history of only three nations (however dominant) accounts for the international relations of a continent, the explanation of crucial episodes risks becoming arbitrary—if only because the pressure to adopt an "imperialist" posture by weaker powers was so intense. Rolland, for one, attributed a leading role to the imperialisms of Russia and Austria-Hungary in starting World War I. 1945, not 1940, would seem the logical terminus since wartime provides the sharpest evidence of the divergent paths of the three "imperialist" societies and of the depth of the European crisis. In fact, there is an excellent pen portrait of the social pathology of National Socialism that drove the regime into a suicidal war of conquest. And the author hints at a further volume that would explain how wartime cataclysm produced successor states in France and Germany that resolved social tensions, dismantled colonialism, and rebuilt Europe, while the successful British response to war hampered subsequent modernization. The argument is worth pursuing. Also, it is never quite clear whether Charle sees social structures and dynamics as a distinct and privileged source of historical causality or whether he is merely emphasizing the social aspect of phenomena that have intrinsic political, cultural, or economic attributes. The question is vital for the claims and practice of social history. At several points, the argument turns on cultural representations, such as the negative imagery of the enemy generated by "imperial" societies before 1914, or the gap between social reality and ideological projection that Nazi Germany filled with the "nihilistic revolution" of a racial utopia. The causal weight of such cultural phenomena remains unassessed, however, as does their status in the argument as a whole. Still, to provoke the question of how social and cultural history might interact is a further measure of the value of this book.

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JULITTA SUOMELA. *Rajantakainen Venäjä: Venäläisten emigranttien aatteelliset ja poliittiset mielipiteet Euroopan venäläisissä sanomalehdissä vuosina 1918–1940* [Russia Abroad: The Ideological and Political Views of Russian Émigrés in European Russian Newspapers between 1918 and 1940]. (Bibliotheca Historica, number 67.) Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 2001. Pp. 266.

Between 1918 and 1921, as many as three million middle and upper-class Russians fled to Europe as their country fell into a bloody civil war. Believing themselves to be as temporary political refugees, émigré politicians, journalists, and writers put aside their differences and prepared, at a moment's notice, to return home if the Bolsheviks were forced from power. But as the Bolsheviks emerged victorious in mid-1921, émigré leaders resumed their pre-October 1917 squabbles, using their newly established newspapers to promote ideas about life as Russians abroad. Julitta Suomela contributes to our knowledge of this little-known corner of émigré history and reminds us what a talented, stubborn, contentious, and idealistic bunch these educated and privileged Russians were as they slowly made the transition from being temporary refugees to becoming permanent residents abroad.

Suomela concentrates on four centers of émigré newspaper publishing between 1918 and 1940: Helsinki, Prague, Berlin, and Paris. By comparing the response of each newspaper center to ten key events in the 1920s and 1930s, Suomela demonstrates that as the years passed, elite Russians living abroad became less concerned with the overthrow of the Bolsheviks and more philosophical about the meaning of Russia and Russian identity. The shift from planned action to philosophical musing was a response to Bolshevik success in maintaining power, but also to the international recognition the Soviet Union received at the Rapallo Conference in 1923. The emergence of a

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world view distinct from that of the Soviet Union was signaled in the discussion of V. I. Lenin's successor in the émigré press, which bet against Joseph Stalin even as he tightened his grip on power in 1929.

As Europe edged toward war in the late 1930s, émigré leaders failed to influence international affairs as they argued about the correct expression of patriotism for Mother Russia. Pavel Miliukov, a veteran liberal democrat and former minister of foreign affairs in the Provisional Government that ruled Russia between February and October 1917, believed that Russians should only serve in the armies of countries allied with Russia, thereby helping to protect the homeland without supporting the Soviets. Alexander Kerensky, the former leader of the Provisional Government, came full circle from being a bitter enemy of the Soviets to urging his fellow émigrés to serve in the Soviet army in the event of war. Some of his contemporaries believed Kerensky to be mad, but perhaps he was little different than the millions of Soviet citizens who, like him, believed the promise of democracy in the 1937 Soviet Constitution. Monarchists never forgave the Bolsheviks for executing their beloved leader and refused to fight for a Russia under Soviet authority. Once the Red Army invaded Finland in 1939, the émigré community demonstrated a second moment of unity in its opposition to the Soviet Union.

Suomela has read a staggering number of newspapers and secondary works in a handful of languages. Most of the newspapers can be found in the University of Helsinki library, thanks to the foresight of Andrei Igelström, a Russian émigré working in the university's Slavonic Collection in the 1920s, who ordered as many contemporary émigré publications as he could. Suomela pays too much attention to content at the expense of context, overlooking basic information about audiences, circulation rates, sponsors, or the role of the newspapers in the broader community of Russian émigrés who were less politically or publicly motivated. Important segments of the émigré community are ignored, such as the Russian Orthodox Church abroad, writers, and artists. Remarkably, the "Russian Idea" is never mentioned, even though it influenced the thinking of the émigré community and the Soviet leadership. A comparison of intellectual activities in Soviet Russia and among émigrés in the 1920s might have revealed a dual outburst of creative energies and optimism about the future that was made possible only by the collapse of the tsarist autocracy. The reader is left wondering about the titles chosen for the newspapers: were they merely expressions of nostalgia for a world lost (e.g. *Vozrozhdenie/Renaissance*) or hope for the future (e.g. *Novyi Mir/New World*), or did they reveal something deeper about Russian identity?

The book's otherwise readable style suffers from careless editing. The text is sprinkled with spelling and factual errors (e.g. the date of the October Revolution is given as 1918 on p. 12) and in consistencies (e.g. differing renditions of the book's title on the cover and title page). The absence of chapter numbers gives the impression that the book is still in manuscript form, and the illustrations are presented without source references and with no explanation (e.g. the puzzling use for the cover of a post-Soviet poster depicting a medieval Russian knight before a gravestone containing the tsarist double-headed eagle, the hammer and sickle, and a question mark). For non-Finnish readers, the English summary (pp. 257–60) is inelegant and filled with incomprehensible word-for-word translations.

These reservations aside, this book reminds us that the old Russia that lived on for several decades after the Bolshevik's rise to power was vibrant, even if handicapped by idealism, discord, and hubris. The book should be mandatory for anyone interested in a readable account of newspapers long ago forgotten and now seldom read.

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Kenneth Carleton. *Bishops and Reform in the English Church, 1520–1559.* (Studies in Modern British Religious History, number 3.) Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell. 2001. Pp. 226. $75.00.

Beginning life as a doctoral dissertation, Kenneth Carleton's book examines the ideologies underlying the practices of the English episcopate between 1520 and 1559, seeking to illuminate bishops' understanding of their jobs through the history of ideas. Using this approach, Carleton discovers that bishops on all sides of the Reformation often shared professional values, just as they often shared a humanistic education. The values of these bishops became the foundations for the Anglican episcopate.

Carleton admits that there were sharp theological disagreements over issues such as the Eucharist, but he does not let us forget that these disputes occurred in a context of common ideals and conflicted loyalties. Most of these bishops were veteran clergy and many were old friends and colleagues, even if they disagreed about the authority of the king over the church, or over the theology of the moment. All of this lends a human dimension to their actions.

The reasons for these congruencies are their educations and continental experiences that made them a part of a common theological world. Through preference, diplomatic assignments, or exile, many of the bishops were deeply involved in pan-European ideological debates. Cardinal Reginald Pole is an excellent example of this, but so is John Hooper, who spent much of the 1540s in Strasbourg. Of course, the continental experience of English bishops was augmented by the presence in England of foreign colleagues, such as Lorenzo Campeggio, bishop of Salisbury from 1524 until his deprivation in 1534, and by eminent Protestant divines like Martin Bucer and Peter Martyr Vermigli during Edward's reign. Consequently, their approach to their offices must be understood in that broader context.

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The office of bishop was not well defined. Although the episcopate was ancient, there was no settled ideology about what bishops did as "overseers." This allowed conflicting interpretations of episcopal duty in the Reformation, but this also allowed for creative interpretations that made the office flexible enough to survive in the Protestant English church. However, although the bishops wished to defend the church against heresy, exercise hospitality, and ordain clergy, these duties were subject to political pressures and ideological tensions, especially those created by the royal supremacy.

One important discovery made by Carleton is the role of humanistic scholarship in informing the bishops' roles. The early Tudor bishops had been trained in scholastic theology; those who came after were infected with the new learning, with its insistence that Christ was the true bishop of the church, and that all bishops had the duty to preach in imitation of Christ. A corollary of this was the assumption that if Christ was "magnus episcopos," the bishop of Rome was not. This conclusion allowed most of these men to accept the royal supremacy while disagreeing about the nature of the Mass.

Another feature of their shared episcopal culture was the ideal of the bishop as pastor. John Fisher was held up as a model pastoral bishop by Cardinal Pole, but Pole's ideas about the bishop's duties had much in common with those of Bucer and his Protestant followers. In fact, most bishops agreed on the need for residence, preaching, and an educated clergy, harkening back to scriptural principles. The variations in episcopal practice were often responses to external influences and local conditions rather than fundamental differences between Reformed and Catholic models of episcopal behavior.

In studying all the bishops between 1520 and 1559, Carleton has supplied a nice corrective to histories of the Reformation that forget that Catholics and Protestants sprang from a common culture, explaining why the episcopal office was able to survive in England instead of perishing as it did in most Protestant areas. The English episcopate's flexibility and ability to work with the crown, built on shared ideas about the role of the bishop, meant that it needed neither repression nor abolition.

Carleton has compiled a prosopographical appendix of all those who held episcopal office under Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Mary. This is cross referenced to appendixes showing bishops by dioceses and collegiate affiliations, making this a useful reference work.

Carleton has written a solid study that prompts questions that go beyond his mandate, to the ways these ideological concepts informed the daily practice of the bishops. In that sense, it would have been useful if he had known of Scott Wenig's *Straightening the Altars: The Ecclesiastical Vision and Pastoral Achievements of the Progressive Bishops under Elizabeth I 1559–1579* (2000). It is equally unfortunate that Wenig did not have access to Carleton's study. Together the two books open up the works and beliefs of Tudor bishops in exciting ways, making them much more than mere pawns of the Supreme Heads of the Church in England.

NORMAN JONES
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IAN GREEN. *Print and Protestantism in Early Modern England*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2000. Pp. xxiii, 691. $110.00.

This is a very short review of a very long book—590 pages of text followed by eighty-seven pages of appendixes—and has the limitations imposed by brevity. The book is Ian Green's second volume of what is intended to be a trilogy, the first on catechisms having been published in 1996, and the third on religious instruction yet to come. In essence it is a commentary on the more than 700 works categorized as "divinity," first published between 1536 and 1700, which were bestsellers or steady sellers, defined as works published in at least five editions in the course of thirty years. These are discussed in chapters on the various editions of the Bible; the works—concordances, commentaries, dictionaries, abridgements—intended to aid the reader in biblical studies; works on prayer, meditation, and the proper preparation for communion; works on the inner life of faith; works intended to be entertaining as well as edifying; ballads and chapbooks; and, finally the metrical psalms, which in the famous Sternhold and Hopkins version went through more than 800 editions by 1729, surpassing the total for completed editions of the Bible (614) and the Book of Common Prayer (526 for both the Elizabethan and the 1662 revision) and in turn surpassed only by the primer, *The ABC with the Catechism*, first printed in 1549 and then reprinted in two to four editions yearly in the Elizabethan and early Stuart period and perhaps two million copies in the years 1677–1700 (pp.183–84). Where known, Green also provides information on whether the various editions of a work were published in black letter or roman type (apparently the former was regarded as easier to read than the latter), whether published in folio or smaller sizes, and what its price might be bound or unbound, ranging from a penny or two for a ballad to £9 for the famous polyglot Bible produced during the Interregnum (p. 110).

Facts matter, and it is surely significant that William Perkins's collected works appeared in at least seven editions between 1597 and 1617, while Lancelot Andrewes's collected sermons went through only three editions in the thirty years after publication, despite the sponsorship of William Laud. Green is not unmindful of the implications of his massive assemblage of discrete facts. First of all, he argues that the significance of polemical and controversial works has been vastly overemphasized, and while not denying that the Marprelate tracts or Richard Montagu's *New gagg for an old goose* were influential at the moment, he notes that such works do not appear in his list of

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bestsellers and steady sellers. "How might the impact of the Reformation in England appear" if instead of such polemics, we paid more attention to the bestsellers and steady sellers of the day (p. 3)? What authors such as William Perkins, John Preston, and Richard Sibbes shared with Richard Hooker, Lancelot Andrewes, and Jeremy Taylor as educated clerics with pastoral as well as doctrinal concerns was "as important as what divided them" (p. 8), a point repeated later when Green concludes that "the majority" of the works he has considered were "edifying and didactic" rather than polemical, and that neglect of this signal fact has led to the presentation of early modern English Protestantism in terms of the "highly colored antitheses of 'Anglican' and 'puritan', when what these groups shared in pastoral terms was at least as important as what divided them in doctrine and church government" (p. 557).

The question is: important for whom and in what context? Doubtless Sir Robert Harley and Sir Thomas Aston had much in common, not only as leaders of major county families but in their detestation of Archbishop Laud; however, Harley was a devout Puritan and Aston a devotee of the Prayer Book, and they fought on opposite sides in the Civil War. In 1585 Edmund Bunny published *A booke of Christian exercise, appertaining to resolution . . . by R.P.* Bunny was a Calvinist who dedicated the work to his patron, Archbishop Grindal; R.P. was Robert Parsons, the English Jesuit, which fact Bunny did not disguise, although he did remove obvious Catholic elements from this substantial treatise of devotion and Christian living. At some level of generality, Protestant and Catholic Reformations had much in common, but there seems little point in dropping the distinction between the two because what they shared was at least as important as what divided them.

Green seems to have arrived at this peculiar position in part from his conviction, not in itself unreasonable, that publishers, printers, and booksellers understood the market: "commercial instincts," he argues, "were not incompatible with Protestant zeal" and "probably a clear majority . . . came down on the side of profit, and this evidently had a strong impact of what texts they produced" (p. 24). A string of books that never sold would undoubtedly have put a publisher out of business, which is not to deny surely that works of controversy were published, as were hundreds of works publishers obviously wanted to see in print that never succeeded in reaching five editions in thirty years.

PAUL S. SEAVER
Stanford University

ALASTAIR J. MANN. *The Scottish Book Trade, 1500–1720: Print Commerce and Print Control in Early Modern Scotland*. East Linton, Scotland: Tuckwell Press. 2000. Pp. 308.

Alastair J. Mann surveys the Scottish book trade in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries with a knowledge that comes from prodigious research in Scottish national and burgh archives as well as the records of Dutch, Belgian, and English cities and organizations. Most of the discussion focuses on the relation between sites of authority—burgh, church, crown and privy council, law court—and the production and circulation of books. A final chapter presents an economic analysis of the trade based on the information in 150 testaments (*ca.* 1570-*ca.* 1760) of men and women active in the trade and in H. G. Aldis's *List of Books Printed in Scotland before 1700* (1904; revised 1970). An appendix presents the financial information from each of the testaments. A second appendix lists "particular" copyright patents granted between 1540 and 1708, and a third lists officially banned books from 1574 to 1706.

The book assumes a reader well versed in Scottish history and recent historiography. Such a reader will find detailed discussion of the circulation and proscription of printed texts that figure in the religious and political events of the seventeenth century. Other readers will glean a somewhat predictable narrative of increasing print production and circulation, especially in and after the mid-seventeenth century, and an accompanying shift over the years from religious to secular matter. But Mann is not interested in a general narrative or argument. He focuses on topics: how burgh patronage contributed to the development of the trade, what kinds of licensing and copyright existed, how the government regulated the trade, what forms of censorship were practiced and by whom. Each topic is developed in a chapter with a wealth of evidence from the archives. The chapters work best as individual essays. Since each topical discussion traverses the two-hundred-year range of the book as a whole, when read in sequence, a sense of unproductive repetition joins with the abundance of detailed evidence to create a numbing effect.

It would be a mistake, however, to let the organizational weakness of the book detract from the interest the Scottish book trade holds, not only for historians of Scotland but also for historians of the book. As Mann notes, the Scottish trade has been largely ignored in discussion of early modern anglophone printing. Yet the Scottish trade existed from the early sixteenth century, developing alongside and in contrast with its counterparts in England and the Low Countries. It offers a compelling case study for two particular reasons. First, the absence of a guild centered around printing activity resulted in the active involvement of the burghs in overseeing the trade. Burgh councils and courts were publishers and patrons as well as licensers and arbitrators of trade disputes. This decentralized civic involvement and authority presents, of course, a marked contrast to the English book trade in the same period, and, more important, it offers a basis for investigating and thinking about the spread of literacy and "polite letters" within an altered paradigm.

The second matter is more complex. Religious dissenters in Scotland, like their counterparts in England,

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relied on overseas presses for printing. The absence of centralized control over the book trade, the relatively small scale of native production, and the extended period of religio-political conflict, especially the Covenanting years, made the international trade in books particularly significant for Scotland. These factors, combined with the absence of restrictions on the importation of bound books (such as existed in England), made bookselling an especially significant aspect of the trade. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, Scottish booksellers served not only Scotland but also the northern British Isles and the colonial markets in North America. Mann succeeds in bringing early modern Scottish book history into serious consideration.

ALEXANDRA HALASZ
Dartmouth College

BARBARA M. BENEDICT. *Curiosity, A Cultural History of Early Modern Inquiry*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 2001. Pp. ix, 321. $45.00.

Curiosity. Where would we all be today, if our first mother, Eve, had not succumbed to the temptation of curiosity? Perched at the top of the genealogy of sins, curiosity has retained a faint aura of reprehensible transgression up to the present day, while at the same time the pursuit of its satisfaction has largely shaped the world we live in. Barbara M. Benedict has explored the rich ambiguities of "curiosity" and its derivatives "curious" and "curio" in Britain in the early modern period, addressing the questions: "What is it that curiosity promises or threatens? Why are curious people sometimes heroized, sometimes derided, and sometimes both within the same moment of culture and within the same imaginative work?" (p. 1).

Benedict makes use of a wide range of materials in her investigation of the ambiguities of curiosity, literature from the highest culture to the most popular broadsides, as well as fables, records of scientific and pseudoscientific experiments, and a great number of prints depicting both the spectacle and the spectator. Such cultural manifestations of the eighteenth century as the circus, with its "wild" animals on display; ballooning; and incredible lifelike automatons all reveal the growing taste for new or esoteric knowledge and exciting forms of experience at all levels of society. The fascinating slippage in the word "curious" itself is discussed here, as it can signify either the mental state of the observer or the peculiar character of the observed. One of the book's central themes is the relation between the two: "Early modern literature depicts curiosity—the pursuit of information by empirical means—as cultural ambition that turns curious people into curiosities" (p. 23).

The wish to "find out" still retained its association with female misbehavior at the beginning of the sixteenth century, as the impulse to explore the unknown continued to carry connotations of unveiling sexuality and of women's disobedience. Benedict presents a wealth of material relating to this aspect of curiosity. But beginning at the same time, as she demonstrates, the establishment of scientific method and the legitimization of its authority were basing themselves on pretension of objective truth, not on past tradition and lore as in the past but on the orderly accumulation of data derived from the senses. The curiosity of individuals with wide-ranging interests fed the new era of expansion in technological invention and the enterprises of exploration and colonialism, as well as the nascent physical sciences. Empiricism grew out of a need to investigate the real world systematically, under replicable conditions. Benedict shows how compatible empiricism became with the goals and the mentality of the Reformation, subverting the authority of the state and permitting free speculation and practice. She discusses how "curiosity, newly legitimized as empiricism, swept to the center of culture just as England struggled to restore traditional order after the Interregnum."

Of course the great voyages of discovery corresponded to a kind of explosion of the impulse to see what had not been seen before (by Europeans), just as, in turn, the accounts of these voyages became bestsellers, permitting the public to satisfy its curiosity and in the process realize that British values and mores were but one set of possibilities among many. The satisfaction of curiosity about the ways of the larger world was increasingly accompanied by a kind of relativism in mentalities. At the same time, the Royal Society lent weight to another symptom of modernity, the democratization of knowledge, since authority was increasingly derived not from revelation or lofty social position but from objective, verifiable data. Joseph Addison and Richard Steele's *Spectator* was conceived in this spirit and gave voice both to the positive new value allowed to inquiry and to a rising tide of reaction against curiosity and its abuses, which began to be felt in the early years of the eighteenth century.

Benedict investigates the tensions in the concept of curiosity in two great Enlightenment figures, Daniel Defoe, whose hero embodied the age's valorization of it in *Robinson Crusoe* (1719), and Jonathan Swift, whose Lemuel Gulliver ironically "is the spectator and the spectacle, the exhibitor and the exhibit." She treats numerous other figures of the period as well, from such dominant personalities as Samuel Johnson, himself the embodiment of the inquisitive impulse and the physically grotesque, to such once-famed impresarios of the amazing as Gustavus Katterfelto and his uncanny black cat.

Benedict's engaging study brings together seemingly disparate cultural phenomena in new ways, illuminating history, literature, and the origins of modern science from a fresh perspective: that of the urge to find out, so central to the ethos of the modern world.

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BRIDGET HILL. *Women Alone: Spinsters in England 1660–1850*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2001. Pp. viii, 219. $37.50.

Bridget Hill's earlier writings on women's work and on women servants reminded historians of the large numbers of women who had to work for a living during times when women's wages were usually insufficient to sustain an individual, much less a family. Her broad knowledge of economic conditions is put to good use in this invaluable survey of English spinsters. She surveys the field, including paid work for different classes, those who did not work, learned women, religion, friendship, crime, and prostitution. The result is a judicious, clear account of the present state of knowledge in the field. As Hill points out, little research has been done on single women, in spite of the fact that at times during her period, some twenty-five percent of the population was unmarried. The scanty surviving evidence may have daunted historians. For example, early censuses focused on male occupations and did not take into consideration the female pattern of moving from job to job according to the seasons or availability. Historians agree that all women's employment was under counted, but to what degree cannot be accurately estimated. That single women might be lost in this situation is hardly surprising.

The strength of this book is its careful analysis of earnings. For lower-class women, domestic or farm service provided food and lodging and therefore were almost the only occupations in which a single woman could survive. But women in southeast England were gradually excluded from agricultural work during the long eighteenth century. Agricultural workers did not easily make the transition to indoor work in cities, where the middle class was employing more female servants. In the countryside manufacturing jobs only partially replaced lost farm work, but wages were further depressed by the widespread employment of children. Moreover, wives who needed to supplement the always-low agricultural wages of their husbands could not move away to better employment; they would accept wage cuts out of necessity. Hill concludes that for a few occupations, such as skilled lace making, at certain times it was just possible for a woman to earn enough to live independently. But in no case did she find an occupation with sufficiently steady wages to enable a lifetime of independence. Survival meant adaptability.

The inevitable conclusion must have been numbers of highly visible destitute and vulnerable single women in early modern Britain. But as Hill cautions, economic reasons alone cannot fully explain the remarkably durable abhorrence of spinsters. Hill draws on the work of literary historians in her discussion of the widespread mockery of learned ladies. An unmarried woman was often forced to remain under the control of her family, who might be ashamed to admit that they could not afford to marry her off. She might be free labor for an older brother's family, but she also was another mouth to feed and a nuisance to his wife. Local customs encouraged the denunciation of suspected witches or loose women, two sufficiently broad categories to place both the young and the old spinster under suspicion. The situation of unmarried mothers could be desperate. Although Hill discusses the important role of women in numerous sects, she does not consider the degree to which militant Protestantism and its profound hatred for Catholic traditions might have fostered aggression toward celibate women. And to what degree were older traditions concerning the economically marginal continued into better times? Hill might have usefully explored this and related questions.

Hill's discussion of how to escape one's fate—emigration and opening a small shop were two popular suggestions—is necessarily sketchy. Most women had few choices, but surviving evidence suggests a remarkable resilience. While I applaud Hill's decision to write a survey of the single woman, I longed for greater texture—for further archival work that would move her discussion beyond Ivy Pinchbeck's pioneering classic, *Women Workers and the Industrial Revolution, 1750–1850* (1930). This is a fine overview, but we now need more ambitious, finely grained studies of particular occupations or areas of Britain in order to explore fully the position of the single woman.

MARTHA VICINUS
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JONATHAN ANDREWS and ANDREW SCULL. *Undertaker of the Mind: John Monro and Mad-Doctoring in Eighteenth-Century England*. (Medicine and Society, number 11.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2001. Pp. xxii, 364. $35.00.

"Bedlam"—derived from London's Bethlem Royal Hospital—has long served as a metaphor for madness. In the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, "Monro" became almost a metaphor for "mad-doctors." Four generations of the Monro family—James, John, Thomas, and Edward—successively held the post of visiting physician at Bethlem. The same period witnessed a rapid proliferation of private madhouses catering to what became known as the "trade in lunacy." Confinement in a madhouse became a more common and feared experience, one that many people referred to as both a living and a legal death. According to former madhouse inmate William Belcher, a madhouse was "a coffin for the mind" (p. xvi). Looked at from this perspective, the work of the Monros and other contemporary "mad-doctors" can be compared to that of another emerging profession, undertakers. Both performed unpleasant services that many people were becoming disinclined to "undertake" themselves in an increasingly commercialized, consumer oriented culture. In 1737, William Hogarth labeled his satirical portrait of regular and irregular healers "The Company of Undertakers." From these various connections

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and developments, Jonathan Andrews and Andrew Scull derive the apt title of this study of the interplay between the career of Dr. John Monro (1715–1791) and the broader development of psychiatry in the eighteenth century. This book is firmly based on a wide variety of sources: medical, legal, literary, visual, journalistic, institutional, and private. It also provides an excellent synthesis of recent scholarship, particularly that of the late Roy Porter, Joel Peter Eigen, and Akihito Suzuki. From this material the authors have fashioned a highly readable, markedly revisionist account of Monro's life and times.

Most accounts of eighteenth-century psychiatry have portrayed Monro as a personification of a cruel and benighted psychiatric *ancien régime*. Historians have often compared him unfavorably to William Battie, who became physician at nearby and newly founded St. Luke's Hospital in 1751. In these versions, Battie appears as a progressive forerunner of the "kinder and gentler" psychiatry of moral treatment and Monro as a reactionary defender of an intellectually and morally repugnant system of treating the mad. This view was largely derived from two brief works they wrote in 1758. Battie's *Treatise on Madness* criticized Bethlem and Monro both implicitly and explicitly as it extolled his own management of madness at St. Luke's. Monro replied with *Remarks on Dr. Battie's Treatise*, a defense of his institution and his methods of treatment. Wisely, Andrews and Scull do not try to reverse the polarities and turn Monro into a hero. Instead, they demonstrate through close analysis that the differences between these two physicians were far less marked than the similarities. This was true not only of their approach to therapeutics and patient care. Elite and wealthy clients consulted both of them about mad relatives and friends. Both Battie and Monro also became profitably involved in the rapidly expanding and legally murky private madhouse business, first as consultants and then as proprietors. Former patients sued both of them for false confinement. The literature, art, and correspondence of the day often refer to both of them—approvingly and satirically.

Ironically, the Monro depicted here may be an even more important historical figure than before, not as villain or ignoramus, but as one of the most visible and influential representatives of the new eighteenth-century specialty of mad-doctoring. The authors' portrait of Monro is far more complex and ambiguous than the traditional view of the master of Bedlam. The same is true of their picture of Bethlem and eighteenth-century psychiatry generally. Andrews and Scull demonstrate this complexity and ambiguity through detailed examinations of a series of psychiatric developments, conflicts, and cases in which Monro took part. Although most of these stories have been told elsewhere, the authors' great achievement is their careful, nuanced analysis of the evidence and the skillful way they weave these topical accounts into their tale of Monro's career. These include the mad-doctors' tendency to equate religious enthusiasm with lunacy, and the resulting conflicts with the Methodists and biblical scholar Alexander Cruden; the contentious issue of false confinement; the development of and debate over the lunacy trade and private madhouse; the emergence of medical testimony in the courtroom, most notably in the failed insanity plea of Lord Ferrers in 1760; the problem of how to deal with "state patients" such as Margaret Nicholson, who attacked George III with a pen knife in 1786; and the madness of the king himself in 1788. In sum, this book is much more than a biography of Monro. Its reconstruction of Monro's career and milieu puts Monro into context and context into Monro, and the result is one of the most discriminating and illuminating studies of eighteenth-century psychiatry yet published. It is a fit companion for Porter's *Mind-Forg'd Manacles: A History of Madness in England from the Restoration to the Regency* (1987).

PETER MCCANDLESS
College of Charleston

STEVE POOLE. *The Politics of Regicide in England, 1760–1850*. New York: Manchester University Press. 2000. Pp. viii, 232.

The principal difficulty with Steve Poole's book is that it is not much about regicide. This is not a serious fault, since had the author been true to his title, his study would have been rather short. As Poole concludes, what unites his "troublesome subjects," most of whom have fallen into historical obscurity, is not their status as would-be assassins but their frustrated attempts to petition the monarch for redress of grievances. So we have poor John Firth who believed he had been unjustly retired from a promising military career in Jamaica on the grounds of insanity and who found the half pay he received in consolation was insufficient to support his wife and family. Having failed in his addresses to the House of Commons, the Treasury Solicitors' Office, and the king, on the day of the state opening of Parliament in 1790, with rolled petition in hand, Firth shouted at the king's carriage "You tyrant! You villain! You are going to be hanged like a rogue" (p. 91). The Privy Council never considered trying Firth for high treason; instead a jury at Old Bailey found him legally insane and he was committed to Bedlam. Regicidal impulses were closely related to both treason and madness.

Poole links his book to the theme of constitutional petitioning and to popular mythologies surrounding the British constitution. As he argues, Hanoverian "contractualism" (the bond between crown and people) "was played out within the imagined distance between monarch and subject" (p. 2). The book charts the "shifting boundaries of royal space," ending with Queen Victoria's retreat from the myth of royal accessibility. Along the way, Poole introduces a fascinating cast of little-known assailants. In 1786, in what became the best-known attempt on the life of a British monarch, Margaret Nicholson, a thirty-six-year-old London

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needlewoman, waited by the garden entrance at St. James's to present her petition to George III. As the king crossed the courtyard to accept her petition, she stabbed him. George III was unhurt; Margaret was committed to Bethlem Hospital "for natural life" under the 1744 Vagrancy Act. Poole offers a superb chapter on Nicholson, who desired the king to care for her as a "father," to extend his healing powers to her distressed condition, and to find her a husband. The king's magnanimity toward his attacker and his composure in the face of danger marked an important development in George III's "fatherly style," "an interesting conflation of sensibility and bullishness" (p. 74). While Nicholson was deemed insane, Poole's point is that there was reason in her madness, as well as in the madness of other royal assailants: they shared a popular belief in the subject's right to seek personal redress from the monarch.

Poole also deals with more well-known, and more overtly political, challenges to the crown. Here one learns less of interest. The so-called "Blanketeers" of 1817 exploited the age-old myth of "king and people," but to what extent was their proposed march from Lancashire to London to present petitions to the prince regent merely a cover for designs at popular insurrection? The author goes to much trouble showing that Colonel Edward Marcus Despard, who was executed in 1803 for high treason, did not actually intend to kill the king. But how important is this? And why suppose that republicanism entailed regicide? Thomas Paine argued against executing Louis XVI. Regicidal play, by contrast, deserves to be taken more seriously. Thus Poole dismisses playbills like the *Happy Reign of George the Last*, usually associated with Richard "Citizen" Lee, as "little more than crude republican doggerel" (p. 102). But the "crude" works of republicans like Lee and Thomas Spence brought tones of ridicule and disrespect for monarchy to the street and plebeian tavern. Low subversive humor, as John Barrell observes, allowed democrats to circumvent the mental barrier that made it difficult to imagine the extinction of the crown's "quasi-mystical" authority.

Legally speaking, physical attacks on or threats to the monarch might be viewed as evidence of treason or insanity. Poole carefully outlines important legal changes in both these areas. Among the difficulties state prosecutors faced in treason trials was that the English statute of treasons (1351) stressed doing or "imagining" harm to the monarch's person, rendering problematic the argument that by extension an attempt to bring down the government constituted treason. The Treasonable Practices Act of 1795 initiated a legal separation between the crown's physically embodied and the government's more abstractly defined sovereignty. During the early nineteenth century, access to the king became more highly restricted as the right to present royal petitions in person was in practice denied or severely attenuated. In his final chapter, "Monarchy goes Private," Poole argues, as have others, that Queen Victoria and Prince Albert reconfigured the British monarchy's identity by assuming the trappings of "bourgeois" domesticity. This did not prevent Edward "the Boy" Jones, who claimed to be researching a book on royal secrets, from continually breaking into and freely roaming Buckingham Palace. Royalty's retreat into the "home" merely produced new desires among the public for access to the royal family and its secrets, along with new modes of celebrity.

JAMES EPSTEIN
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JOSEPH S. MEISEL. *Public Speech and the Culture of Public Life in the Age of Gladstone*. New York: Columbia University Press. 2001. Pp. xiv, 382. $50.00.

The mid and later Victorian era was the great age of public speaking. "England is a country governed mainly by labor and by speech," the political commentator Walter Bagehot wrote in 1860. From pulpit to platform, courtroom to town hall, the public life of Victorian Britain was buoyed up by a torrent of words. The notable figures of the period—the radical John Bright, the Baptist preacher Charles Spurgeon, and above all, the Liberal statesman and prime minister W. E. Gladstone—were all celebrated public speakers; indeed, their public identity was indissoluble from their role as orators. Yet as Joseph S. Meisel points out in the introduction to this book, as an object of study public speech has curiously eluded the attention of historians. For all the turn to language and rhetoric in the study of nineteenth-century politics, the business of oratory has been largely overlooked.

Meisel's study is about the practice of public speech and its place in Victorian public life. In particular, he is concerned to explain why public speaking became such an important activity in this period and why it declined in significance from the 1890s onward. It is one of the strengths of the study that it ranges across domains and is not just concerned with parliamentary and popular politics. Although the book has chapters on the House of Commons and the platform, it also examines religious preaching and the law. The discussion of this last domain is among the most effective parts of the study. Meisel focuses on the rise of barristerial oratory from the early nineteenth century, reflecting not only the improving status of lawyers but also the popular fascination with the melodrama of the courtroom promoted by press descriptions of lengthy barristerial speeches; in the Tichborne case, the address to the court of the leading counsel, John Duke Coleridge, lasted twenty-six days. By way of introduction, the book examines the training in public speaking provided by the Oxford and Cambridge Unions and various types of debating society. It concludes with a useful, if inevitably conjectural, overview of the factors that undermined the centrality of public speech in British cultural life from the 1890s, including the growth of the Harmondsworth Press, new forms of

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leisure and entertainment, and, later, the spread of wireless.

The bulk of the book, however, is concerned to explain the growth in the quantity and importance of public speech, particularly after 1850. While paying due attention to the specificity of the types of speech involved (political, religious, legal, and so on), Meisel lays particular emphasis on what he terms the "material" and "structural" factors in oratorical production. They include the role of the press, the different physical environments in which public speaking took place, and the types of education and training involved. Meisel uses these factors to stress the newness of the mid-Victorian culture of public speech and its departure, in terms of both context and substance, from the models of oratory in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Such "structural" factors are also intended to explain the efflorescence of public speech in the second half of the nineteenth century, reaching its apogee, according to Meisel, in the 1880s and 1890s. Here, however, the approach is more problematic since of themselves the "structures" do not explain anything. In places the argument becomes tautologous, as in the judgment on Spurgeon's success as a preacher: "lots of people came to hear him, because lots of people were already coming to hear him" (p. 134). What is missing is an analysis of the "consumption" as well as the "production" of public speech: why people flocked in their thousands to hear public speakers and how they were affected by them. The "power of the word" was unquestionably a significant force in Victorian culture, capable of enrapturing whole audiences. But despite frequent references to the "experience" of public speech, the sources of its appeal are never properly analyzed. In part this reflects the absence of any theory of public speech that could be mobilized to explain its power. This is all the more surprising given the recent attention to theories of speech, whether in the appropriation of J. L. Austin's concept of "performativity" or the influence of Erving Goffman's studies of the public presentation of self.

Overall the study is somewhat conservative in both scope and approach. Its principal focus is on London, high politics, and "great men"; the view of public culture is restricted to its well-known "official" forms; and the approach tends to the biographical at times. Meisel is right to point to the significance of public speech as a cultural practice in Victorian Britain, and to its relative novelty. But the book is less convincing in explaining that significance and especially the extraordinary hold of public oratory over wide sections of the population.

Simon Gunn
Leeds Metropolitan University

James H. Murphy. *Abject Loyalty: Nationalism and Monarchy in Ireland during the Reign of Queen Victoria*. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press. 2001. Pp. xxxiv, 360. $54.95.

Over the past two decades, historians have transformed the way we look at the nineteenth-century evolution of Irish nationalism, painting a much more nuanced and complex portrait than had hitherto been acknowledged. In this, of course, scholars have been both inspired and influenced by recent studies of nationalism and, in particular, the nature of Britishness; Linda Colley's work has more than its fair share of citations within recent Irish historical writing. James H. Murphy's well-written and provocative study fits firmly into this welcome and productive trend in Irish historiography.

The argument that lies at the heart of Murphy's book is both simple and somewhat surprising. Examining the interaction between the British monarchy and Irish nationalists during the reign of Queen Victoria, Murphy finds that monarchy was broadly popular among the Irish Catholic population throughout much of the nineteenth century. It was the perceived threat of this popularity, he argues, that explains why nationalist leaders intent on firming up the allegiance of a rapidly politicizing population focused their rhetorical fury on the queen in the last decades of the nineteenth century.

The critical period seems to have been the late 1860s and 1870s. Prior to this era, royal visits to Ireland were uncontested and warmly received by the Irish public. This was true even in the immediate aftermath of the Great Famine; Victoria only became the Famine Queen of nationalist memory in 1900 (courtesy of Maud Gonne's acid pen). Given the continuing power of this mythic image, it is interesting to note that Victoria's August 1849 visit to Ireland was an undoubted success. This had changed dramatically by the late 1860s and early 1870s, when both loyalists and nationalists used royal visits as occasions for counter-demonstrations. The real turning point for nationalist Ireland, of course, occurred between 1879 and 1886, when the Land War and the subsequent Home Rule crisis mobilized the Irish Catholic peasantry and formalized politics around the sectarian divide. Victoria's antipathy for Home Rule (and increasingly for Ireland in general) aided the process greatly, allowing Charles Stewart Parnell, Timothy Healy, and other nationalist politicians to label her as a partisan political force. In the increasingly zero-sum game of Irish politics, multiple allegiances were becoming much harder to hold. From 1885, Victoria would be a "Unionist Vote-Catcher" and started to emerge in her more familiar nationalist garb.

Murphy's book has much to commend it. In countering the traditional teleological portrait of an inevitable independent Irish nation, it nicely complements the work of Tom Garvin, Alan O'Day, and others who have emphasized the complexity of late nineteenth-century Irish nationalism. Irishness did not have to contradict Britishness. To paraphrase its Ulster Unionist opponents, Home Rule might be, after all, just Home Rule. Like the Ulster Unionists, the Scots, and the Welsh, Irish nationalists were fully capable of

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holding multiple allegiances. It would take the surprising and revolutionary developments of the early twentieth century largely to eliminate that possibility.

There are some problems here, most of which revolve around the notoriously difficult task of gauging public opinion. In his introduction, Murphy admits as much, and he openly discusses his analytical methods and sources; which lean quite heavily on the Dublin-based *Freeman's Journal* and both nationalist and British political elite discussion surrounding royal visits. While understandable, this portrait of Irish nationalist public opinion certainly lacks class and regional nuance. Ulster's comparative absence from Murphy's analysis is particularly troubling. Did Ulster nationalist feelings toward the monarchy echo those of their southern compatriots? How did the increasing pace of sectarian contention in the North shape relations between nationalists and the monarchy? Although it is perhaps a bit unfair to critique a study that has such a broad sweep for its failure to examine regional differences, these questions do remain unanswered.

It would be unfair to conclude on such a critical point, for this is a creative, well-written, and significant book that undoubtedly will take a deserved place within the vast historiography on nineteenth-century Ireland. More than that, it is essential reading for any scholar interested in the evolution of Irish nationalism or Anglo-Irish high politics in the Victorian age.

SEAN FARRELL
The College of Saint Rose

JOHN HASSAN. *A History of Water in Modern England and Wales*. New York: Manchaster University Press. 1998. Pp. x, 214.

John Hassan has written a very remarkable book. Fine history, it is also reasoned philosophy, symbolized by the very clear analysis, for example, of the fate of integrated river-basin management since 1973, set in the context of the long and complex saga of water usage from just before the Industrial Revolution to the present day. Histories of water usage, supply, and management are rare. This book is remarkable for being interdisciplinary in the best sense. It meets scholarly standards. It has twelve pages of wide-ranging references and a fine index. But above all, it is readable. It also is balanced in that it distinguishes between the holistic concepts of water management and the realities of such applications in the wide range of regions in England and Wales, from the huge urbanized areas to the relatively stable rural or countryside areas. It also recognizes the race between the huge increase in need in the Victorian and Edwardian periods, and the struggles of science, medicine, public health concepts, and engineering to meet the tide of demands and to get a grip on possible futures.

Hassan is very frank and fair about the persistent failures of public policy and the paralysis of special interest groups during the difficult period of the 1929 Depression, then the 1939–1945 war years, and the realities of the severe economic and social challenges of the postwar era. The book then traces in fascinating detail the struggle for some form of integrated water management in the period 1951 to 1973, and the mixed results of the transition to the Regional Water Authorities in the period 1973 to 1989. Hassan notes the huge backlog of about thirty percent of sewers and water mains dating from pre-1914, the damage caused by prior fragmented authorities, the unproductive nature of the ideological disputes, and the gradual collapse of the traditional municipal role, all leading to the concept and reality of the National Rivers Authority in 1989 and the idea of "Source-to-Mouth" management.

He deals very fairly with the post-1989 period of privatization and the application of the business model, including the current situation of regulators struggling under complex burdens and new crises, such as major droughts (not previously encountered); the challenges to the private corporations and shareholders (while most capital expenditures are internally financed rather than being achieved by external borrowing); and the persistent and unresolved tensions of the existing institutional model. These last are universal: to what extent are facilities such as water supply, sewage, pollution prevention, and environmental rehabilitation public-municipal or public-regional endeavors? To what extent are they private, market-oriented, business activities? And what mix or model actually resolves past problems, meets present needs, and produces a more manageable future? Hassan's work is all the more valuable because England and Wales encountered these problems first, and then were pioneers in all aspects of urban and regional planning, because of the consequences of industrialization. The author uses the historical record to make us think about possible futures: surely a key role of history, not just to record events but to interpret them in ways meaningful to present concerns.

As an expressive piece of historiography, the book's methodology is exemplary. Reliance is placed on primary sources, with the secondary sources used to reinforce the clear story provided thereby. The corroborative detail is very well handled, and a postscript rounds out the work and puts matters into perspective. Hassan's work will benefit social historians; those interested in local, regional, and central government relationships over long periods of time; those concerned with municipal engineering and pollution control; town and country planners and those interested in various forms of regional planning and development; and those who seek to evaluate which services should be public, or private, or in some hybrid form. It is also valuable to those interested in scholarly interdisciplinary studies (following in the path originally blazed by G. M. Trevelyan in his social histories) that tie together social, economic, environmental, and political threads to make a coherent and understandable pattern of environmental management. This book makes an important contribution to humanity's on-going quest for self-awareness and the construction of orga-

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nizations governed by integrity, ethics, and historically responsible values.

NORMAN PEARSON
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MICHAEL ALPERT. *Crypto-Judaism and the Spanish Inquisition*. New York: Palgrave. 2001. Pp. x, 246. $69.95.

Known for books on the Spanish Civil War and an admirable translation of two Spanish picaresque novels, Michael Alpert's new study concerns the nature and structures of Spanish crypto-Judaism as manifested between 1600–1800 by "secret Jews in their eighth or later generation after baptism" (pp. 5–6). He consequently turns to trials of the Spanish Inquisition, in the belief that depositions by suspects and witnesses can reveal "the most intimate aspects of the religious life of a society" (p. 7).

The book is divided into ten compact chapters, with an introduction and conclusion. Chapters one through three trace Jewish history in the peninsula, address the expulsion of 1492, and outline the factors that allowed crypto-Judaism to develop to a much greater degree in Portugal. Chapters four and five explain why Portuguese converts moved into Castile, assess the commercial activities in which *conversos* engaged, and explore crypto-Jewish life in the French city of Rouen. Chapter six considers the inconsistent outlooks toward *conversos* in the royal circles of Kings Philip III and Philip IV and the backlash against them after 1650. Chapters seven through ten survey the Inquisition trials in the early seventeenth century of one particular family circle; examine the prosecutions of crypto-Jews in the second half of the seventeenth century, with particular attention to Madrid's 1680 auto da fé; ask whether crypto-Judaism was a frequent phenomenon in the early eighteenth century; and summarize the religious characteristics of Spanish crypto-Judaism. Alpert concludes that Spanish crypto-Jews valued endogamy and practiced a syncretic religion. He asserts that Judaizing was the most significant heresy prosecuted by the Inquisition in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. And he contends that Spanish and Portuguese *conversos* represented a "world of commerce and finance" and a "whole class of economic behavior" (p. 203) that became stigmatized because of inquisitorial prosecution and traditional Spanish values.

Alpert is correct to highlight the Inquisition's interest in crypto-Judaism between 1600–1800, the importance of endogamy for crypto-Jewish communities, and the syncretism of the *conversos*' religiosity; other historians, such as Pilar Huerga Criado and Miriam Bodian, have posited similar arguments derived from other sources. Still, Alpert's book is ultimately unsatisfactory. His close readings of trials are really only chronicles: they do not illuminate a religious life. The chapters' sequence and content should be more coherent. The book oversimplifies royal policy toward *conversos* in the seventeenth century. It contains multiple omissions or errors, such as neglecting 1580 as a significant date for Portuguese immigration and misstating the relationship between confession and torture in Inquisition trials. And it evinces a certain casualness toward its references. For example, in chapter seven, Alpert examines the Inquisition's prosecutions of Manuela de Almeida (1649–1651) and Juana de la Peña (1660–1663) but never gives the reader any folio numbers for his readings, although the two trials are 204 and 164 folios in length, respectively. In fact, Alpert tends to omit the necessary specificity from his endnotes; occasionally he stumbles in the citations he does offer, such as calling certain Inquisition records *legajos* instead of *libros* (p. 92).

The volume would have been much improved had Alpert contextualized the Jewish culture he describes: unfortunately, the books of Renée Levine Melammed and Miriam Bodian are not in his bibliography, and he pays only cursory attention to the work of David Gitlitz. Indeed, Bodian's *Hebrews of the Portuguese Nation: Conversos and Community in Early Modern Amsterdam* (1997) could have helped Alpert with both the concept of rejudaization and the contemporary understanding of the "Hebrew nation," and saved him from characterizing his subjects' mindset as being "far from Jewish" (p. 175). This tendency to assess early modern against modern also creeps into Alpert's treatment of Spain and the Inquisition: although he rejects the arguments of B. Netanyahu, he nevertheless arrives at the Black Legend. In his account, Spaniards were prone to xenophobia and hostile to innovation and commerce (pp. 87–88); the Inquisition's procedures were intolerable, hypocritical, and quite different from policies in England (pp. 201–202). When coupled with Alpert's fondness for rather dramatic prose—whereby inquisition victims mostly exhibit courage and suffer cruel punishments—the reader ends up with the clichés of an earlier historiography. Finally, on a theoretical level, Alpert neglects to ask whether the "same essential culture" (p. 53, quoting Cecil Roth) was really in place for Spanish crypto-Jews, whether scholars should distinguish between Portuguese and Spanish *conversos*, and whether an Inquisition trial can fully reveal a religiosity practiced outside an Inquisition tribunal. A more successful treatment will address such questions.

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NATALIE ZEMON DAVIS. *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 2000. Pp. x, 185. Cloth $50.00, paper $21.95.

In this volume of essays first delivered as lectures, Natalie Zemon Davis has contributed both to the historical and anthropological study of gift practices as well as to the specific study of her long-time interest, sixteenth-century France. She describes her undertaking as an "ethnography of gifts" and a study of what she calls the "gift register" or "gift mode" discernible

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in sixteenth-century France (p. 9). As in all her work, Davis goes beyond rich descriptions of practices, based though they are on deep familiarity with printed and archival sources, and enhances our understanding both of French history and of the historical questions she treats.

Davis surveys the anthropological and historical literature on gifts, beginning with the classic work of Marcel Mauss. She notes the development of arguments about the importance of the gift among historians (Georges Duby and Gareth Stedman Jones, among many others) who first emphasized the archaic quality of the "gift mode" in European culture. Gifts as a structuring force in human relationships were displaced over time by commercial relations, from as early as the thirteenth century, they have argued. Davis adds her work to that of other scholars who have recently argued for the continued importance of gift relations even into modern times; gift giving remained a essential form of human relations alongside commercial exchanges as well as alongside modernizing political relationships, in which gratitude and obligation were no longer the preeminent ordering forces. Davis charts the complex relationships between gift-giving behaviors and these more "modern" forms of relationship and argues that the "gift register" remains a permanent part of human interaction. Indeed, Davis argues, we cannot fully understand the "modern" practices without seeing how they were affected and inflected by the persistent expectations and habits around gift giving.

In the remaining chapters, Davis describes gift-giving practices revealed by a variety of contemporary sources—memoirs, letters, accounts books, proscriptive literature—and amply supports her assertion that understanding them is essential to any understanding of sixteenth-century society. She identifies two core beliefs in the sixteenth century that sustained a large social space for giving, counter-giving, and the dance of mutual obligation: the fundamental notion that all gifts come from God, and the notion, with ancient roots in Aristotle and Seneca, that human beings are dependent on communities that are sustained by bonds of obligation. The assumption that all gifts come from God could underpin expectations that vertical ties would be sustained in part by gifts. It could also manifest itself in simple charity, whether across a social divide or between equals. Gifts were expected to move vertically also because noble liberality—also a notion with deep roots—was highly valued.

Davis clinches her argument about the historical persistence of gift giving by demonstrating that it coexisted with other kinds of ties, both in practice and in contemporaries' minds. Gift giving was an essential part of noble relationships that helped nurture plural ties as more limited feudal ties waned. Gift giving existed side by side with commercial relationships, Davis demonstrates; payment for services or merchandise did not substitute for gifts, or vice versa. Gifts kept relationships open and flexible. They mitigated—"softened," in Davis's words—the contractual relationship between marriage partners and provided an alternative language for inheritance that had demonstrable effects on actual disposals of property (p. 29).

The centrality of gifts to social relationships in the sixteenth century is demonstrated further, for Davis, by the significant tensions that existed around gifts in certain circumstances. Were gifts corrupting men of power, as Montaigne and his contemporaries worried? Was the increasingly powerful sovereign exempt from the obligation to give gifts, which would imply the capacity of his subjects to return them? From the perspective of gift giving, venality of office was a profound cultural rupture. Even more profound a rupture was embodied in John Calvin's thought because he rejected all possibility of reciprocity between humans and God. Calvin's God did not further human connectedness in traditional ways. That French explorers consciously violated their own norms of gift giving when dealing with Native Americans was both a symptom and a cause of profoundly troubled relationships between Europeans and Americans.

Ranging from a scrutiny of private account books to explication of Calvin's writings, this book reflects Davis's deep familiarity with her terrain and her profound erudition. Of course, this is not surprising. What is more surprising is how changed—how much more intelligible—the sixteenth century looks when viewed through the prism of the gift. The gift provides a large ground on which the seemingly contradictory characteristics of sixteenth-century society meet, from the simultaneous growth of bureaucracy and patronage to the persistence of gifts in an age of market growth. Davis has convincingly demonstrated not merely that gift giving remained socially necessary but indeed that it was part of the "glue" that kept society from splitting open under the strains of change.

KRISTEN B. NEUSCHEL
Duke University

DAVID PARROTT. *Richelieu's Army: War, Government and Society in France, 1624–1642*. (Cambridge Studies in Early Modern History.) New York: Cambridge University Press. 2001. Pp. xxiv, 599. $90.00.

This is the first major study of France's army during the ministry of Cardinal Richelieu amid the Thirty Years' War. David Parrott presents a major revisionist view of French military administration. First, the author argues that historians have overestimated the growth in size of French armies. While there was a modest increase in military expansion from 45,000 to 80,000, this was not the 125,000–150,000 traditionally estimated. Furthermore, Parrott argues that the French did not follow Dutch or Swedish military reforms connected with the "military revolution" but pursued more realistic Catholic-Habsburg models of strategic warfare. As a consequence, France did not emphasize well-drilled infantry and artillery at the expense of the cavalry, as advocated by Calvinist

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theorists. Moreover, the struggle with the Habsburgs forced the French to reverse their emphasis on one or two armies and to fight on multiple fronts, which cost considerably more. The larger scale of warfare meant that the French financial system could not afford the increased costs and had to shift the burden to aristocratic army officers, both in recruitment and to maintain units at tolerable strength. Consequently, the government did not dare to alienate the military elite through too careful supervision and control. Largely unprepared for the new scale of conflict, the government fought the war through desperate, makeshift, decentralized efforts. In the end, the cardinal narrowly avoided defeat in an overly ambitious war.

Parrott's work is significant because it places Richelieu within the context of two interrelated debates: the nature of Richelieu's regime, and the argument over state modernization. Traditional accounts have accepted Richelieu's words at face value when he said that he pursued a dual policy of curbing powerful subjects while successfully prosecuting a foreign war asserting France's position in Europe. Even when revisionists (such as Joseph Bergin) have emphasized the pragmatism of Richelieu's regime and its operation within networks of clientage and patronage, historians have too often accepted Richelieu's own self-promotional myths of strengthening royal authority and crushing aristocratic opposition. In addition, most historians continue to accept the idea of Max Weber that there was a direct correlation between the growth of the state and the demands of warfare. Beginning with Michael Robert's "military revolution" thesis in the 1950s, numerous historians have argued that as the state needed to recruit and supply ever larger armies to fight enemies, this forced changes both in military and civilian administration. States increasingly employed commissioned officials, such as intendants, with sweeping powers, who curbed the power of the aristocratic officer class. Parrott vigorously challenges these assumptions, utilizing arguments of recent critics of absolutism who argue that Louis XIII's successor, Louis XIV, employed tactics of continuity and cooperation with aristocrats, buttressed by patronage, rather than seeking confrontation and change. Expediency rather than centralized bureaucratic control, Parrott argues, characterized Richelieu's ministry.

This book has a number of important strengths. Parrott's work reminds us that the best history relies heavily on archival work. He has closely examined not only the records in the war archives at Vincennes but also the largely underutilized military correspondence in the foreign affairs archives. The book also demonstrates an impressive range and breadth of secondary sources, including works in French, German, and to a lesser extent Spanish and Italian. The result adds enormously to our knowledge of the working of the French army. For example, although Parrott acknowledges the work of his mentor, Richard Bonney, the section on military finance is outstanding, clearly laying out the principal themes of the complexity and confusion in France's finances and the difficulty in financing a war. Parrott is also exceptional in his description of the weaknesses of military administration, arguing that there was no evolution of authority in war secretaries from Richelieu to the Le Tellier family and demonstrating the weakness of army intendants and other commissioners in asserting governmental authority during this troubled period.

Several questions remain to be resolved. What precisely was the role of the king in the war effort? Although Parrott admits that Richelieu was not a "free agent" (p. 10) able to do as he willed and that the king had a strong interest in the army, the role of the king remains unclear. While some contemporaries, as Parrott reminds us, believed that the king's wishes were not paramount, still the role of this ever-suspicious monarch needs further examination, particularly during the last years of the king's reign when Richelieu's position was more open to challenge. Similarly, while Parrott claims that overlapping jurisdictions and poorly designed spheres of authority at the top—involving the surintendant of finance, the secretaries of state for war and foreign affairs, the chancellor, and traditional military offices—prevented close coordination of the war effort, nonetheless Parrott's repeated use of "the ministry" or "the ministers" throughout the text implies a greater coordination of ministerial strategy than the author argues. Finally, in explaining why the French army did not collapse, Parrott argues that the "most important factor," the effective use of clientage (p. 552), staved off defeat, but there is no discussion of other factors that might also have played a role.

These are minor points. This massive study will remain a standard work on military administration for some years to come.

DOUGLAS CLARK BAXTER
Ohio University

PHILIP F. RILEY. *A Lust for Virtue: Louis XIV's Attack on Sin in Seventeenth-Century France*. (Contributions to the Study of World History.) Westport, Conn.: Greenwood. 2001. Pp. xvi, 203. $69.95.

Some authors are criticized for rushing their Ph.D. dissertation to print without thorough editing to remove those parts of the scholarly apparatus demanded by doctoral convention. Others are criticized for not including works published during the years they have taken to revise their dissertation for publication. Neither criticism is valid in the case of Philip F. Riley's book. Thirty years have passed since Riley defended the first version of his conclusions about Louis XIV's interest in the morality of his subjects. Between 1973 and 1990 he published four articles related to this subject. He now presents the fully developed version of what he calls "Louis XIV's attack on sin in seventeenth-century France," based on his dissertation, the articles, and continuing research.

Louis XIV firmly believed that one of his most

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important duties was to eradicate sin and instill virtue in the people of France. Riley shows clearly how that conviction, "more juridical than spiritual," developed from Louis's childhood onward, and how it could coexist with the other, often contradictory, elements of Louis XIV's character. Riley argues convincingly that, for the most part, the development of Louis's concept of sin and virtue can be traced to his mother and his teachers, along with Bishop Bossuet and Louis's confessors, rather than to his second wife, Madame de Maintenon. The role of the latter was to encourage Louis from the mid 1680s onward to increase his efforts to combat sin and instill virtue.

Some historians consider Louis's attack on vice as a relatively minor aspect of his efforts to build an absolute state inhabited by a socially disciplined populace. Others see Louis's actions as a prime example of Catholic Reformation social policy. Riley wisely chooses "all of the above" as his answer.

Riley's sources include political, judicial, and prison records; administrative correspondence; and memoirs and letters. His main argument is that Louis was "the first king able to conceive and execute a public policy animated by Catholic Reformation piety and focused on instilling virtue in his subjects" (p. 1). The sources used limit his investigation, for the most part, to Paris and the royal court in Versailles. The first two chapters set the scene. Chapter three, "Soldiers of Satan," provides interesting details about the effects of the Catholic Reformation attitude toward women on French life. Chapter four, "Adultery Most Royal," traces Louis's sexual history. Chapter five discusses the lack of distinction made by Louis and some, at least, of his officials between secular and spiritual offenses, between crime and sin. Chapter six provides material about the effect of Louis's attitudes on court life and the Parisian theater.

The book is not without its faults. These include an inexact use of words such as religious "order," "*dévot*," and "the French Church" and misunderstanding of liturgical details. The most surprising faults are, first, the assertion (made twice on p. 120) that lay Huguenots were ordered by Louis XIV to receive all seven sacraments (one of which, of course, was Holy Orders) and, second, that the canons of the Council of Trent stated that the sacrament of penance was "inspired" (rather than instituted) by God. Another fault is an occasional lack of context, for example in the discussion of the complex issues involved in the royal-papal quarrel of the 1680s. A fuller discussion of the various motivations involved in the revocation of the Edict of Nantes would have been useful. A final fault flows from nature of the sources used for this book. As anyone who has used Old Regime administrative and judicial documents knows, the extant records are frequently incomplete, and often the end of an interesting or important story that has been painstakingly traced through a long series of pages cannot be found. It is up to the author both to make this clear to his or her readers and also to present the material in such a way that the readers are not jarred by the jagged narrative.

Despite its faults, this book will be very useful to both students of history and professional historians. It brings together in one place a significant amount of important information about the efforts of Louis XIV to rule France, provides important insights into that ruler's character, presents further evidence of the importance of religion in seventeenth-century France, and adds to the reasons why many inhabitants of France were ready for a change in thought, religion, and morality after Louis XIV's death. In addition, the author has placed all of this information into the context of contemporary scholarship.

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DARRIN M. MCMAHON. *Enemies of the Enlightenment: The French Counter-Enlightenment and the Making of Modernity*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2001. Pp. xii, 262.

Although the title suggests that this book examines a variety of critical approaches to the French Enlightenment, it focuses solely on extreme Catholic opposition to the movement and its legacy in France, from the mid-eighteenth century until the end of the Bourbon Restoration. Unlike authors such as Robert R. Palmer and Isaiah Berlin, who focused on prominent writers of the Counter-Enlightenment, Darrin M. McMahon chooses mainly lesser authors. The examination of their writings is intended to demonstrate the inseparability of the opposition to the Enlightenment, the Catholic faith, opposition to the revolution, and the political Right. The argument unfolds through five chronologically organized chapters. The fact that illicit books disseminated in France from the mid-eighteenth century evoked protests from the Catholic authorities, pamphleteers, and preachers leads McMahon to conclude that the Enlightenment in France (which he constructs from the hostile rhetoric used by its "enemies") faced opposition from the start, and the Catholic Church was instrumental in this opposition. Thus he challenges the revisionist thesis of Roger Chartier that the Enlightenment was constructed retrospectively by the proponents of the French Revolution. The Enlightenment (or rather *philosophie*) was viewed by its opponents as a coherent movement long before 1789. Furthermore, opposition to the Enlightenment, according to the author, was inseparable from opposition to the revolution; thus the revolution did not need to invent its enemies—to justify the implementation of terror, as François Furet argued—they were there before the revolution began. The reign of terror was merely the fulfillment of anti-philosophe prophecies of a divine punishment for the lack of morals and respect for authority inherent in *philosophie*. The aftermath of the revolution and the Napoleonic period brought about a consolidation of Counter-Enlightenment ide-

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ology in the influential publications of Abbé Barruel, Jean-François La Harpe, and François-René Chateaubriand, as well as dozens of journalists and pamphleteers. The Bourbon Restoration witnessed Louis XVIII's policy of national reconciliation, a massive reappearance of the works of philosophes, and failed attempts by Charles X to strengthen the links between church and monarchy. By 1830, the Right and the Left were firmly polarized into hostile camps. Enlightenment and Counter-Enlightenment are not merely historically located phenomena, concludes the author, but timeless paradigms, dialectically related and constitutive of modernity.

The book presents interesting and hitherto little-known evidence of the opposition to the Enlightenment in France exposing another side to the typically told story. By unearthing forgotten sermons, plays, pamphlets, *mandements*, and poems, McMahon makes a significant contribution to the study of the reception of the Enlightenment. However, the conceptual framework in which contemporary meanings of *philosophie* are never examined but constructed from the simplistic rhetoric of its most hostile "enemies" establishes linguistic, not substantial, connections between opposition to *philosophie* and the opposition to the revolution, and leads to dubious implications. To align anti-philosophes of the 1750s with future anti-revolutionaries is to admit that the political agenda of the French Revolution was predetermined by the ideology well before 1789, which not only presumes that ideology was the all-powerful force behind events and political choices but also collapses any distinction between the initial phase of the revolution and the terror. Joseph de Maistre's involvement in freemasonry and in the early revolution, before he became an advocate of Counter-Enlightenment, is just one example of the limits to such ideological alignments.

The focus on anti-philosophe "discourse" and retroactive projection of the coherence of the Enlightenment (and of its opposition) make it possible to equate the opposition to the Enlightenment, the Catholic faith, the opposition to the revolution, and the Right in France from as early as the 1750s, but at a high cost. Not only does it leave out more moderate and sophisticated responses of the Catholic critics to the Enlightenment and the impact of the movement on the Right, but it also levels important divisions within the Enlightenment itself. Contrary to McMahon's account, the philosophes were not unanimous defenders of *luxe* nor were they champions of women; the perception of the corruption and decadence of their own times was the feeling anti-philosophes shared with many philosophes, including Montesquieu and Holbach; just as the admiration for the reign of the Sun King was not exclusively an anti-philosophes' specialty, as Voltaire's *Siècle de Louis XIV* (1751) demonstrates. As Jeremy Popkin established, right-wing journalists in the 1790s were far from indiscriminate in their condemnation of *philosophie*.

If the Counter-Enlightenment is to be aligned with the Right, how does one account for the criticism of the Enlightenment from the Left (e.g. by Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno) and by more recent postmodernists? McMahon treats it collectively as suspiciously resembling Counter-Enlightenment charges and, strangely, as "tending to conflate the Enlightenment as a historical movement with the advance (or dissolution) of Western civilization" (p. 202), thus undermining the legitimacy of his own enterprise. It is unfortunate that the author's commitment to the thesis of the Enlightenment as the advance of human progress takes priority over a judicious interpretation of the complexities of Counter-Enlightenment.

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PHILIPPE PAYEN. *Les arrêts de règlement du Parlement de Paris au XVIII^e siècle: Dimension et doctrine*. Foreword by JEAN IMBERT. (Les grandes thèses du droit français: Collection dirigée par Christian Philip.) Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1997. Pp. 526. FR 198.00.

PHILIPPE PAYEN. *La physiologie de l'arrêt de règlement du Parlement de Paris au XVIII^e siècle*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France: Publications du centre d'histoire du droit et de recherches internormatives de l'Université de Picardie Jules-Verne. 1999. Pp. 502. FR 190.00.

Having ceased to view Old Regime institutions invariably from the perspective of "causes of the French Revolution," historians are elucidating the ways in which those institutions functioned successfully. These volumes by Philippe Payen are a major contribution to this development of historical thought. Based on twenty years' research, they were presented as a law thesis in 1993 and immediately won prizes. Several years passed before book publication in nearly 1,000 pages of text. It is an admirable achievement.

Payen studied the *arrêt de règlement*, a type of judicial order that does not have a precise equivalent in post-1789 France. Characteristically, in such an order the court laid down a general rule (*règlement*). Sometimes it issued directions to lower courts specifying regulations to be enforced on all inhabitants. Often in deciding a particular case it announced that in the future it would decide similar cases in the same way. Such an order could function as a binding precedent, and it was commonly regarded as equivalent to a law. Old Regime jurisprudence did not consist purely of "applying" a code or a royal edict to a given set of facts. The *arrêt de règlement* was not expected to overrule the provisions of royal edicts and ordinances, but it exemplifies judge-made law.

Immersion in the details of the judicial orders led Payen to an issue of wider historical interest: the nature of the authority exercised in the *arrêt de règlement*. This aspect occupies much of his first volume. He emphasizes the logical connection between

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authority to regulate and the "police" power to issue and enforce orders in the interest of public order and security. All ordinary judges under the Old Regime exercised police power, but the parlement's power over "general police" was admitted to be superior. It was a consequence of the king's delegation to the parlement of his supreme judicial authority. Thus the *arrêt de règlement* was part of the constitution of the monarchy.

Payen devotes a long chapter to the role of the *procureur général* of the Parlement of Paris, the central figure in generating and managing the *arrêts de règlement* and in maintaining the indispensable archival records. From 1717 to 1790, this position was monopolized by members of the Joly de Fleury family: Guillaume-François, his son Guillaume-François-Louis, and the latter's nephews Omer-Louis-François and Armand-Guillaume. The 2,555 registers of the Joly de Fleury Collection in the Bibliotheque Nationale were essential to Payen's work.

Many *arrêts de règlement* issued by the parlements were listed by legal writers at the time, but no comprehensive list was ever drawn up. In his second volume, Payen examines some situations that gave rise to them, the ways in which they were drawn up, and their form. He presents an instructive example of *explication de textes*. The important common feature was that the judges would direct that their order be published throughout the territory of their jurisdiction: because it was a general rule, it was necessarily public. Some familiar themes of the history of the Parlement of Paris are scarcely mentioned in this work: the conflicts with royal power over remonstrances, or the aristocratic social character of the magistrates, for example. Instead the author's focus is steadily on how the parlement functioned, and how the Old Regime functioned, in one of its characteristic types of rule making.

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JAMES LIVESEY. *Making Democracy in the French Revolution.* (Harvard Historical Studies, number 140.) Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 2001. Pp. 326. $49.95.

The ambitiousness of James Livesey's argument is apparent in the very title of his book. Rejecting a historiography inspired by François Furet, who famously claimed that the French Revolution merely illustrates the "pathologies of French politics," Livesey asserts that the revolution was the cradle of modern European democracy. To make his case, he moves the terrain of argument away from the Terror to propose that revolutionaries made their distinctive contribution to modernity under the Directory, when politicians shaped a new kind of republicanism, "commercial republicanism," into political and cultural practices that would establish an enduring social base for democracy.

Livesey argues that during the final decades of the Old Regime, commercial republican thinkers like Adam Ferguson, Etienne Clavière, and J.-P. Brissot reversed the emphases of classical republican contemporaries, shifting attention from state to civil society as they asked what kinds of social customs and institutions were most likely to promote popular civic commitment. The answers that revolutionaries developed in succeeding years were uniquely suited to an increasingly commercial world, for rather than celebrating virtue and frugality they reconciled morality and pleasure with utilitarian arguments. Republican economists argued that market economies operate most efficiently under the freest political regimes—democratic republics—while moral philosophers asserted that such economies, when healthy, solidify republics by fostering social equality and eradicating poverty, rendering all citizens fit to participate in political life.

But however forward looking the theory of commercial republicanism, it was the crisis of revolution that moved it from idea to practice. This brings Livesey to his central contention, that the Directory gave life to modern republicanism by instituting policies and programs that linked republicanism with commerce. Here he narrows his optic to the Second Directory (1797–1799) and the activities of interior minister François de Neufchateau and a small coterie of like-minded men.

Under the Directory, commercial republican politicians attempted to overcome financial and institutional chaos to reshape economy and culture alike. In the economic realm, commercial republican thinkers championed small, independent farmers as the embodiment of their aims, as citizens both industrious and virtuous who produced necessities for expanding markets. In practice, however, small-holders had first to modernize production and increase output. Thus, François de Neufchateau struggled against fiscal and military obstacles to stimulate the grain trade, improve transport, and encourage agricultural reform. At the same time, he and others attempted to reorganize cultural institutions to foster mores (*moeurs*) necessary to the new republicanism: they redesigned school curricula and revolutionary festivals to promote republican sociability founded on egalitarian sentimentalism.

This short-term activity of the Second Directory was enhanced by a long-term movement to break up commons, which had the potential to reinforce independent small-holding. In his strongest and most imaginative chapter, Livesey traces the revolutionary debate over land reform that endured from 1790 to 1798, arguing that it became a dialogue between political elites and rural communities that enabled the latter to embrace the notion of economic development, acquire "the cultural resources to appropriate universal ideals, such as rights," and adopt commercial republicans' utilitarian idea that "the best government was that 'which made the greatest number happy'" (p. 163).

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In the end, Livesey confesses, most of the political initiatives he highlights—like commercial republicans themselves—were swept away by Napoleon. But, he insists, during their brief moment, commercial republicans imparted new language and new values to the countryside that would allow rural inhabitants to "master processes of modernization and democratization" (p. 246), becoming "the most articulate proponents of democratic political reform in the nineteenth-century French polity" (p. 164).

This is a challenging and imaginative book. By defining theories and practices of commercial republicanism, Livesey broadens our conception of revolutionary republicanism to suggest that it remained a vital and heterogeneous body of thought throughout the revolution, looking forward as well as back. It is, however, as a historian of the Directory that Livesey makes his most important contribution. Here he joins a growing cohort of American and French scholars who are demonstrating how important were the years between Thermidor and Brumaire in simultaneously reconfiguring and confirming social, cultural, and institutional legacies of the French Revolution. As he describes the blossoming of a republicanism that preserved some of the Jacobins' egalitarian aspirations while creating a more flexible notion of citizenship, Livesey affirms that the intellectual milieu of the period included more than ideologues, who have long held scholarly front and center.

And yet, the book's perspective remains frustratingly narrow. Livesey focuses so tightly on commercial republicanism itself that he fails to situate it adequately in the political and intellectual history of the Directory. This is a shame because it makes the book a more specialized study than it need be and because it compels Livesey to turn abruptly to foreign policy in his conclusion to explain the Directory's collapse. What the book occults is the dazzling variety of interpretations of the revolution's past and proposals for France's future—ranging from radically egalitarian to monarchist—that imparted to the Directory both its dynamism and its instability. In other words, having proposed to reintroduce agency to the study of the revolution, Livesey isolates his agents. He is so eager to abstract the essence of commercial republicanism from specific debates that he slights the factionalized political world in which its practices were formulated. Had he embedded commercial republicans more completely in their contemporary political context, Livesey could have provided a sharper sense of the volatile conditions that men like François de Neufchateau negotiated. Thus, rather than resting the importance of commercial republicanism on the problematic claim that it managed to create republican habits of mind at a national level in a mere two years, Livesey might have shown us what role commercial republicans played in the debate that dominated the Directory: how to end the revolution and found a just and enduring government.

Nonetheless, Livesey has fundamentally enhanced our understanding of the French Revolution by identifying an important body of political thought and introducing us to the revolutionary figures who tried to implement it.

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Richard D. E. Burton. *Blood in the City: Violence and Revelation in Paris, 1789–1945*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2001. Pp. xv, 395. $36.50.

If we ever needed proof that the lens shapes the picture, Richard D. E. Burton has provided it. In his survey of victimizing violence from 1789 to the end of World War II, Burton gives geography primacy over chronology. After a birdseye view of relations among the French state, the Catholic Church, and popular politics from 1789 to 1914, he offers eleven sketches of violence at selected sites over varying intervals: the taking of the Bastille (1789), Louis XVI's execution at the Place de la Révolution (1793), Bonapartist connections of the Place Vendôme and les Invalides (1802–1871), multiple violent events at the Place de Grève, then Place de l'Hôtel de Ville (1789–1871), sacred apparitions in the Rue du Bac (1830), executions and interments at Père Lachaise (1804–1945), Paul Claudel's claimed conversion at Notre Dame (1886), the wanderings from church to church of Joris-Karl Huysmans and a colorful array of mystic sinners (1884–1892), the rise of Sacré-Coeur and the Eiffel Tower (1871–1914), the roundups of Jews in the Rue des Rosiers, the Velodrome d'Hiver, and Drancy (1942), finally the purges and prosecutions that accompanied and followed the liberation of Paris (1944–1945). Burton, a literary scholar with two books on Charles Baudelaire to his credit, uses his deep knowledge of the city and its literature to powerful advantage. He chooses to pursue a striking thesis: that Parisian political violence recurrently enacted the sacrifice of the Catholic Mass, singling out one or more persons to expiate widespread sins, performing new versions of Christ's crucifixion, using force to strike at alleged conspiracies, insisting nevertheless (as the *Marseillaise* puts it) that impure blood drench French fields. All this plays out, according to Burton, against a background of irreversible secularization and futile attempts by churchmen to reverse it, even at the cost of fostering anti-Semitism.

Instead of arguing his thesis by lining up relevant cases and subjecting them to a common questionnaire, Burton tells well-crafted stories of selected moments, frequently abandoning his main argument for chapters at a time. The brief chapter on the visions of novice nun Catherine Labouré in 1830, for instance, features no violence at all but centers on the Catholic Church's authorization of a miraculous medal and its subsequent promotion of the Marian cult as a bid for popular support in an increasingly anticlerical country. Burton stages his scenes with care, repeatedly weaving the lives of literary figures into violent encounters, and

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vice versa. At the execution of convicted murderer Jean-Baptiste Troppmann (January 1870), for example, he identifies spectators Maxime Du Camp, Victorien Sardou, and—most surprisingly—Ivan Turgenev, who wrote an extraordinary description of the crowd, the victim, and the executioners' grisly work. Again, a vivid chapter on the Père Lachaise cemetery connects early nineteenth-century conflicts, the Paris Commune, the execution of Communards, and the subsequent cult of the cemetery's *Mur des fédérés* variously with the writings of Honoré de Balzac, Victor Hugo, Baudelaire, Emile Zola, and a host of other French authors.

Burton's concentration on symbolic moments in highly visible public places blurs his vision of the surrounding history. Although Burton deftly points out that Napoleon Bonaparte's would-be assassins of 1800 went to the guillotine clad in the red shirts ordinarily reserved for patricides, for example, he fails to recognize that the popular display of massacred officials' severed heads on pikes after the Bastille's fall directly mimicked the treatment Old Regime authorities had repeatedly commanded for the bodies of executed traitors: "Behold the head of a traitor." Instead, he describes the crowd's execution of Parisian *prévôt des marchands* Jacques de Flesselles on July 14, 1789, as a "bloody eucharist" (p. 36). Again, he claims that "virtually no" working-class Parisians resisted Louis Napoleon's coup of December 1851 (p. 94), when in fact about 1,200 Parisian militants, many of them authentic workers, went to the streets, and almost 400 of them died in the insurrection. No one should read this book as a comprehensive account of Parisian collective violence.

What of the Mass as template for crowd action? Members of vengeful crowds do, indeed, regularly follow models of victimization they have inherited from the past, and generally adopt shared cultural idioms to shame, punish, and destroy the objects of their vengeance; they do not leave their minds, as theorists of crowd psychology once supposed. But different crowds emerge from milieux imparting distinct models, idioms, and agendas. That citizens of a more or less Catholic country frequently employ Catholic imagery outside of church services should not surprise us. That one such image should have dominated Parisian crowd violence over a century and a half is both implausible and untrue. Burton has let his enthusiasm for a striking metaphor carry him away. Yet his finesse, erudition, verve, and wit draw us to join him on his whirlwind tour.

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MARTYN LYONS. *Readers and Society in Nineteenth-Century France: Workers, Women, Peasants*. New York: Palgrave. 2001. Pp. xi, 208. $60.00.

Is reading dangerous? Few today would claim that it is; in fact, the promotion of reading among a wider public is such an uncontroversial idea that it is considered the perfect project for apolitical First Ladies. Yet when mass popular reading first emerged in the nineteenth century, many viewed it with suspicion and alarm. In this accessible new volume, Martyn Lyons builds on his previous investigations into the social history of reading to focus on three groups of new readers in nineteenth-century France: workers, women, and peasants. Each, he argues, presented a threat to "traditional notions of patriarchy and social stability" (p. 2). Elites (be they clerical, bourgeois, or republican) who had previously had a monopoly on the consumption of the printed word actively attempted to censor and guide mass reading habits, fearing the consequences of indiscriminate reading. And in each case, Lyons shows how new readers broke free of such paternalistic control, infusing texts with meanings of their own. Reading, he concludes, could be a liberating act, inevitably emmeshed in the class and gender transformations of the industrial age.

After a brief introductory chapter describing the technological advances and educational expansion that created more plentiful inexpensive reading material and higher rates of literacy, Lyons takes up workers, women, and peasants in turn, first analyzing the ways in which elites tried to shape the reading practices of each group and then exploring acts of reading. In each case, the job of "reading" readers, as Lyons puts it—that is, examining how bourgeois society "imagined them and constructed them as a social problem" (p. 16)—is the easier historical task, largely because the sources are more plentiful. Lyons relates a wide variety of organized attempts to influence reading habits throughout the century: among others, Catholic Restoration missions that encouraged individuals to burn books by Voltaire and Rousseau on Lenten bonfires; the Second Empire war on the popular literature known as *colportage*; and associations like the Franklin Society and the Republican Ligue de l'Enseignement dedicated to creating popular libraries that would provide useful and instructive reading material to the lower classes. Although the political objectives of these reforming efforts often differed widely, what they had in common was a belief that unsupervised reading was dangerous and that new readers, left to their own devices, would not only choose inappropriate books (whose consumption might lead to inappropriate acts) but would read them superficially. This guidance was considered especially important for women, who were considered particularly flighty readers, liable to the indiscriminate reading of novels that would inflame their imaginations. Both the Catholic Church beginning in the 1860s and the feminist press at the turn of the century provided alternative reading models for women that "could counteract the two traps of ignorance and romanticism" (p. 97).

Lyons's more ambitious objective in this book comes in the chapters that move away from the prescriptive concerns of elites to the experience of reading by workers, women, and peasants themselves. He wants

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to know not only what they read but also when and how they read it, and what they made of their reading. Readers' responses to the printed word, often unexpressed and usually undocumented, are, of course, notoriously difficult to get at, but Lyons artfully combines a close reading of autobiographies with other shreds of evidence to probe the experience of reading. He concludes that working-class readers, largely self-taught, belonged "to a distinctive interpretive community of readers" (p. 77) who used reading to create their own self-sustaining culture, influenced by but still free of bourgeois constraints. Likewise, in the case studies of three women whose reading crossed the century, books served to expand their intellectual life and fulfill some of their ambitions; they "negotiated their own reading space" (p. 100) within traditional familial and societal boundaries. On peasants, the evidence is the most fragmentary and Lyons' conclusions the sketchiest, resulting in a somewhat familiar story of peasants seduced by reading only late in the century, when its benefit to their own lives became more apparent. Lyons rejects, however, a view that robs peasant readers of their autonomy; they, too, he argues, had distinctive cultural practices to defend and integrate into the new print culture.

By choosing to focus on new readers of the nineteenth century, Lyons has found a way to the heart of both the dangers and the possibilities of the new print culture. His short book serves both as a useful synthesis of the history of nineteenth-century reading and an original contribution to it. But it remains suggestive rather than comprehensive. The autobiographical evidence is handled with care and subtlety, but unfortunately we have no way of knowing how representative those readers who left personal memoirs really were. In his concluding chapter, Lyons acknowledges that he does not attempt to analyze the reading patterns of children, who were introduced to books in the rapidly expanding education system. But in addition to limiting himself to adult readers, Lyons also focuses primarily on the book as the entry to print culture; aside from an occasional mention, newspaper consumption, which exploded in the nineteenth century, receives no systematic analysis. Both subjects might have given him a better handle on peasant reading in particular. Nevertheless, through its dual investigation into the competing discourses of elite attempts to control reading and readers' "improvisation and resistance" (as one of the chapters is titled), this book succeeds in showing just how central a history of reading can be to understanding the vast forces transforming social, cultural, and political life in nineteenth-century France.

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R. E. UTLEY. *The French Defence Debate: Consensus and Continuity in the Mitterrand Era*. New York: St. Martin's. 2000. Pp. viii, 300. $68.00.

France has quite generally been said to enjoy an unusual degree of consensus on defense matters. R. E. Utley's book questions the reality of this concept, suggesting that aside from agreement on the nuclear deterrent, the much-discussed consensus was at the least overstated, and often fictitious.

Defense consensus had in fact several levels, as Utley notes. Charles de Gaulle's actions removing France from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization's (NATO) unified command structure won general acquiescence with the waning of the Atlanticist forces in the 1970s. Critics on the right were taken into Valéry Giscard d'Estaing's coalitions; on the left the more Atlanticist old Section Française de l'Internationale Ouvriére (SFIO) Socialists were subsumed after 1971 into François Mitterrand's new Parti Socialiste, soon to be in alliance with the Communists. The latter, while opposed to de Gaulle's nuclear policies, very much liked his chilliness toward NATO. Before the end of the Cold War, very few voices could be heard in any quarter advocating anything resembling a return to NATO integration.

Another level was agreement that France should possess a nuclear weapons capability, which began when the Communist and Socialist parties rallied to nuclear defense in 1977 and 1978. Utley argues that this, too, ended in the mid-1980s, so far as the Communists were concerned, since they began to advocate a reduction of nuclear capability. By the mid-1980s, however, the Communists were out of the government and their electoral strength had been halved, so their half-heartedness on this question (not total rejection, as in the past) had considerably less importance.

Finally, there was little or no dispute on presidential responsibility on defense questions, the so-called *domaine réservé*, which is not in the written constitution of the Fifth Republic but has been immutable ever since de Gaulle. Mitterrand, once the leading critic of the constitution, found as president that de Gaulle's constitution suited him very well, and this especially included the unwritten part. Other major figures who at different junctures criticized aspects of defense planning had presidential hopes of their own and did not wish to diminish presidential prerogatives.

Although Utley does not contest these broad areas of consensus, she argues, quoting Hubert Védrine from a 1996 interview, that "this consensus was superficial, more verbal than real" (p. 203). General agreement on de Gaulle's policy of French defense autonomy conditioned this superficiality. The Gaullist legacy committed France to a more expensive defense than the country could afford; a choice was necessary, and it meant neglect of conventional forces. However, after 1978, no one wanted to denounce the nuclear priority. Thus the parliamentary opposition might, and did, criticize neglect of conventional forces, but its members continued the same course when in power. Criticism concerned subordinate details but not the overarching policies.

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Since Utley is concerned to emphasize criticism, she does not specifically make the point that because France could not afford its ambitious policies but was determined not to give them up, criticism on defense questions could only concern details and would usually be politically motivated and ineffectual. The officer corps complained that it was not given the resources it needed; parliamentary voices and military correspondents in the press would discuss this, but in a country where parliament counts for little and the country at large was not much interested in the details of military questions, nothing much changed.

The end of the Cold War invalidated the premises of Gaullist military policies, and the Gulf War demonstrated the insufficiencies of the French army and air force. One answer to this problem was the creation of a European force, an idea strongly supported by Mitterrand. His initial reaction to the end of the Cold War was that NATO no longer had any raison d'être, a position undermined both by the usefulness of NATO training and logistical patterns in the Gulf War and the inability of the Europeans alone to measure up to the challenges of war in the former Yugoslavia. Leading members of Jacques Chirac's Rassemblement pour la République (RPR), including Chirac himself and Alain Juppé, foreign minister 1993–1995, argued for closer relations with NATO. Here was a change in criticism, from details to fundamental policy.

Utley' book, dealing with events from 1981 to 1995, does not take up the not-quite rapprochement with NATO under Chirac, nor the closer military relation with Great Britain dating from the 1998 St. Malo meeting. Sometimes overly concerned to report every item of criticism of military policy and practice that could be garnered, the book does not always distinguish clearly between criticisms by important figures and organs and those of lesser weight, such as the Trotskyite publication *Rouge*. Nevertheless, the extensive research that marks the book demonstrates that under Mitterrand much disagreement underlaid the agreement on certain broad and often ill-defined principles.

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Max Engman. *Lejonet och Dubbelörnen: Finlands imperiella decennier 1830–1890* [The Lion and the Double Eagle: Finland's Imperial Decades 1830–1890]. (Svenska Humanistiska Förbundets Skriftserie, number 113.) Stockholm: Atlantis. 2000. Pp. 402.

This book treats a period of Finnish history that has received little attention. Although Finland was united with Russia for more than a hundred years, from 1809 to 1917, historical research has focused on the constitutional crisis that developed between 1899 and 1917. As the author rightly points out, much of what occurred during the rest of the century has been considered less important. Within the Russian Empire, Finland was granted a great deal of autonomy and allowed to retain its own legal and bureaucratic system. Since no dramatic changes occurred, the nineteenth century has been considered not worthy of study or not as worthy of study as other, more dramatic periods in the country's history. Max Engman, Finland's foremost expert on the period, clearly shows with this collection of essays that such is not the case.

The first part of the book looks at various groups of Finns who left Finland proper to seek their fortunes in Russia. Finnish officers took advantage of career opportunities within the Russian army and navy and advanced to the highest ranks. The author explores the different paths for advancement and considers what this meant for Finland, pointing out that that the loyalty of the Finnish officers positively influenced Finland's autonomous status. Few Finnish men enlisted in the Russian army as common soldiers. Only between 1831 and 1833, years of economic crisis in Finland, did several thousand Finns allow themselves to be recruited as replacements for conscripted Russian peasant farmers. Using official documents including court records of cases where conflicts arose among farmers, the recruits, and the military, Engman provides detailed information on how this recruitment took place.

As the seafaring capabilities of the Russians were limited, Finnish seamen and officers were in demand and found positions in both the navy and the merchant marine. Finnish engineers, on the other hand, were few in number and made little real impact on the Russian need for technical expertise, although certain individuals, such as Robert Runeberg (son of Johan Ludvig Runeberg, Finland's national poet), were quite successful. Also included in this section is an essay examining lists of potential marriage partners that were compiled by cadets at the Finnish elite military academy at Fredrikshamn. The lists, which were sometimes published, often included quite humorous descriptions of various physical and/or intellectual attributes of the young women.

The second part of the book deals with Finland's second largest city, St. Petersburg. Engman begins by reviewing the role St. Petersburg played in Finland's political history. Having St. Petersburg as a close neighbor has not only influenced Finland's perception of Russia but also determined, to a large extent, the country's fate in international politics. Using both historical documents and works of fiction the author shows that from a political and military point of view, Finland would have been better off if St. Petersburg had never been built. Two essays, one on the establishment of Finnish-language schools in St. Petersburg and one on Eric Gustaf Ehrström, an early supporter of the use of the Finnish language in education, discuss the language problem, which revolved around the status of Swedish, Finnish, and Russian in the school system. The remaining articles treat the development of the book trade in Finnish and Swedish books in St. Petersburg, philanthropic activity among the Finnish

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population in St. Petersburg, and the establishment of a Finnish steam launch company in the city.

Most, if not all, of the articles in this book have been published elsewhere either in anthologies or in periodicals. Each of the articles provides a wealth of information for those particularly interested in engineers or army officers or any of the other subjects dealt with. When read separately, they provide valuable information and insights on the particular topic. However, apart from dealing directly or indirectly with Finns in Russia, the book lacks a clear structure, and its layout certainly could have been improved. The numerous pages with only small photographs or drawings detract from the attractiveness of the book. A better presentation of this material would have created room for a number of maps that, even for a reader familiar with the geography of the region, would have been extremely helpful. It appears from the introductory chapter, which discusses in general terms the importance of the period not only for the history of the country but also for understanding present-day Finnish politics, that the book is intended for the more general reader. Yet the language remains academic. For the historian, the book lacks focus with no discussion of why just these particular studies are important for understanding the period. However, as these articles do treat an overlooked period of Finnish history, collecting them in one book certainly has made them more accessible.

JOHN ROGERS
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THOMAS MAX SAFLEY. *Matheus Miller's Memoir: A Merchant's Life in the Seventeenth Century.* (Early Modern History: Society and Culture.) New York: St. Martin's. 2000. Pp. ix, 26. $59.95.

This attempt to reconstruct the values and inner life of a seventeenth-century German merchant rests on an unpublished *Tagebuch* in the Augsburg city archive. The document is not an account of business transactions, a systematic autobiography or family chronicle, or even a searching introspection of the sort associated with Puritan diaries. Rather it combines elements of all these genres in a memoir of the events that Matheus Miller (1625–1685) found worth recording, both for his own ruminations on their meaning and for the information and edification of his descendants. His text is a life story and a self-representation that offers an opportunity to explore the experience and mentality of an individual otherwise lost to history. While seeking to situate that elusive merchant in time and place, Thomas Max Safley addresses several topics important to social and cultural historians. Throughout, he maintains a focus on the individual and aligns himself with notions of personal agency in early modern culture.

The resulting book is less a biography or history of a mercantile career, as its subtitle implies, than a study of attitudes and values inferred from the activities and cryptic comments found in Miller's memoir. This businessman didn't discuss moneymaking much, so Safley turns to other archival sources for information about his wealth or business and political connections. After a sketch of Miller's youth, the memoir records a series of events from his first marriage in 1647 to shortly before his death in 1685. For the analysis, Safley clusters these experiences around several key subjects: patriarchal authority, affective relations in family life, more general sociability, public service, religious views (associated with attitudes toward death), and religious and personal identity. With each topic, Miller's presentation serves as a case study of general interpretive questions and scholarly approaches. The merchant's three marriages provide handsome evidence, for example, of both social and individual considerations in personal unions, as Safley demonstrates the changing emphases from passionate engagement, to companionship, to sustenance in Miller's spousal choices. Here we find a balanced analysis that avoids false dichotomies between love and instrumentality in marriage, friendship and economic or political interests in wider social relations, and spiritual and secular perspectives on life decisions. In his methodological and substantive discussions, Safley takes moderate revisionist stances that will bring current researchers few surprises but do offer them judicious treatment of issues. Thus his analysis of the prescriptive norms of patriarchy highlights and illustrates their flexible application in Miller's representation of his family life.

The daunting challenge lies, however, in the quest for Miller's personal identity, something informing the roles and views presented in his memoir. Although Safley would face a difficult task demonstrating his general assertion that "with the erosion of traditional urban society, doubts emerged not over the nature of community or of citizenship but rather over the location of the self" (p. 114), his focus on the personal and individual features of social life is surely warranted. Assessment of Miller's start in business must weigh his own efforts against family hindrances and help, for instance, yet Safley's conclusion that Miller was a self-made merchant resembles the proverbial call about the half full or half empty glass. Clearer evidence of personal agency appears, however, in Miller's individual take on customary practices and on the moral precepts that informed his private life, business relations, and public service. Since religious values were central to identity, this book's greatest potential lies in the personal perspective it offers on life in confessionally divided Augsburg. But while reactions to death provide insight into religious sensibilities, the assertions here that Miller's Lutheranism did not assuage his grief or even provide a medium for remembrance require more careful textual support in light of the strong evidence Safley provides for his confessional engagement. Otherwise, this subtle analysis appears to rest on a view that "comfort" comes chiefly from theological understanding rather than the ecclesiastical and social aspects of confessionalism as a promi-

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nent feature of a person's identity and way of life. More revealing of Miller's personality is Safley's argument that the memoir served not just as a didactic model for future generations but, even more, as an apologia to assure the merchant that he had achieved the reliability and probity apparently questioned by his family during his youth. Juxtaposed to this persuasive interpretation is a final emphasis on Miller's complacency, a psychological reading that avoids the appearance of contradiction (as the discussion of religion might have done) through the author's intelligent and sensitive rendering of the ambivalences and complexities in his merchant of Augsburg.

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JOHN M. EFRON. *Medicine and the German Jews: A History*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 2001. Pp. viii, 343. $35.00.

The special affinity of Jews to medicine, both as practitioners and as patients, is proverbial. The anti-Semitic mystique, focusing on Jewish physicians as devils incarnate, is likewise commonly known. John M. Efron's book sets out to study this complex theme in depth. Such a study has indeed long been awaited. It fills in a major gap in the history of German Jewry and is at the same time an important contribution to the history of anti-Semitism in the German-speaking part of Central Europe, from the Middle Ages to the Holocaust.

Judaism, according to Efron, places a special emphasis on the physical and mental well-being of its adherents. The often attested to eagerness of Jews to seek medical services is for him an expression of the fundamental tenets of their religious tradition. Thus, he is able to weave a long historical narrative, going back at least to the mid-thirteenth century, when medicine "came to occupy a central place in the array of professions engaged in by medieval Jewry" (p. 13). It was during this early period, too, that much of the anti-Semitic stereotyping of Jewish physicians and medicine was shaped, especially though not exclusively in Germany. Jewish medical men in that country, however, only rarely appeared as that hybrid of doctor cum rabbinical scholar common in medieval Spain or in Eastern Europe. German Jewish physicians were more often than not feared as subversive of traditional authority, known as advocates of change who worked for the improvement of Jewish health in particular and the Jewish community's situation in general. From the seventeenth century onward, as Jews began to be trained at various European universities, they conspicuously engaged in a critical discourse, voicing the universal truths of their time and sharing life in science with their non-Jewish colleagues. Medicine, Efron explains, opened for them a window to the non-Jewish world, providing a route for upward mobility and embourgeoisement, the prerequisites of modernization.

Jewish doctors thus contributed to the enlightened critique of Jewish life and to the negative image of the Jew as both physically and mentally inferior. Strangely enough, their claims often coincided with contemporary anti-Semitic verbiage. Later, especially in fin-de-siècle Vienna but also elsewhere in Germany, as racism became more widespread and the biological and mental otherness of the Jews more central to anti-Semitism, both Jews and non-Jews seemed to be engaged in the same medical discourse. It was not only Zionist physicians, Efron claims, who noted the debilitating effects of ghetto life on the one hand and of self-effacing assimilation on the other. This was a claim common among antimodernists of all religious persuasions, and also among liberal professionals of various ideological affinities. At the same time, some Jewish doctors took an opposite line of argument and set out to defend Judaism with a variety of scientific tools. Some concentrated on defending Jewish rituals in terms of modern medicine. Others pointed out that statistically Jews made up in fact a particularly healthy group, all popular views to the contrary notwithstanding. Still, the major narrative of Efron's book exposes the tradition of critically examining the Jewish body from within and from without. Medical anti-Semitism appears to have been ever present according to this narrative, continuously on the rise, a permanent threat.

Efron does dedicate an interesting chapter to the Jewish doctors in the Kaiserreich and Weimar Republic, describing their social position and some of their achievements outside the main narrative. Here he manages to step back from the anti-Semitic theme, presenting Jews in the new medical specialties and within the framework of state-supported social medicine. The constant reference to the anti-Jewish forces in Germany sometimes prevents a wider look at the circumstances of the time, at the variety of attitudes toward Jews, and at their special position as medical men. After all, in some of the major cities of late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Germany, Jews constituted more than forty percent of the practicing professionals. Considering the size of the Jewish population at the time, clearly most of their patients were non-Jews. These apparently remained unaffected by the constant anti-Semitic attacks on Jewish doctors. Perhaps the latter were not as vocal as one suspects? Perhaps the doctors' reputations were such that the slander campaigns against them remained rather marginal? Efron intended to confront these issues, but the critical Jewish voice on the one hand and the anti-Semitic literature on the other seem to have overwhelmed him to some degree. The history of German Jewish medicine was not only a sideline of a more general anti-Semitic narrative but also a story of sucess, even triumph. This is mentioned by Efron, to be sure, but he places his emphasis elsewhere. In any case, he has brought the theme to our attention,

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sketched its contours, and covered much unknown territory. His book will be indispensable for all future researchers.

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ERIC DORN BROSE. *The Kaiser's Army: The Politics of Military Technology in Germany during the Machine Age, 1870–1918*. New York: Oxford University Press. 2001. Pp. 318.

The resounding victories of the Prussian Army in Otto von Bismarck's wars of unification further enhanced the reputation and the social standing of an institution that had always played a predominant role in state and society. Memories of the frightful slaughter at Gravelotte, Saint Privat, and Mars-la-Tour soon began to fade, and intoxicating visions of the glamorous heroics of the cavalry charge and mass frontal attacks filled the heads of Germany's senior commanders, a disproportionate number of whom were cavalrymen. Even the more technically minded artillery was swept away by this vision. It had played a minor role in 1866, but at Sedan it was decisive when the field artillery had been rushed up to the front and brought as close to the enemy as possible. The foot artillery with their heavy pieces, hidden well behind the front, were felt to be lacking in dash, and bravado, and the fortress artillery were treated with scarcely concealed contempt.

Men, muscle, and morale were far more important to such officers than mere machines. Prussian war minister Bronsart von Schellendorf, admittedly an infantryman, once remarked that one could have too much artillery. There was strong resistance in some quarters to magazine rifles on the grounds that they would encourage soldiers to waste ammunition. Sturdy morale, force of character, imaginative tactics, and good generalship was what counted, not firepower.

The conservatives with their romantic vision of heroic cavalry charges and mass attacks by plucky infantrymen were soon challenged by reformers who realized that the nature of modern warfare was changing rapidly, and who felt that the unacceptably high casualties of the Franco-Prussian War foreshadowed even worse horrors to come. The aristocrat Alfred von Waldersee was quick to realize that the cavalry would be hideously mauled in any future war and that they would have to act as mounted infantry. Thus he found himself in broad agreement with the left-liberal Eugen Richter who denounced suicide charges by snobs on horseback. Waldersee also knew the importance of heavy artillery and was dismissive of the field artillery's obsession with fighting shoulder to shoulder with the infantry. He told the minister of war that the German artillery was the worst in the world, hastily adding "except for the English." Another aristocrat, Sigismund von Schlichting, realized that frontal assaults by infantry had to be avoided at all costs and hoped to find the answer to the ever-increasing strength of the defense at the operational rather than the tactical level. At the same time, he stressed the importance of delegating authority on the battlefield (*Auftragtaktik*), which inevitably had the reverse effect. Throughout World War I, the German Army showed considerable tactical skill but was operationally inept.

The reformers' case, based largely on the experience of the Franco-Prussian War, was further strengthened by the disastrous mass Russian attack at Plevna in 1877. Younger officers like Friedrich von Bernhardi and Georg Friedrich von Kleist railed against the suicidal mass attacks still championed by the conservatives. They wanted to use the cavalry mainly for reconnaissance and then to fight as infantry. New infantry regulations of 1888, largely the work of Schlichting, reflected these ideas. Mass attacks were ruled out, except when the enemy was caught completely by surprise, and *Auftragtaktik* was to apply down to the section level. There was strong opposition from the old guard, which had a powerful ally in William II. The young kaiser played an active role in making key appointments in the army, and the conservatives became increasingly powerful. Schlichting was forcibly retired in 1896.

The kaiser's ineptitude in matters military was obvious to all but his court toadies, and Eric Dorn Brose gives a vivid account of how William II gradually lost all credibility. By 1908, the army again had the upper hand and was determined to make up for lost time. Germany lagged behind France, England, and Russia in machine guns and by 1911 had only six per brigade. Erich von Ludendorff, now one of the key reformers, saw no use for the heavy MG-08 in the attack and proclaimed that it would be the "kiss of death to an offensive." Germany managed to overtake the French in heavy artillery, largely thanks to the dynamic Captain Max Bauer at the general staff, and achieved rough parity with France in artillery, and airplanes, by 1914.

The German army was plagued by the rivalries among the general staff, the military cabinet, and the war ministry; by the kaiser's inability to provide effective leadership; and by the competition for scarce resources with the navy. Arguments over weaponry were compounded by arguments over its tactical application. The enormous increase in firepower due to the machine gun and in the destructive power of the artillery led a number of prominent soldiers, among them both von Moltkes, Baron von der Goltz, Gossler and Köpke, to argue that the next war would be a lengthy affair. Some even went as far as to suggest that Germany could not possibly win such a war. Yet nothing was done to plan for such an eventuality; everything was left to blind faith in the general staff's war plan.

Brose has written a lively and highly readable account of the debates over technological innovation and the institutional, tactical, and operational implications of the new weapons. His book is based on solid research and provides further convincing evidence that the German army was not quite the awesome fighting

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machine that it has been made out to be, and that many of its officers were every bit as bone-headed as their much-maligned British counterparts. Some of the conclusions he draws are dubious, and the account of the war in the final two chapters is too sketchy to be of much help. Moltke's plan failed in 1914 because of hair-raisingly risky strategic thinking, serious operational mistakes, and the failure for domestic political reasons to field a sufficiently large army, rather than because of technological backwardness and tactical ineptitude. It was the lack of food, fodder, and above all men, not the arrival of one million Americans, that "tipped the scales" in 1918. The real tragedy was that the voices of those who warned against Germany's bid for world power were not heeded, that the increasing number of those who called for a negotiated peace were equally ignored, and that in 1918 few could accept that Germany had been defeated in the field. The fatal consequences of such blindness are all too familiar.

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GUILLAUME DE SYON. *Zeppelin! Germany and the Airship, 1900–1939*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2002. Pp. xi, 295. $29.95.

More than other nations, Germans have defined themselves by means of technical achievements, not least in the crafting of vehicles: trains, cars, warships, and aircraft all played an important role in the development of German identity. Among means of transportation, Count Zeppelin's rigid airship stands out, because in the first decades of the twentieth century it was considered to be particularly "German." Now Guillaume de Syon presents an engaging book that examines the meaning of the Zeppelin for the German collective mentality. He explains why, for a certain time, the airship seemed to embody an almost ideal combination of German "culture" and technological modernism. De Syon analyzes the emergence and modification of the Zeppelin's "popular imagination." Theoretically his book is based on scholarly work on symbolic roles of technology, while empirically it draws upon a huge quantity of sources that in this respect have not been previously examined.

The Zeppelin is not only important as the German "icon of the choice" (p. 4), but it is also an excellent example of the way that a technical object can be loaded with very different meanings. This is because, in the golden age of "Zeppelinitis," Germany experienced three systems of rule. De Syon investigates the specific interpretations of the Zeppelin in the German Empire, the Weimar Republic, and the National Socialist dictatorship. In addition, the book includes chapters on the role of the Zeppelin in World War I and on the early 1930s "Arctic Airship" project. Whereas the airship in the empire took off as a symbol of national superiority and mobilized Germans to confidence in victory during the Great War, after the November Revolution it became a symbol of republican civility, and in the Third Reich it was an icon of the demands of the new German superpower. Almost every political party supported the Zeppelin, not least because the German population was so enthusiastic about it. Again and again, not only Count Zeppelin but, after his death, his successor Hugo Eckener mobilized the public in order to place their product effectively in the marketplace of the modern age.

The author establishes very clearly that the Zeppelin was most effective on the symbolic and psychological level, whereas its practical potential was more limited. In World War I, the German public looked on the Zeppelin as a wonder weapon, the British and the French panicked at its sight, but the experts realized its military ineffectiveness. It was the public, too, that helped the Zeppelin to its revival in the Weimar Republic, now with a civil meaning. At this time, not only utopian imaginations were involved but also nostalgic emotions. Airship construction made considerable progress in these years, but it no longer represented the most advanced aeronautics. In the Weimar period the Zeppelin had to compete with aircraft that in some ways were more efficient and more attractive to the contemporary expectations. In the age of New Realism, functionality, efficiency, and speed, the specific symbolical "sublime" of the Zeppelin was no longer the incarnation of modernity. Moreover, airship navigation could be admired but not performed on one's own, as many young persons were learning to do in the numerous gliding associations.

De Syon's sound considerations inspire further discussions. In the chapter on the Third Reich, he demonstrates convincingly that the Zeppelin actually did not fit very well into the National Socialist image of technology, although it was used for reasons of propaganda again and again. Perhaps this was not primarily because the airship served as a "symbol of peace" in the Weimar Republic (p. 177) but rather because it did not represent the peak of technological modernity, not in the civilian and particularly not in the military field, which was highly prioritized by the National Socialists right from the start. In this way, the Zeppelin, still loved by the German people, could overcome what happened to aircraft, which came to be seen as the decisive weapon in the war of German supremacy in the world.

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FRANK BAJOHR. *"Aryanisation" in Hamburg: The Economic Exclusion of Jews and the Confiscation of their Property in Nazi Germany*. Translated by GEORGE WILKE. (Monographs in German History, number 7.) New York: Berghahn Books. 2002. Pp. vii, 344. Cloth $69.95, paper $25.00.

On November 12, 1938, two days after the *Kristallnacht* pogrom, Hermann Göring decreed that Jews were to be removed from all remaining positions in the Ger-

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man economy by January 1, 1939. His decree effected the conclusion to the Nazis' attack on Jewish economic interests that had begun immediately after their acquisition of power in 1933. The centerpiece of that attack had been "Aryanization," the confiscation of Jewish-owned businesses and other properties by racially preferred Aryans. With few exceptions, historians have neglected to focus on this aspect of the regime's assault on Jewish-owned property during the years prior to Göring's order. Nazi impositions of terror, discriminatory legislation, and forced emigration have been subjected to close scrutiny, but only recently has Aryanization begun to receive its due attention. During the 1980s, Avraham Barkai was among the first to note the importance of Aryanization, pointing particularly to the degree that Nazi motivation was as much charged with simple greed as it was with ideological anti-Semitism. Since then, historians such as Peter Hayes and Gerhard Kratzsch have made major contributions to fitting the Nazi assault on the economic position of Jews into the larger picture of their persecution.

Frank Bajohr's contribution to the understanding of Aryanization is to examine how, between 1933 and 1939, it was carried out in the *Gau* (party district) of Hamburg. His is the first comprehensive regional study and a remarkably detailed piece of historical reconstruction. The difficulties Bajohr faced were considerable. The late Allied entry into Hamburg on May 3, 1945, allowed Nazi authorities to destroy much documentation, including that concerning Aryanization. Scattered evidence is still available, however, because Aryanization inevitably enlisted non-party agencies, including banking institutions, law offices, tax bureaus, foreign exchange offices, chambers of commerce, and the businesses themselves. Bajohr lists the sixteen archives he used in reconstructing the story of Aryanization in Hamburg. These include the obvious ones in Hamburg and elsewhere in Germany, the National Archives in Washington, D.C., the Special Archive in Moscow, and a variety of smaller public and private archives.

Bajohr's findings extend the understanding of the polycratic nature of the Nazi system from the center (Berlin) to the regional level (*Gau* Hamburg). He finds Aryanization in Hamburg to have been carried out largely without executive direction from Berlin. Most often it was locally initiated. Moreover, the assault on Jewish businesses began in Hamburg in March 1933, before Berlin had formulated a Jewish policy of any sort. In one illustrative case, the initiator was a business rival of the allegedly Jewish-owned firm of Beiersdorf AG, a pharmaceutical company that produced the market-leading skin cream called Nivea. Beiersdorf's competitor, Quiesser and Company, produced an advertisement urging consumers to "Use Jewish skin cream no longer! Lovana Cream [Quiesser's own] is at least as good, cheaper and purely German!" and followed up by distributing tens of thousands of yellow stickers proclaiming that "Anyone who buys Nivea products is supporting a Jewish company" (p. 23). Beiersdorf's management caved in quickly to what Bajohr calls "voluntary Aryanization." Within weeks its Jewish board members resigned and when shortly thereafter the Jewish banking house of M.M. Warburg and Company converted its majority shares into common stock, Beiersdorf AG was suddenly in Aryan hands.

What Bajohr demonstrates most effectively is how so many sectors of German society cooperated in and profited from the dispossession of the Jews. In addition to Nazi party officials themselves, chambers of commerce, banks, jealous managers, lawyers, and local bureaucrats became entwined in a system that despoiled its Jewish victims. Motivations were legion. Ideological commitments to anti-Semitism were not always at the forefront. It could be a competitor, as was the case with Beiersdorf AG, or a disgruntled employee eager to enrich himself who would set an Aryanization process into motion. Ideology might, of course, serve as a cover. Charging a Jewish business owner with *Rassenschande* (racial treason in the form of a sexual relationship with an Aryan woman) was a common means of softening him up. Inevitably bureaucrats, bankers, lawyers, property assessors, and tax and currency officials would have to be involved for the Aryanization to be completed. The energy these people brought to their task contributed mightily to the wholesale exclusion of Jews from the German economy. That energy would soon lead to something far worse.

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GERALD D. FELDMAN. *Allianz and the German Insurance Business, 1933–1945*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 2001. Pp. xxii, 568. $59.95.

A significant recent development in historical scrutiny of the Third Reich has been the opening of records of some of Germany's major business corporations to researchers. The need to respond to class-action litigation in the United States has spurred this trend, but even beforehand there was a growing recognition on the part of enlightened executives that the best way to deal with dark chapters of their companies' past is to subject them to untrammeled examination by professional historians. Since a paucity of knowledge about the role of the large corporations that dominated the German economy has long been a deficiency of the historiography of the Third Reich, this is a welcome development.

One of the fruits of this trend is Gerald D. Feldman's study, which was commissioned by a major German insurance firm, Allianz AG. With the financial support and cooperation of its management, Feldman and a staff of research assistants were able to compensate for the extensive wartime destruction of the firm's records by gathering relevant documentation from

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numerous repositories and reconstituting a company archive that is now open to other researchers. The book, written after completion of that task, was not vetted by the firm and thus stands as a work of independent scholarship.

Relying of necessity heavily on documents and testimonies generated by postwar trials, Feldman provides a detailed account of the increasing implication of what was then Germany's largest insurance concern in the criminality of the Nazi regime. Although the firm played no role in Adolf Hitler's rise to power, it prospered from the economic upswing that ensued and embraced the new order. Allianz found itself under repeated attack, however, by radical Nazi officials who took seriously the word "Socialist" in their party's name and sought to curb the private insurance companies by advantaging publicly chartered insurers and promoting eventual nationalization of the whole branch. In response, the top executives of Allianz took a leading part in mobilizing resistance on the part of the organizations of the private insurance sector and by cultivating the favor of such Nazi grandees as Hermann Göring, Heinrich Himmler, and Walther Funk. The result was ever greater entanglement with a lawless regime, which reached its peak during World War II, when Allianz sought to establish hegemony over the insurance business in the countries conquered by Germany.

Feldman subjects the responses of Allianz to Nazi measures against Germany's Jews to particularly searching examination. Largely free of anti-Semitism themselves, the concern's executives undertook no independent measures against the firm's Jewish employees but nevertheless complied with pressure from the regime to remove them. In parting with veteran Jewish management colleagues and agents, they demonstrated considerable solicitude, seeking to cushion their departures materially within the limits imposed by the regime and, where possible, to arrange employment with affiliated firms abroad. The firm displayed no scruples, however, in realizing gain from the purchase of real estate and Allianz shares from Jewish owners who were compelled by government pressures for "aryanization" to settle for knock-down prices. Especially reprehensible was the role of the firm's leaders in conspiring with the regime on behalf of the association of private insurers in a cruel hoax that channeled to the government the sizeable insurance payments owed to Jews who suffered property damage in the *Kristallnacht* pogrom of November 1938. Nor did the firm later resist cooperating in the regime's violation of private property rights by confiscating the insurance assets of Jews who fled abroad or fell victim to the Holocaust.

The individual who figures most prominently in the book is Kurt Schmitt, the Allianz executive who served as Hitler's economics minister from mid-1933 until early 1935 and thereafter played a prominent role in the concern as well as in the organizations of private insurers. A man of enormous energy and talent, Schmitt was drawn into contact with National Socialism through an acquaintanceship with Göring that dated to 1930, something he chose to forget after the war. But although he joined the party in the spring of 1933, he had many reservations about its methods and was never fully accepted by hard-core Nazis. While he admitted after the war that he had believed Jews were overrepresented in the upper reaches of German society, he sought as minister to mitigate anti-Jewish measures in the economic sphere and remained on cordial terms with Jewish colleagues and acquaintances. Nevertheless, he serves as a case study of the many prominent Germans who, out of misguided patriotism, suppressed doubts, compromised their values, and collaborated with a regime whose criminality became increasingly evident, consoling themselves with the illusion that they were somehow preventing still worse things from happening.

This is a valuable book that adds much to our understanding of how the German economy functioned under Nazi rule and how a large part of the German business elite allowed itself to be morally corrupted by Hitler's regime.

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JAN ERIK SCHULTE. *Zwangsarbeit und Vernichtung: Das Wirtschaftsimperium der SS; Oswald Pohl und das SS-Wirtschafts-Verwaltungshauptamt 1933–1945*. Foreword by HANS MOMMSEN. Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh. 2001. Pp. xii, 550. DM 78.00.

Jan Erik Schulte offers the first complete study of the SS-Economic and Administrative Main Office (WVHA), its chief, Oswald Pohl, and their place in Heinrich Himmler's vast eastern settlement plan and concentration camp system. Schulte acknowledges that research on this topic is already well advanced but has largely focused on particular aspects. To build his more comprehensive picture, he exploits that extensive body of German and English-language literature focused on the concentration camps, forced labor, SS industrial undertakings, and the Waffen-SS. To complete the picture, Schulte exploited the relevant holdings of German federal, land, and institutional archives, including SS personal records from the former Berlin Document Center and the trial records of Pohl and his WVHA officers. He also tapped archives in Poland, Czechoslovakia, the Baltic States, Russia, and the Netherlands, as well as the increasingly comprehensive holdings of the U. S. Holocaust Memorial Museum. One cannot suggest a source he has missed in his effort to fill the many holes left by the end-of-war destruction of WVHA records.

In terms of new coverage, Schulte narrates the role of SS administration in the prewar formation of the armed SS units and provides a more complete analysis of its role in the management and expansion of the concentration camp system and the use of its internees in SS enterprises in the war economy. More impor-

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tantly, he examines its role in the crucial period of 1941–1942 to the development and planning of Nazi imperialism in the east, specifically the ethnic cleansing and settlement programs. These, plus the filling of numerous little holes in the story, provide a full picture of the SS administrative and economic organization and its place in the Nazi regime.

To determine whether Pohl and his lieutenants were merely the bureaucratic executors of Himmler's assignments or if their own goals and plans played a significant role, Schulte examined their ideological and utilitarian positions. Pohl was more concerned that his officers be "soldierly administrators" than the ideologically motivated "political soldiers" of Himmler's SS model. By the same token, Pohl's goals of economic efficiency usually conflicted with and foundered on entrenched SS beliefs about the uselessness and desired fate of camp inmates, especially Russian POWs and Jews. Regardless, Pohl was blindly obedient to Himmler, and his lieutenants identified thoroughly with their agency and its mission. In the WVHA, concern over the camp inmates limited itself to their useful exploitation rather than their well-being. These "managers of human resources" were only a little more productive than SS exterminators; instead WVHA efforts to increase the supply of forced labor led to the wartime explosion of inmate numbers. Ultimately the WVHA indirectly became the administrative center of the Holocaust and SS terror.

Schulte has done an amazing job unraveling the byzantine complexity of SS financing and administrative structures. Given the overlap of SS, police, and later homeland defense missions inherent in Himmler's multiple offices, funding came from both party and state. Pohl was able to exploit this overlap to extract from the richer government resources more funding than could otherwise have come from the party treasury. Pohl adroitly exploited his responsibility for the administration of the armed SS units, classified as police units, to build his empire. By 1939, he had gained independent administrative and financial control over the concentration camps and SS-Totenkopf guards under Theodore Eicke. Only the police remained mostly outside the control of SS administrators until the last years, when the Ordnungspolizei were included. Carefully building in small increments, Pohl had avoided alarming competitors.

During the war, Pohl greatly expanded SS economic enterprises to support the armed SS and Himmler's ideological fixations. Specifically, he became Himmler's most important sounding board and accomplice in the planning of the SS strong points and eastern settlement. In turn, the need for construction labor to support these projects converted the existing concentration camp system into the labor-death camps of the occupied eastern territories.

Because the author employs an achronological-topical format, one must read the conclusion first to discover Schulte's four phases of the development of Pohl's empire and to have a chronological perspective. To maintain complicated relationships in the achronological narrative, Schulte had to employ some repetition, but it becomes excessive. The general reader will undoubtedly consider this thorough study more than he or she ever wanted to know about the WVHA but should skim the text carefully so as not to miss significant insights into the workings of the SS and the Third Reich. The specialist will appreciate its extensive detail and value as a reference tool. Two helpful maps, numerous organizational charts, statistical tables, and short biographical sketches add even more valuable information. A thorough bibliography, indexes of persons and places, and footnotes that reside conveniently at the bottom of the pages facilitate reading.

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JAY LOCKENOUR. *Soldiers as Citizens: Former Wehrmacht Officers in the Federal Republic of Germany, 1945–1955.* (Studies in War, Society, and the Military.) Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 2001. Pp. xii, 255.

Jay Lockenour investigates how former army officers were integrated into West German society after World War II. In six chapters, he treats their efforts to organize before and after 1951, their education and traditions as well as lessons learned in captivity, the veterans' attitude toward politics and rearmament, their view of Western Europe and of communism, and their differing opinions on the failed coup of July 20, 1944. Lockenour rightly considers it a great achievement that the officers, "one of the most important and least understood of the major social groups" (p. 1), became a part of Germany's democratic society, given their hostile attitude toward the Weimar Republic. After all, officers lost their positions and their pensions (until 1951); they spent time in captivity, and were sometimes threatened with war crimes trials; and they faced job discrimination and hostile public opinion. Despite these hardships, former officers embraced Western democratic values within ten years.

Lockenour attributes this to several causes. First, by forming lobby groups, the veterans worked within Germany's political system and promoted the soldierly values of loyalty, responsibility, patriotism, character, duty, discipline, and community. Second, by being in prisoner-of-war camps for several years, the officers felt left out and hurried to contribute their share to the building of the Federal Republic. Re-education during captivity also instilled in them a faith in democracy, if only because of their staunch anticommunism. (This argument is not always convincing, since the officers at the same time resented their captors.) Third, since it was the Allies who prohibited officers' organizations and denied them their pensions, the officers' anger was vented at the occupying powers, rather than at the West German government, which established generous

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social programs for them. Fourth, in the context of the Cold War, the officers' hate of communism coincided with rearmament and plans for European unification. Even though the West German government did not take up many of the officers' suggestions, it gave them a stake in the fate of the new German republic. As for European unification, many officers still clung to the National Socialist ideal of a strong Germany within Europe acting as a bulwark against the "Asiatic-Bolshevist invasion" (p. 135). Finally, many officers became receptive to democratic change after the traumatic experience of having served "an ignoble and evil cause" (p. 184), although this latter argument remains the least developed.

Lockenour's story is not a story of complete success. Ultimately, one is left wondering if the successful integration of the officers, who still thought in concepts that resembled the old "*Volksgemeinschaft*," "*Lebensraum*," and "*Festung Europa*" (p. 182), was not primarily due to external circumstances, such as the Cold War, the lack of alternatives, and the policies of the Adenauer government rather than to the officers' decision to embrace Western-style democracy.

This is a fascinating book. Lockenour not only follows the creation and activities of the officers' associations and their attempts to win pension rights, the release of all war criminals, and the restoration of their honor but also investigates the mentality and political culture of the veterans. However, to make the book more accessible to students, the former officers' struggles and opinions should have been situated more within the larger historical context. This is only done, very successfully, in the captivating chapter on July 20, where the officers' ambivalent attitude toward their fellow officers, the plotters, is compared to the attitude of the population as a whole. A short historiographical introduction might also have helped to fit the book in with earlier works on former officers such as James M. Diehl, *The Thanks of the Fatherland: German Veterans after the Second World War* (1993), Donald Abenheim, *Reforging the Iron Cross: The Search for Tradition in the West German Armed Forces* (1990), and Detlef Bald, *Der deutsche Offizier: Sozial- und Bildungsgeschichte des deutschen Offizierkorps im 20. Jahrhundert* (1982), and with the general postwar debate or non-debate about the Nazi past. Moreover, there are some unnecessary repetitions, both in the first chapter, which leaves the reader wondering what the exact legal situation of the former officers was, and in later chapters, where the issues of anticommunism and pan-Europeanism keep reappearing. Finally, the distinction between the officers' opinions and the arguments they used strategically for public consumption is not always clear. This is true especially for the officers' notion of service to the people, which in connection with the rearmament issue sounds rather self-serving (p. 117); here, a methodological discussion would have been helpful, especially since Lockenour repeatedly invokes psychological vocabulary without providing any underlying theory (e.g. pp. 88, 133, 153, 185). But overall, this book is a valuable addition to the history of the early Federal Republic.

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WILLIAM J. CONNELL. *La città dei crucci: Fazioni e clientele in uno stato repubblicano del '400*. Florence: Nuova Toscana. 2000. Pp. x, 318. L. 30,000.

This book by William J. Connell is in effect a commentary on Niccolò Machiavelli's famous dictum that in Florence's attempt to avoid a reputation for cruelty it allowed Pistoia to destroy itself by faction. Between 1499 and 1502, the Cancellieri and Panciatichi factions waged a civil war for control of Pistoia and its institutions. Florentine attempts to mediate the conflict came to nothing. Repression, in Machiavelli's view, would have cost fewer lives. But Connell argues that things were not so simple: Pistoian factions were intimately tied to Florence's own internal politics. Connell explores these factions and their Florentine connections from the fourteenth-century incorporation of Pistoia into the Florentine state to the sixteenth-century suppression of Pistoian factions by Duke Cosimo I.

The problem of factional violence extends back at least to the famous Blacks and Whites, whose bitter struggles in the early fourteenth century were exported throughout Tuscany. After integrating Pistoia into the Florentine state, the Florentines initially tried to deal with the two major Pistoian factions—the Cancellieri and the Panciatichi—by assuring that public offices would be split evenly between the two groups. Ironically, one effect was that Pistoian factions tended to ally themselves with their Florentine peers. In effect, the Albizzi of Florence and the Panciatichi of Pistoia faced the Medici and the Cancellieri. The Pistoian and Florentine factions eventually were linked by all the formal and informal ties so well documented in Florence: marriage, political office, property, loans, friendships, and ecclesiastical benefices.

In the mid-fifteenth century, Cosimo the Elder broke this balance by abolishing the system of assuring parity in public offices. Both factions maintained a political voice, but in each case it was a voice mediated by the Medici party. The system was further transformed late in the fifteenth century by Lorenzo the Magnificent, who involved himself directly in relations with various provincial towns. Ironically, this rigidified the Florentine system of clientage since, Connell says, negotiation became more difficult. Unlike a letter from a member of the Medici party, a note from Lorenzo was, in effect, an order. In Connell's view this reduced the participation of the Medici party as a whole and also reduced the influence of the larger subject commues like Pistoia or Arezzo.

With the expulsion of the Medici from Florence in 1494 the system spun out of control. Families and individuals that had been frozen out of the system by Lorenzo quickly moved in to provide a bridge between the Florentines and the Pistoians. The Cancellieri and

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Panciatichi found Florentine allies both because of traditional patronage connections and also because of hatred for the Medici. Connell agrees with Francesco Guicciardini that the Pistoian Civil War of 1499–1502 resulted from Florentine interference in a disputed ecclesiastical election. The discord was only ended (reduced really) by a common feeling of exhaustion and Florentine attempts to reduce the influence of the leading families of Pistoia.

In a preface, Natale Rauty compares Connell's book to David Herlihy's *Medieval and Renaissance Pistoia: The Social History of an Italian Town* (1967). Connell's work can in fact be understood as providing the political analysis Herlihy tended to leave out of his consideration of social and religious phenomena. Connell argues that previous historians who have isolated social and economic history from politics have tended to miss an important message: the Pistoians and their Florentine patrons understood social, religious, and economic relationships in political terms. Further, he concludes that Florentine methods for dealing with factions in Pistoia mirrored the political dynamics of Florence itself.

Connell uses the Pistoian Civil War to organize a consideration of the relations between Florence and the cities and villages of its dominion. He wants to show that state-building models emphasizing Florentine exploitation and economic-demographic models focusing on territorial integration are both inadequate. The state and region were founded on highly personal exchanges and relationships. This is probably true, but Pistoia itself was in many respects unique. The road between Florence and Pistoia was an ideal location for Florentine villas. The relationships that bound the two towns were surely more complex than those that tied the Valdarno towns or even Pisa to the Florentine state. Pistoia's fiscal exemptions seem to confirm its special status. Yet this careful explication of Pistoia's factions and their Florentine patrons is an excellent study of the politics of patronage in a Renaissance state.

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FRANCO NARDON. *Benandanti e inquisitori nel Friuli del Seicento*. Foreword by ANDREA DEL COL. (Inquisizione e società, number 1.) Trieste, Italy: Edizioni Università di Trieste. 1999. Pp. 254. L. 25,000.

This book by Franco Nardon offers a revisionist interpretation of the *benandanti* or "well-farers," a fertility cult devoted to fighting witches and protecting the crops that Carlo Ginzburg discovered and analyzed in his compelling *Night Battles: Witchcraft and Agrarian Cults in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, first published in Italian in 1966.

As Ginzburg tells it, the story of the *benandanti* casts its own spell. The inquisitor who first encountered this cult in the Friuli was baffled and perplexed. He probed to learn more about the practices of those "born with the caul" whose spirits, often in the form of a small animal, would leave their bodies four times a year (during the Ember days) to battle witches. The *benandanti* would carry fennel, the witches sorghum. If the well-farers prevailed, the crops would be protected. But, over time, the inquisitors imposed their own interpretation, gradually assimilating the *benandanti*, members of an ancient fertility cult, with witches and judging them guilty of the same diabolical practices. This story, well known to early modernists, is emblematic of a process of the presumed erasure of popular traditions by the growing power of elites in Counter-Reformation Europe.

Nardon—who has examined not only the trials used by Ginzburg but also documents down to the eighteenth century—has reframed the evidence by placing a long-overdue emphasis on the legal and institutional practices of the inquisitors. Here the book is very successful, as Nardon demonstrates the importance of carefully assessing the nature of the documentation in relation to legal procedure as well as the motives and perspectives of individual judges, ultimately making a strong case that the inquisitors hardly represented a unified set of religious ideals. More important, he shows that whatever the accused revealed to the tribunal was shaped in fundamental ways by the questions the inquisitors asked.

In the sixteenth century, for example, the inquisitor Fra Felice da Montefalco was interested above all in heresy; he had little interest in witchcraft. As a result, he dug into the practices and beliefs of the accused for evidence of the heresy of idolatry, and, in doing so, brought to light many of aspects of the night battles and the idolatrous (and thus heretical) veneration of a beautiful, white angel by the *benandanti*. By contrast, in the seventeenth century the focus of the tribunal shifted to magic, and interest in the night battles waned. Nardon does not dispute that the interrogations studied by Ginzburg portray a process by which the beliefs of the certain individual *benandanti* were gradually assimilated to witchcraft, but he does make it clear that Ginzburg exaggereated the degree to which the *benandanti* in general came to view themselves as witches. Their cult survived well into the eighteenth century, although their primary role was to serve as healers—indeed as counter-witches—even as their belief in night battles (the aspect of the cult that Ginzburg emphasized) appears to have become marginal.

Unfortunately, Nardon's own portrayal of the beliefs and practices of the *benandanti*—who resemble nothing so much as the cunning men and women brought to life in Keith Thomas's *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (1971)—is at times confusing, especially in the author's exposition of the relations among the various religious and folkloric elements from the casting of spells to healing, and from diabolical possession to belief in the sabbat. Overall, however, this book offers an important cautionary note against placing too much emphasis on the strange or the exotic, a fashionable strategy in microhistory, as the starting point for

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historical analysis. As Nardon eloquently notes, it is to "the ordinary and the everyday" that this story belongs and not to "extraordinary or the universal" (p. 230).

A revision of this magnitude deserves attention. Nardon's book is sophisticated, informed by insights drawn from social anthropology, and generally well written. It provides the first comprehensive study of all trials relating to the *benandanti* from 1574 to 1749. An English translation, perhaps slightly abridged, would help to animate debate on the ways in which we might best go about exploring popular culture in early modern Europe. If the book has any weakness at all, it is in missing the irony that, while Ginzburg's interpretation may indeed require a major revision in light of what a cottage industry of scholars has uncovered about the procedures and law of the inquistorial courts, it was above all the work of Ginzburg that spurred the modern interest in the records of the Roman Inquisition. For its insights into aspects of cultural repression, for its historiographical significance, and, not least, for its rhetorical power, we will keep reading *Night Battles* for a long time to come.

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WIETSE DE BOER. *The Conquest of the Soul: Confession, Discipline, and Public Order in Counter-Reformation Milan*. (Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought, number 84.) Boston: Brill. 2001. Pp. xxi, 363.

This handsome volume is the latest in a truly distinguished series, the list of whose authors reads like a Who's Who of early modern historians. Wietse de Boer's book is eminently worthy of inclusion in such a series. He has made a great contribution to early modern Italian religious history.

The book is a test-case examination of the newest old generalization about the character of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Some years ago, I asserted in this journal that the term "social disciplining," often used to describe the cooperation of authoritative early modern political and religious institutions, is nothing other than an updated version of the model of the church in that age—hierarchical, repressive, and driven by the elite against a silent lower class—implied in the term "Counter-Reformation." Until plans for disciplining are tested to determine if real change occurred in the behavior and outlook of those to be disciplined, the term ought to be treated as a hypothesis. De Boer tested the efficacy of arguably the most famous—not to mention far-reaching—social disciplining plan in the history of early modern Italy: that of the Borromeos in Milan. Carlo Borromeo and his cousin Federico, plus Gaspare Visconti, the archbishop who oversaw Milan between the tenures of the other two, hoped to sanctify common parish life by devising rules to be followed and techniques to be employed by priests hearing confessions.

In the first four chapters, de Boer analyzes the Borromean plan for Catholic confession, devised after the conclusion of the Council of Trent. Carlo, who served as archbishop of Milan from 1564 to 1584, intended to use auricular confession to maintain control over the consciences of the faithful. He initially handed the development of a plan over to his vicar general, Niccolò Ormaneto, who had been well trained in the use of diocesan visitations to shape parish activities as assistant to Gian Matteo Giberti in Verona. Ormaneto and then Carlo established rules designed to shape priests into a professional class. Visitation reports had turned up many instances of abuse in the practice of confession. Once properly instructed by the episcopal hierarchy, through Jesuit priests like Giacomo Caravajal and others, Milanese priests were to take on a police role, interrogating penitents about their knowledge of heretics, prohibited books, and other inquisitorial matters. Carlo drafted a brief set of instructions for confessors; in 1577, he also issued instructions on the building of churches that included arrangements for the confessionals recently introduced in the city. The furnishings were meant to separate the confessor and penitent while retaining a public setting for the sacrament. Carlo's activist approach was modified by Federico, who, in de Boer's view, retained his cousin's desire for discipline but adapted it to suit his own purpose: promotion of a civility that he equated with Christianity.

In the final four chapters of the book, de Boer examines the efficacy of the program. The idea that the plan and the changes outlined above resulted in a transformation of the populace, he argues, needs considerable revision. In order to turn confessionals into what de Boer calls "outposts of social disciplining" (p. 213), uniform, integrated administration of the sacrament was required. This was not possible, he explains, as the clergy itself was anything but uniform or integrated. The majority of clerics were indistinguishable from the laity they served, and the Borromean policies "stalled" (p. 330). De Boer explains that while methods for tracking confessions were developed and in place by the 1570s, records indicate that diocesan priests were as often the targets of scrutiny as the faithful. The list of sins absolvable only by the bishop varied considerably depending upon who was bishop, and priests often did not turn to diocesan authorities to resolve cases. The 1579 interdict, de Boer finds, was greeted with ridicule and outright contempt. In a section that reads eerily in 2002, he indicates that episcopal absolution in reserved cases, like incest, was still easily given, often adjudicated with more concern for avoidance of scandal than for the gravity of the offense committed.

De Boer makes a careful distinction between norms and required practices on the one hand, and implementation of the norms and practices on the other. His conclusions about social disciplining rightly hinge on the latter, not the former. This distinction, and the caution he exhibits, is missing from almost all general studies on early modern religion in Italy, and from far

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too many focused ones. Those without the distinction and the caution, as de Boer suggests, truly "underestimate the human capacities . . . to resist" (p. 323). This erudite study was justly rewarded in January 2002 with the Howard R. Marraro Prize of the American Catholic Historical Association. It is required reading for students of European society in the age of the Reformation.

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ANNE JACOBSON SCHUTTE. *Aspiring Saints: Pretense of Holiness, Inquisition, and Gender in the Republic of Venice 1618–1750*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2001. Pp. xvi, 337. $45.00.

In this book, Anne Jacobson Schutte investigates the fascinating historical phenomenon of what Inquisitors have termed "pretense of holiness." On the basis of twelve protocols of trials conducted against sixteen men and women accused of pretending to experience mystic visions, to live off very small amounts of food, and to work miracles, among other things, the author gives a vivid portrait of the spiritual and ecclesiastic culture of baroque Venice.

Too sober, rational, and urbane to attribute a divine or diabolical origin to inedia, ecstacies, and other public manifestations of "holiness," the Venetian Inquisition chose to investigate instead whether and to what extent those alleged signs of God's grace were the product of intentional fraud. Schutte's analysis of trial records is enriched by extensive additional archival and bibliographical research. The author attempts to explain the phenomenon of fake sainthood by giving detailed information on the defendants' lives, and by situating her analysis in the context of a study of post-Tridentine criteria for canonization on the one hand and accusations of diabolical obsession and witchcraft on the other, while also considering exorcism and medical treatments as alternative responses to persons who claimed to possess divine gifts. She furthermore examines the operational procedures of the Inquisition in Venice; gives an overview of the theological literature on how to distinguish among divinely inspired visions, diabolical obsession, natural causes, and intentional fraud; looks at the defendants' use of rings and other "holy" paraphernalia; considers the geographical settings and time frames of the fake saints' activities; and analyzes the trial proceedings under the categories of gender and sexuality.

Schutte's greatest strengths—namely the accurate reconstruction of events from archival sources and the detailed synthesis of contemporary (Latin) literature—are at the same time her greatest weaknesses. Her reluctance to adopt or develop an explanatory framework that goes beyond the historicist aim of telling "true stories" puts the reader at risk of drowning in circumstantial evidence and leaves us as puzzled at those fake saints' motives and intentions after reading the book as we were before taking it up. In my opinion, it is not enough to give an account of "features of the social, cultural, and economic environment" in order to "illuminate" and "explain . . . the paranormal experiences of early modern visionaries" (p. xv), unless the criteria for selecting those social, cultural, and economic factors have been made explicit by reference to an explanatory model. It is literally on the last two pages of her book that Schutte mentions some of the concepts one might have expected her to employ in order to explain the defendants' fraudulent stigmata and trances: "self-fashioning," a concept made famous by Stephen Greenblatt's essays two decades ago, and "social discipline and confessionalization," categories of analysis prominent among scholars of the Reformation and the Catholic Reform movements. Schutte claims that "gender lies at the center of this book" (p. xv), but apart from pointing to the clergy's widespread misogyny against those "little women" pretending to be favored by God, she does not give a systematic analysis from this perspective either.

In her introduction, Schutte mentions that, despite her fascination for the kind of microhistory pioneered by Carlo Ginzburg and perfected by Natalie Zemon Davis, she ultimately decided against adopting this approach because of the structural difficulties of combining sixteen separate biographies into a single thick description. One might also speculate that a further problem prevented her from adopting the "microhistorical" method, namely her indecisiveness with respect to whom and what she wants to examine most of all: the agency and motives of the sixteen "fake saints" put on trial by the Venetian Inquisition, or those of their prosecutors. Schutte's source of inspiration, Ginzburg, did both, but in two separate "microhistorical" studies. In *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller* (1976), Ginzburg showed the unpredictability, originality, and anarchic quality of a single person's intellectual and imaginative horizon in the age of "social discipline"; in *The Night Battles: Witchcraft and Agrarian Cults in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (1972), he investigated the effects of inquisitorial practices on peasants who only under threat of torture realized that their fertility rites were taken to be proof of devil worship. Either one of those perspectives would have given Schutte's book a clearer focus and provided an adequate interpretational framework.

Nonetheless, the book is rich enough in fascinating documentation to be considered an important contribution to the history of Venice, the history of spirituality, and the history of inquisitorial practices. Situated at the crossroads of the passionate religiosity of the Middle Ages and the sober skepticism of the Enlightenment, "pretense of holiness" can now be viewed as a social and cultural phenomenon at the heart of the Venetian Baroque.

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KENNETH STOW. *Theater of Acculturation: The Roman Ghetto in the Sixteenth Century*. Seattle: University of Washington Press. 2001. Pp. x, 246. Cloth $45.00, paper $22.50.

When Pope Paul IV closed the Roman Ghetto in 1555, the Roman Jews had to cope with a totally new predicament. They had been living at Rome since Caesar's days in close and quite harmonious relations with their non-Jewish neighbors. Their position within the Christian environment began to deteriorate in the later Middle Ages, when they were no longer seen as Romans with minor cultural differences but more and more only as Jews. In the fifteenth century, the idea of converting them to Christianity became the central theme of Christian-Jewish relations, and it was the belief that Jewish mass conversion could be fostered by compulsion that urged Paul IV to found the Roman Ghetto. In the long run, the ghetto situation had surprisingly little impact on the religious and cultural identity of the Roman Jews. Very few became Christians, and in 1870 they left their compulsory segregation with an almost unshaken cultural heredity. They were still Jews, and they were still Romans. Kenneth Stow finds the secret of this astonishing cultural survival in two unverbalized strategies: conservative acculturation and arbitration. His sources are about 6,000 acts of the so-called *notai ebrei*, Jewish notaries who worked in the ghetto on the same footing Christian notaries did outside the ghetto. This material, preserved today in the Capitoline Archives at Rome, spans from about 1536 to about 1640, when the *notai ebrei* were finally suppressed. Stow has published two volumes with summaries of the first 2,000 acts (*The Jews in Rome* [1995–1997]).

Exploring the source further, Stow shows convincingly that the Roman Jews were not prepared to accept their new situation after 1555. During the first three decades of the ghetto, they stuck to the illusion that nothing at all had changed and that their new situation was only a short passage to a better future after the ghetto. In 1589, we find the first traces of a cautiously positive interpretation of the ghetto situation within a Jewish context. The forcible segregation from Christian Rome was now seen as a divorce, being equated with *ghet* the Jewish bill of divorce, which implies permanent care for the divorced wife. Formulae like "The pope wanted the Jews to live together" helped them to create a virtually Jewish sacred space out of their narrow and overcrowded ghetto. This sacred space worked as a stage for what Stow calls theater of acculturation. On this stage arbitration between litigants by chosen Jewish elders had its central place. Arbitration meant not only a simple method of settling daily conflicts of ghetto inhabitants but allowed the litigants to re-enact the roles they had lost. Actually, arbitration was never formally sanctioned by the papal authorities. The ghetto Jews never had jurisdictional rights, but the *Vicario di Roma* as their official judge regularly tolerated arbitration out of sheer pragmatism. So arbitration itself gave the Jews the opportunity to pretend that they exercised such rights and that their jurisdiction was governed by Halachic prescriptions. The *notai ebrei* played the key role in this process, which exceeded their official function of writing down the results of arbitration because of the highly fragmented character of authority within ghetto walls. Arbitration between Jews along Halachic lines did not help to minimize internal litigation, which always remained on a high level; on the contrary, litigation itself functioned as an indispensable means for the individual to hold his ground within the community. The unverbalized objective was threefold: preserving the harmony of the Jewish community, coping mentally with their unpleasant situation, and reducing opportunities for intervention from outside.

The other strategy of cultural survival Stow describes was conservative acculturation, allowing the Jews to construct themselves continuously as Jews as well as Romans. Cultural ties with their Christian Roman neighbors remained relatively close after the foundation of the ghetto. In order to preserve their Jewish identity under the intense religious pressure from outside without cutting all those ties, the inhabitants of the Roman Ghetto developed a highly selective handling of the majority culture. Few but distinguishing non-Jewish features were cautiously adapted and quite often reinterpreted as fictitious components of the Jewish tradition. Stow's analysis of the Roman Jews' strategies of cultural survival is difficult but simply fascinating reading, as are the stories told in the notaries' acts with their unbelievably intricate connections between cultural elements from Jewish and Christian traditions. Moreover, Stow's study provides us with a useful tool for better understanding not only the cultural survival of Jewish communities in Rome or elsewhere but that of all minorities living in close contact with a religiously or culturally different majority.

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MARIE-LOUISE RODÉN. *Church Politics in Seventeenth-Century Rome: Cardinal Decio Azzolino, Queen Christina of Sweden, and the Squadrone Volante*. (Stockholm Studies in History, number 60.) Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiskell International. 2000. Pp. 327. 286 KR.

Decio Azzolino was "a man of great warmth" (p. 302). This may seem a surprising conclusion about the Machiavelli—on both the practical and theoretical levels—of the seventeenth-century College of Cardinals. It also points to the hybrid nature of this book by Marie-Louise Rodén: sometimes biography, sometimes detailed study of the workings of the papal bureaucracy, and sometimes even more detailed investigation of papal politics. The nominal subject was also a prolific writer, author of an enormous manuscript history of the papacy, a handbook on politics, and an opinion against the canonization of Robert Bellarmine

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(the rather ill-fitting subject of the second to last chapter), all of which receive attention. Finally, one of the longest sections treats Azzolino's enduring relationship with Queen Christina of Sweden.

The thesis can yet be stated simply, and so doing highlights the degree to which the book is both about and not about Azzolino. The papacy faced two problems in the wake of the Peace of Westphalia (1648): the persistence of papal nepotism and unprofessional government practices; and the pope's role vis-à-vis the Catholic secular powers. Azzolino was a perfect specimen of the dramatic transformation that Rodén finds in papal bureaucracy. A professional bureaucrat to the tips of his fingers, he made his way much more than usual by skills acquired in the secretariat of state. This led to his appointment as its first professional head under the short-lived Clement IX, where he succeeded in "dominating" the papal nephew, formerly the head of the papal government and lynchpin of the system of nepotism, to such a degree as almost to supplant him. There is, however, one small problem. Two of Azzolino's opinions on the question of papal nepotism reveal that he was all for it. Rodén is therefore forced to conclude that things were in transition during his tenure. In fact, she most successfully demonstrates not that Azzolino had all that much to do with her professionalization project, but rather the importance of Fabio Chigi (Alexander VII), who introduced record-keeping procedures that gave the secretariat impressively bulging archives.

Much of the book concerns the ins and outs of papal relations with the Catholic monarchs. Here enters the *squadrone volante*, a floating bloc of cardinals sometimes led by Azzolino. While the two grand factions aligned with France and Spain strove to dominate papal elections, the *squadrone* aimed to restore papal independence by insuring inviolable conclaves. Instead of the *exclusiva*, or right of exclusion demanded by Habsburgs and Bourbons, Azzolino and his small party (never more than about a dozen cardinals out of an official total of seventy) insisted that only the cardinals had the power to chose a new pope. Rodén tries to make this a point of principle, but the fact that the faction's one triumph, the election of Clement IX, occurred only after a deal with France rather dents her claim.

Azzolino is clearly (one of Rodén's favorite words) her hero. She lays an absolute claim to be the world's expert on him, having ransacked his family archive in Iesi, the Vatican Library and Archives, and masses of material in Sweden, brought there via Azzolino's connection with Christina. Unfortunately, the interpretive framework she places around all this material does not do it or Azzolino justice. Despite heroic efforts to resist, she succumbs too often to modern prejudices. One of the most refreshing points in the book is Rodén's attempt to rehabilitate the usually vilified Gregorio Leti as an observer of papal politics, but she does this not because she understands Leti, but because he had an idiosyncratically favorable opinion of Azzolino. Similarly, she insists that Azzolino was not and could not be a systematic thinker, given the habits of thought instilled in him as a courtier. Quite right, but this contention is never developed into an explanation of the disconnects between Azzolino's ideas and his actions.

Rodén's interpretation is limited in direct proportion to her bibliography. Thus, while the book hinges on Wolfgang Reinhard's mid-1970s theory of the development of papal government, other competitors, especially Paolo Prodi, do not get equal time. Prodi's interpretation, rooted in the sixteenth century, is at least mentioned. The vast corpus of work by scholars of the late medieval and early modern papacy before Westphalia, especially Peter Partner, disappears. Despite her subsidiary argument that Azzolino's College of Cardinals somehow revived conciliar theory, she ignores Giuseppe Alberigo's and others' rethinking of conciliarism's history. Finally, nearly everything that she claims is distinctive to her period is not. This includes her assertions about the three conclaves to which she devotes salutary attention, especially how much they leaked to the outside world. The conclave of Julius III (1549–1550), for example, almost as long as Clement X's, is ever so much better documented because it was virtually conducted on the stage of Europe, not *sub clave* at all.

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ALBERT RUSSELL ASCOLI and KRYSTYNA VON HENNEBERG, editors. *Making and Remaking Italy: The Cultivation of National Identity Around the Risorgimento*. New York: Berg. 2001. Pp. xviii, 332. $22.50.

At a time when conceptions of the nation-state are under examination, even erasure, through the proliferating critical literature on postmodernity and globality, editors Albert Russell Ascoli and Krystyna von Henneberg set as their admirably complex objective to examine the cultural forms and political discourses that have subtended Italian nation formation. Focusing on the Risorgimento, the contributors to this collection of essays represent a variety of disciplines in Italian studies: history, art history, literature, film, music, cultural studies, and feminist theory. The volume seeks to break down traditional divisions, methodologies, and disciplinary formations in the study of Italian history, culture, politics, and society. The essays address conflicting views of the Risorgimento from the nineteenth century to the present, asking what role did uses of the past play in creating the conceptions of the Risorgimento? How is Italian unity to be understood given the prevalence of divergent interpretations based on parochial political interests and given the ubiquitous role of the "Southern Question"? Was the Risorgimento emblematic of profound cleavages rather than emblematic of the emergence of a national identity? Were the struggles for Italian unification unique to that country or similar to other European

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countries? What role did art and literature play in the construction of and legitimation of cultural distinctiveness? What was the relationship between fascism and the Risorgimento? And, finally, since the volume is concerned to trace the impact of the past on the present, what is the legacy of constructions of the Risorgimento?

The authors take various routes to address these questions. Adrian Lytelton investigates how the Middle Ages and the Renaissance became—for painters such as Francisco Hayez and novelists such as Alessandro Manzoni and Massimo D'Azeglio—a means of providing requisite, if contradictory, historical parallels between past and present. As Lytelton's essay demonstrates, certain figures are indispensable for an understanding of how the Italian national past was created. For example, Andrea Ciccarelli focuses on how Dante, rather than Petrarch, became one of these seminal figures, a barometer of differing attitudes toward the culture of the Risorgimento and later of fascism. Dante, according to writers such as Manzoni and Emilio Marinetti and critics such as Francesco de Sanctis, Scipio Slataper, and *La voce*, became a cultural icon. Giuseppe Verdi was another icon of the Risorgimento, and Mary Ann Smart demystifies the patriotic aura attributed to *Nabucco*'s "Va pensiero." While not defacing Verdi's heroic image, Smart calls attention to how the music acts as "a nostalgic invocation to nation" rather than a call to "action, change, or movement" (p. 106). Smart also discusses lesser known and less celebrated but more illuminating instances of links between Verdi's operas and the politics of the Risorgimento (e. g. *La battaglia di Legnano*).

No text that purports to reexamine the formation of Italian culture and politics can evade the "Southern Question," and Nelson Moe's essay, "This Is Africa," is an exemplary exploration of how the south was constructed as a backward area, a locus of disease and crime, and a home of brutes and savages in need of discipline and education (though, also as in the case of other colonized areas, "picturesque"). While readers may be familiar with these descriptions of the south, they may not be aware of how specifically they are aligned to military and political strategies during the Risorgimento and beyond. Lucia Re's essay on representations of women writers in the works of painters and writers during the Risorgimento and later nineteenth century parallels Moe's discussion of the subjugation of the south by the dominant moderate leadership. Centering her discussion in a painting of Federico Faruffuni, "The Female Reader," Re explores the "anxiety generated by the very notion of female authorship in Italian culture of the nineteenth and even early twentieth century" (p. 159).

Given the prominent role that representations of the Risorgimento played during the fascist regime, it seems appropriate that fascist political reconstructions of Giuseppe Garibaldi and his first wife, Anita, should be examined. Claudio Fogu ties his discussion specifically to an important aspect of fascist culture, the role of commemorative spectacle in the case of the Garibaldis, the *Decennale Fascista*, the tenth celebration of fascism with Benito Mussolini as the director, choreographer, and censor. Fogu's argument carefully documents how Mussolini sought to invoke patriotic dimensions of the Risorgimento, and the Garibaldis in particular, while distancing the regime from their more radical associations. Similarly, the philosopher Giovanni Gentile, an influential figure during the fascist era resurrected by nationalist groups, offered, according to Roberto Dainotto, an assessment of the Risorgimento instructive for understanding the "notion of the Risorgimento as a failure" (p. 242), a position that Antonio Gramsci also held but for different reasons. If, for Gentile, the ultimate and political goal was the overcoming of local and regional interests in the name of the state, deferred but to be realized, for Gramsci the nation-state was already formed but in the interests of regrouped class formations.

Dainotto's essay, like the two that follow on cinema, makes evident the importance of viewing the Risorgimento through the lens of fascism, and David Forgacs's densely argued essay focuses largely on Blasetti's *1860*, a film that encouraged and lent itself to diverse "readings." Forgacs does not offer a formal analysis of the film but, more interestingly, discusses it as an exemplification of how the uses of the Risorgimento can be understood through Ernesto Laclau's notion of "articulation." In an exemplification of shifting interpretations and in line with her influential book on neorealism, Millicent Marcus's discussion of *Senso* (based on the Boito work) focuses on Lucchino Visconti's appropriation of the Gramscian concept of "passive revolution" to dramatize the Risorgimento as "failure." Visconti's historical interpretation, according to Marcus, was a challenge to prior (fascist?) interpretations of the Risorgimento. The final essay, by Silvana Patriarca, appropriately focuses on the historical and theoretical implications of connections between "national identity" and "national character," showing how the latter persists, albeit conflated with notions of "national identity."

This is an extremely informative and readable text. All of the essays are well written and of even quality, combining erudition, careful documentation, and different perspectives on an oft-rehearsed moment in Italian history. Their "revisionism" entails infiltrating separate scholarly areas, bringing history, culture, philosophy, politics, and social analysis into an ensemble to disturb problematic conceptions of historicizing culture and politics.

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AARON GILLETTE. *Racial Theories in Fascist Italy*. (Routledge Studies in Modern European History, number 5.) New York: Routledge. 2002. Pp. 247. $80.00.

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Aaron Gillette, through an investigation of the Italian State Archives and a large body of scientific literature on "race," provides a detailed account of the development of racial theory under fascism. In general he identifies two conflicting schools of thought. "Nordic racism," already developed by German romanticism in the nineteenth century, interpreted the Italians as a degenerate people that, particularly in the south, suffered from miscegenation with Jews and Africans. Any dynamic historical developments in Italy, including the Renaissance, had been purely the result of the migration of Germanic, Aryan peoples whose blood had revived a moribund Latinity. Under fascism the Nordic strand was represented by those Italian scientists and leaders who subscribed to Nazi racial theory, a biological and materialist position that was linked to virulent anti-Semitism and eugenics. Opposed to *Germanismo*, which denigrated Italian nationalism, was a school of thought that emphasised the vitality of the "Mediterranean" race that, quite independently of any contact with barbarian Germanic peoples, had given rise to imperial Rome, the Renaissance, and European civilization. The Mediterranean racists, in opposition to Nazi biological determinists, generally supported a "spiritual" racism that emphasised, in Lamarckian fashion, the impact of environment and the ability of fascism to create a vital and unified race through the superior psychological powers of the Italian people.

Gillette explores, in close detail, the constant battle between these two currents that tore apart the scientific establishment and culminated in a paralysis of official racism and Benito Mussolini's overall ambition to utilize it to unify the Italian people and create a new *uomo fascista*. Gillette shows how the promotion (and demotion) of racial scientists to key official positions, university chairs, government commissions, propaganda bodies like the Racial Office, and the editorship of journals was dependent on the changing whims of Mussolini. Since the official line on racial theory and propaganda was determined by the Duce, it is to him that historians must look when trying to explain the major changes in Italian racism during the 1930s.

It is widely accepted by historians that Italian society showed low levels of racism, including anti-Semitism, and that Mussolini was not keen on implementing racist policies in the early 1930s. However, the fascist regime made a dramatic shift toward more virulent racial theories and policies, first in the 1936 decrees that outlawed miscegenation in the North African colonies, and more conclusively with the notorious Manifesto of Racial Scientists of July 1938. The chief architect of the Manifesto, Guido Landra, was instructed by Mussolini to follow a Nordicist position, and the statement announced an uncompromising biological determinism. Gillette opposes the standard historical explanation of this fascist shift: that Mussolini moved toward Nazi racial theory and anti-Semitism in order to strengthen the Italo-German alliance. Gillette's thesis is that Mussolini's racism remained consistently wedded to the mainstream Italian tradition, a "spiritual" racism imbued with philosophical idealism that, in its emphasis on the transformative power of environment and human endeavor, was deeply opposed to Nazi biological determinism.

But, having abandoned the theory of a Nazi alliance, Gillette is left unable to offer an alternative explanation for the Manifesto and the lurch toward "hard" forms of biological racism. The Manifesto, he argues, was a temporary aberration that was "difficult to explain" and "out of character" (p. 71), while Mussolini's claim that he had never emulated German racism is accepted as true. But ultimately, Gillette is unable to explain the underlying motivations and causes of Mussolini's frequent changes in racial policy. For example, in May 1941 the Mediterraneanist Sabato Visco was replaced as head of the Racial Office by Alberto Luchini, a forerunner of Julius Evola's spiritual Nordicism. This was a major disruption that has no explanation beyond the fact that it reflected "Mussolini's changing enthusiasms" (p. 146).

The major contribution of Gillette's book is that it provides a new and extremely detailed exposition of the changing, and often competing, racial theories that were elaborated by Italian scientists. What determined an individual's allegiance to a particular racial theory, he claims, had less to do with the Nazi link and international politics than with philosophical perceptions of history and the world. This interpretation, which veers toward idealism, is contradicted on the same page by a reference to Nicola Tranfaglia's observation that fascist intellectuals were motivated by simple opportunism, the prospect of personal power and influence, and that this held a greater attraction than the dissemination of the "objective truths" of science (p. 180). The weakness of Gillette's approach is that it fails to locate fascist theories of race within the broader political, social, and institutional contexts that would help explain why the government adopted or abandoned particular racial doctrines and policies when it did.

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Patrizia Gabrielli. *Fenicotteri in Volo: Donne comuniste nel ventennio fascista*. (Ricerche, number 41.) Rome: Carocci. 1999. Pp. 263. L. 32,000.

The literature on the history of the origins of the Italian Communist Party (PCI) has so far been primarily concerned with high politics, namely the inner disputes taking place within the party's leadership after Antonio Gramsci's imprisonment, and the Italian Communists' relationships with the Third International. Little research has been done on the rank and file and its "mental furniture," or what the French call *mentalités*. Issues such as the militants' reception of the party's ethos and ideology remain poorly investigated. Moreover, with the exception of works such as those by Giovanni De Luna, Victoria De Grazia, or Anna Buttafuoco, little attention has been paid to a gender

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perspective that addresses women militants within the PCI as a distinct group and focuses on their specific motivations, aspirations, and patterns of participation in the PCI organization. Patrizia Gabrielli's book is thus an important and original contribution, which scholars interested in the history of communism and of the Italian feminist movement cannot but welcome.

As Gabrielli writes, the history of Communist women has suffered throughout the years after 1945 from a "weak memory," plenty of "amnesias" and "gaps." PCI sympathetic historiography—one thinks, for instance, of Camilla Ravera's *La Donna dal primo al secondo Risorgimento* (1951)—long placed a great emphasis on the break that Communist feminism was said to signal with the earlier Socialist feminist movement. According to this interpretation, the Italian Socialist Party failed to embrace a feminist agenda. It was only after the Livorno split in 1921 and the foundation of the Communist Party—the argument runs—that women's issues began to be absorbed in to the framework of the PCI's politics.

Gabrielli's book challenges this thesis. Using a wide range of sources, which include the Casellario Politico Centrale, the files produced after 1926 by the Organization to Vigilate and Repress Antifascism (OVRA), personal correspondence, and memoirs, the author convincingly argues that the world of Italian Communist women was far less monolithic, in cultural and political terms, than has so far been portrayed. She also shows the extent of continuity that existed between the latter and earlier feminist movements. The impact of earlier reformist feminist traditions—by which, she argues, the majority of Communist women were influenced during their adolescence and youth—was, for instance, quite strong (p. 124). Particularly during the years preceding the advent of fascism, some prominent figures of the Communist feminist movement opposed—unsuccessfully—the leadership's gender-neutral approach to equality and the equation there implied between women's liberation and equal economic and social rights: that is, for instance, equal pay. They rather insisted on a much wider notion of "emancipation" that impinged on the private sphere and comprised equality at home and dignity and self-esteem in civil society (p. 33).

Not only were Communist women culturally heterogeneous, but they also did not fit stereotypes such as that of the "professional revolutionary." Women who joined the PCI after the introduction of the fascist "special laws" and the consolidation of Benito Mussolini's regime differed quite significantly, as far as their aspirations and values were concerned, from those who had been politically active in the years before 1926. In most cases, they were mothers, wives, or sisters of party activists who had been either imprisoned or forced in to exile. Their political activism did not originate in an *a priori* adherence to the party's ideology, not least a feminist agenda, as had been the case with earlier militants; it rather resulted from the sense of duty that many of them felt toward their families and their beloveds. It was the willingness to preserve their traditional roles as "mothers" or "wives" that turned a lot of them into the so-called "*fenicotteri*" (flamingos), an expression used to describe those party members in charge of connecting the center and the periphery and of transmission of information (p. 43).

Gabrielli's book is, on the whole, highly recommendable for anybody interested in Italian history and politics. Its only limitation is its lack of a comparative perspective. Many observations that the author makes on the political weakness and narrow following of the Italian feminist movement would have a greater significance if compared to other European case studies.

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Lee Congdon. *Seeing Red: Hungarian Intellectuals in Exile and the Challenge of Communism*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2001. Pp. xii, 223. $40.00.

In Lee Congdon, Hungarian intellectuals' anguished relations with communism have found an astute and empathetically critical historian. One wonders what is specifically Hungarian in the story, since anguish characterized relations between intellectuals and communism everywhere. While Congdon's book does not address this question directly, it suggests two related answers. One answer is that Hungarian intellectuals' relations with communism were just like other nations' intellectuals' relations with communism, only more so; after all, Hungary gave us both Görgy Lukács and Arthur Koestler. Koestler is a major figure in this study, Lukács a gray eminence. Of the second suggested answer, more below.

Picking up where Congdon's *Exile and Social Thought: Hungarian Intellectuals in Germany and Austria 1918–1933* (1991) ended, and echoing his *The Young Lukács* (1983), this book is, in effect, the third volume of a trilogy, the product of a sustained and dedicated labor. In all three volumes, the theme of exile looms large, branding the Hungarian story. Congdon here studies two generations of émigrés: those who left Hungary after World War I for Germany and Austria, but who, because most were Jews, emigrated again in 1933, mainly to England or the Soviet Union (Koestler, Michael and Karl Polanyi, Ilona Duczynska, Aurel Kolnai, Frederick Antal, Paul Ignotus, and others); and those who left Hungary for England and the United States in 1956 (primarily, István Mészáros, Imre Lakatos, and Tibor Szamuely).

Congdon succeeds in developing a narrative that remains faithful to the fissiparousness of this community of edgy, forceful, and, in their fields, distinguished minds and personalities, each of whom is the subject of a substantial, interpretive sketch, with each sketch coherently woven into the larger whole. "Their shared experience of totalitarianism," Congdon writes in his preface, "militated against any withdrawal into an

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ivory tower. All of them took an active interest in the historic dramas of their time" (p. xi). While the exiled Hungarians were univocal in condemning fascism, they differed deeply in their appraisals of communism and the Soviet Union. By exploring those differences as they unfolded between the 1930s and 1960s, Congdon succeeds in putting on rich display the contributions Hungarian émigré intellectuals made to the debate over communism; how, that is, they saw red. His analyses of Koestler, who weaves in and out of the whole story, the brothers Polanyi, the neglected Kolnai, and the demonic Lakatos are especially compelling.

Koestler is crucial, as is the background presence of Lukács, not least because their contrapuntal itineraries and sensibilities hold the key to the second answer Congdon's book offers regarding the Hungarianness of the Hungarian émigré intellectuals' contribution to the debate over communism. For Congdon, Koestler's *Darkness at Noon* (1941), *The Yogi and the Commissar and Other Essays* (1945), and his contribution to *The God That Failed* (1949) are luminous critical analyses of Communism's appeal to intellectuals. Lukács's *History and Class Consciousness: Studies in Marxist Dialectics* (1923), in contrast, stands, in Szamuely's words, as "the best, the frankest, the most wide-ranging and powerful exposition of the philosophy of totalitarianism ever written" (p. 146). Considered together, these otherwise opposing works and lives disclose what Congdon considers the crux of the matter: namely, that the great menace of the twentieth century was nihilism, and that communism was the most alluring of the alternatives to it.

This book begins by citing Friedrich Nietzsche's announcement in 1887 of the "advent of nihilism" that would shape the next century. This is odd, because Nietzsche used the term peculiarly and ironically to signify not the end of the Christian era but the coming of the life-annihilating force of post-Christian morality. Congdon employs nihilism in the more familiar (and emphatically non-Nietzschean) sense of the terrible risk that is thought to accompany the "throwing off of that Christian religion which has hitherto been our boast and comfort." The phrase is from Edmund Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790), and Burke is also the source of the book's epigraph: "We know, and it is our pride to know, that man is by his constitution a religious animal." For Congdon, from Koestler's heroic wrestling with the communist god (and with that god's other post-Christian variants) to Lukács's unshakeable embrace of communism, what seems to have been the distinctively Hungarian dimension of the Hungarian intellectuals' encounter with Communism is that they embodied Burke's points most perfectly.

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ISOLDE THYRÊT. *Between God and Tsar: Religious Symbolism and the Royal Women of Muscovite Russia*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2001. Pp. xvi, 275. $40.00.

Despite the seemingly narrow focus suggested by its subtitle, this important book addresses broad and persistent assumptions about the very nature of autocratic power in Muscovy. Drawing on a multiplicity of sources in anthropology, art history, literature, and sociology, it challenges both the traditional interpretation of the limited role of royal women in patriarchal Muscovite society and the oft-cited scholarly opinion that the medieval Russian autocrat wielded absolute power. Isolde Thyrêt does this through a meticulous examination of both written and visual texts, by which she shows imaginatively and convincingly the way in which the royal women of Muscovy used the language of religious myth to create for themselves an essential place in a tsardom that was gendered and familial in concept rather than an unlimited autocracy.

Three examples illustrate the book's main argument, concerning the empowerment of royal women through religious symbolism. The first is an exploration of Orthodox iconography through a skillful examination of the frescoes in the Golden Palace of the Tsaritsy that served as an offfcial reception chamber for Irina Gudovna in the late sixteenth century and illuminated her position as a tsaritsa by the images on its walls. The five major fresco cycles depict Russian and Byzantine saintly royal women who, through their commitment to the Orthodox faith, "earned the privilege of independent action" (p. 83). Through this imagery, Irina and her court handlers were able to represent her as a dynastic link between the Rurikide line and the Gudonov line in a time of dynastic crisis, augmenting the traditional Muscovite tsaritsa's perceived ability to intercede with the divine for the good of the Russian tsar and the Russian realm.

A bold rethinking of the role of the royal *terem*, the living quarters of the female members of a Russian ruler's family in the seventeenth century, serves as a second example of Thyrêt's argument. Disagreeing with the "seclusion theory" that views the *terem* as a severe restriction on the role of women, the author contends that a careful look at the actual activity of the tsaritsy and tsarevny, as well as the religious constructs supporting their role as intercessors for the tsar and the realm, demands a new understanding of the role of royal women in the Romanov period. Pointing to the long absences from Moscow of Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich during his military campaigns, Thyrêt shows the integral role that his wife, Maria Il'ichna, played in both the secular and religious affairs of the Muscovite realm by her actions to protect public health during the plague of 1654–1655 and her involvement with the Old Belief struggle. In addition, she examines religiously ritualized acts such as pilgrimages, processions, royal pardons, charitable endowments, and an oft-misunderstood symbol of Orthodox spirituality, the gift of tears.

A third example of Thyrêt's argument that religious

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myths and rituals helped Muscovite royal women create a meaningful role for themselves within a largely male-dominated political system is her treatment of Sofiia Alekseevna, whom she sees as having been abetted rather than hindered in her claims to regency and rulership by the customary myths of royal women as pious tsaritsa, vessel of divine grace, and intercessor for the autocracy. Where Sofiia overstepped her bounds was in ignoring the gendered nature of Muscovite tsardom, which rested on carefully constructed complementary male and female roles for the beneficence of the realm.

This book, in detailing the Muscovite notion of a gendered tsardom entailing a division of duties among members of the ruling family, reinforces recent scholarly work by historians such as Nancy Kollman and Valerie Kivelson that challenges the assumption that the tsar's sovereign authority was uncurbed by laws, elite traditions, or representative institutions. Nevertheless, important questions remain. To what extent was the religiously constructed exaltation of royal women part of a general use of religious imagery to build up the image of the Muscovite tsar? And to what extent are the lessons of the royal *terem* generalizable to that of nonroyal elite women in Moscow? In sum, this finely nuanced book invites further scholarly investigation into the culture of Muscovite politics.

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David Schimmelpenninck van der Oye. *Toward the Rising Sun: Russian Ideologies of Empire and the Path to War with Japan*. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press. 2001. Pp. xiii, 329. $40.00.

There are already too many books about the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–1905. But most have concentrated on the action, so there is a place for a new look at the cultural and political paths that led Russia into this disastrous conflict. Although David Schimmelpenninck van der Oye has visited an impressive selection of archives, his book's virtue lies not so much in revelation as in its offer of a well-organized narrative that is accessible to nonspecialists while perhaps suggesting new viewpoints to those already familiar with the topic.

The first part of the book deals with those who, each in his own way, set the tone of Russian thinking about the Orient. With that direct military man, Major General Nikolai Przhevalskii, there are few mysteries. Active as an intrepid and eloquent explorer from the 1870s, Przhevalskii represented the old-style invasionist; if a territory is conquerable, then it should be conquered. His writings and conversations were widely consumed and set Russian minds in the direction of eastern expansion. The author aptly terms him a representative of "conquistador imperialism," in contrast to Prince Esper Ukhtomskii, whom he sees as an Asianist, captivated by Eastern culture and urging Russians to forget their European pretensions in favor of returning to their true, historical, Eastern selves. Ukhtomskii, who had great influence with Nicholas II, envisaged Russia's expansion not as a military venture but as a coming together of related cultures. With his pacific views, he was often an ally of Count Sergei Witte, who likewise rejected military excursions but saw China as ripe for conquest by commercial means. Of the four, General Aleksei Kuropatkin remains, despite this book's delving, something of a mystery. Known in the West, if known at all, as the defeated commander of the Russian army against Japan, and in Finland and Poland, among others, as one of the most obsessed Russifiers, Kuropatkin emerges in his chapter as a man of relatively liberal attitudes who saw that war with Japan might easily happen and would not benefit Russia. That a man of his character and foresight could emerge as one of history's incompetents seems unfair, although his compulsive twisting of foresight into foreboding is perhaps part of the explanation of why in war he was happier in retreat and why his admiration for the American ethnic melting pot coexisted with an obsessive fear of non-Russian, non-melting, populations inside the Russian Empire.

These four men represented four different approaches to the East, so it was not surprising that, given Nicholas II's innate preference for agreeing with everybody, Russian policy lurched its way into disaster. The second part of the book deals with this slide from a win to a no-win situation, the implicit theme being how easily things could have turned out differently. Compared with the other big powers, Russia had a moral advantage in China and enhanced this by leading the opposition to the Treaty of Shimonoseki, by which a victorious Japan had sought great gains at the expense of defeated China in 1895. By thus forcing Japan to retrocede Port Arthur and by raising a loan for China, Russia won great popularity among the Chinese, opening the way to railroad and banking concessions that Witte had long sought. Then, just a couple of years later, Nicholas was pushed by his deplorable foreign minister into demanding a Russian lease of Port Arthur, against the advice of his finance, war, and navy ministers. Admittedly, it could all be blamed on the kaiser, who had started the land-grab ball rolling, but henceforth the implicit Russo-Chinese understanding was dead. Russia fought a war against the indignant Chinese that was passed off as assistance in suppressing the Boxer Rebellion but in reality was as much against, as for, the Chinese government. An alliance with Japan was not pursued, partly because Russian policy makers were, as usual, looking over their shoulders at London. The Anglo-Japanese alliance duly ensued, and Russian fumbling lost the chance of an understanding with Japan by which Korea would be a Japanese sphere and Manchuria a Russian. When war started in 1904, Russia was alone against Japan, having alienated the Chinese and bored the British. Only the French were in support, and not very warmly. Nicholas's failure to make clear-cut choices

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among the urgings of forceful characters is painfully evident in the story told by this book.

The publishers have managed to misprint their own name on the back flap. This is an uncharacteristic blemish for a house that continues to set high standards of design and legibility, enhanced, as in this case, by lively jackets.

J. N. Westwood
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Terry Martin. *An Affirmative Action Empire: Nations and Nationalism in the Soviet Union, 1923–1939.* (The Wilder House Series in Politics, History, and Culture.) Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 2001. Pp. xvii, 496. Cloth $55.00, paper $27.50.

Terry Martin's book presents a courageous survey of Soviet nationality policy, a devilishly complex topic. Filling a significant gap, Martin's encyclopedic work is based on one of the most intensive research forays into the archives of the former Soviet Union of any Western scholar in recent years, and the wealth of hitherto inaccessible material that the author presents significantly deepens our understanding of Joseph Stalin's Soviet Union.

While Martin offers a veritable gold mine of new facts, he is not afraid to challenge a number of assumptions about the evolution of the multiethnic Soviet state and Soviet politics during the 1920s and 1930s. Among the valuable insights the book contains is Martin's incisive distinction between the regime's soft-line (such as affirmative-action measures to aid non-Slavs or women) and hard-line policies (such as industrialization, collectivization, or the liquidation of former classes), which helps us resolve apparent contradictions of Soviet policy (pp. 21–22, 87). Martin also aids our understanding of the connection between the Ukrainian and southern Russian famine of 1932–1933 and the end to any further sponsorship by the Soviet state of Ukrainization (pp. 211–60, 273–307). He establishes clearly the causes for the Soviet leadership's return to a pro-Russian policy (and its boundaries) during the 1930s (pp. 307–308, 393–431). Of great consequence is Martin's conclusion that Stalin's regime never attempted to create a supranational Soviet nationality or a *homo sovieticus* (pp. 248, 460–61). Instead, Martin argues that the ethnic identity of most Soviet peoples was fostered and reinforced (and even sometimes created) during the 1920s and, to a lesser extent, the 1930s.

One could propose (and this is not intended as a criticism of Martin's work) that while the author judiciously (though not exclusively) concentrates in his study on the development of Soviet ethnic policy toward the largest non-Russian nation, Ukraine, there is still plenty of room left for further exploration of topics such as the relationship between the center's policies and the evolving ethnic identity of the nations living today in the Central Asian republics.

Martin's book is (and should be for a long time to come) a definite must for anyone researching the history of the various Soviet nations, but it is far from a light read. It is probably impossible for anyone to write cogently and comprehensively about the Communist Party's and Soviet state's policy toward the more than 100 ethnic groups that lived in the USSR and the effect of this policy on these nations. Richard Pipes's *Formation of the Soviet Union: Communism and Nationalism* (1954), which remains the standard for the immediately preceding period, is also challenging to the reader. But Martin's text suffers unnecessarily from sloppy editing. Perhaps predictably, the author's reduction of his massive dissertation to a manageable book has not always led to felicitous results. At the expense of the many occasions when he is far more repetitive than necessary or useful, Martin could have provided us with more detail on the later 1930s (and continued the story until June 1941). Too many points are belabored in the book, while its style is occasionally grinding. One particularly jarring sentence regarding the construction of a pyramid of national soviets is repeated almost literally four times (pp. 10, 25, 47, 72). The book's readability is further impaired by an exaggerated use of Russian terms that will not be recognized easily by non-Russian readers. It is therefore not a book that lends itself well to undergraduate course adoption; its most receptive audience will likely be the fairly small number of specialists in Soviet history, not just in the West but also historians in the Newly Independent States. Despite its imperfect form, Martin's book constitutes a tremendous accomplishment.

Kees Boterbloem
Nipissing University

Samuel H. Baron. *Bloody Saturday in the Soviet Union: Novocherkassk, 1962.* Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2001. Pp. xvi, 241. $45.00.

This fine study, which Samuel H. Baron accurately describes as a cross between history and journalism, examines the Khrushchev-era massacre of strikers in the provincial industrial city Novocherkassk and the decades-long cover-up that followed. The June 1, 1962, attack on workers, who were protesting a steep national hike in food prices, killed twenty-four people and seriously wounded sixty-nine others. Accounts of what was dubbed the "Novocherkassk tragedy" circulated widely in dissident circles, but serious study of the event had to await Mikhail Gorbachev's rise to power.

The thorough examination this book provides may not be the last word on this sorry event, however, since Baron's reconstruction of the massacre relies primarily on a 176-page summary of the government's official investigation. The thirty-one-volume collection of testimony on which the summary is based remains off limits to historians.

Baron argues that both sides lacked the skills necessary to bring the strike to a peaceful conclusion. Shocked by the workers' amazingly courageous chal-

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lenge to their authority, party leaders and the soldiers sent to restore order panicked when a tiny minority of the protestors turned violent. Baron lays primary blame on the government for the killing, but he also comes down surprisingly hard on the strikers for what he characterizes as their "self-defeating tactics." He suggests negotiations over work norms, which could have offset the price increases, were conceivable if the strikers had elected leaders and drawn up a list of negotiable demands. While recognizing that the strikers' lack of experience negotiating with authorities accounted for their "blunders," Baron fails to take into sufficient account the fact that collective protests were virtually unheard of since they had been brutally suppressed in the early 1930s.

Historians have known the bare outlines of the massacre. New is Baron's account of the cover-up that followed immediately on the heels of the massacre. Military trucks gathered up the corpses and secretly buried them in various places around the province (relatives only learned where in 1992). The police were sworn to silence. Mass arrests followed, with a kangaroo court ensuring harsh sentences for those considered ringleaders. The government executed seven and sentenced scores of others to long terms in the Gulag. All means possible were used to intimidate the town's population and prevent word of the massacre from spreading, including closing all roads out of the city, cutting off telephones, and blocking transmissions by amateur radio operators.

Word did slowly seep out. Radio Liberty broadcast an early account. Alexander Solzhenitsyn described the massacre in *The Gulag Archipelago* (1974). Finally, with the coming of glasnost', one of the strikers who had spent years in prison, Petr Siuda, launched a successful campaign to bring his samizdat writings about the massacre to public attention. Though Baron recognizes this was only one of the many shocking revelations of the Gorbachev era, Novocherkassk no doubt did play a role in the discrediting of the Soviet Union during its last years.

Baron rightly makes much of the similarities with Bloody Sunday. Those similarities are no accident, since the Novocherkassk's strikers drew on their knowledge of revolutionary history, confident the "workers' state" would not dare respond to a workers' demonstration as the autocracy had so notoriously done in January 1905. Spontaneously modeling themselves after their St. Petersburg predecessors, the strikers used analogous symbols. They sang the "Internationale" (the Soviet version of "God Save the Tsar"), carried portraits of V. I. Lenin (in 1905 the strikers carried portraits of Nicholas II), and included women and children in their initially peaceful and orderly march to the city's party headquarters. But tragically, as in 1905, the government wrongly assumed a show of force would disperse the crowd.

Baron fails to explain why collective opposition to the price hike was limited to Novocherkassk. Other than a recent wage cut, living and working conditions in Novocherkassk, as he recognizes, were not exceptional. Baron concludes by making, almost in passing, big claims for the long-term impact of this seemingly minor episode, including a suggestion that Bloody Saturday contributed significantly to the breakup of the Soviet Union since the government resolved never to raise food prices again, causing a serious imbalance in the Soviet economy from the unending agricultural subsidies this decision necessitated. But exploring these issues in some depth would have taken Baron away from the events he is content to examine.

CHARTERS WYNN
University of Texas, Austin

MIDDLE EAST AND NORTHERN AFRICA

PALMIRA BRUMMETT. *Image and Imperialism in the Ottoman Revolutionary Press, 1908–1911.* (SUNY Series in the Social and Economic History of the Middle East.) Albany: State University of New York Press. 2000. Pp. xix, 470. $29.95.

This is a significant work. Palmira Brummett not only brings a fresh and innovative way of looking at what is called "Ottoman history" but also contributes greatly to the study of Turkish culture, press, and literature. Despite her modest presentation of the work (pp. 22–23), this book is not a humble endeavor, given its scope, details, and resources.

Brummett studies the satirical cartoons published during the second Ottoman revolution of 1908. These cartoons come from sixty-eight gazettes published in Istanbul between 1908 and 1911, of which, Brummett notes, only thirty-six are "entirely satirical" (p. 16). July 24, 1908, marks the beginning of the Second Constitution (or *İkinci Meşrutiyet*) and the lifting of rigid censorship under the repressive Sultan Abdülhamid. Indeed, this date is still remembered and celebrated by the Turkish press as the foundation of freedom of expression in publishing. Choosing not to force these images into stiff political categories, Brummett mentions that she has "purposely not typed cartoons and satirists by political party because such a typology suggests an already understood and overly rigid demarcation of the cartoon space" (p. 17). This also provides the author with one possible reading of the cartoon as text and does not close the door to other possible readings. One can, of course, argue against this multiplicity of readings when it comes to texts of this sort, but then one has to prove with authority that there is indeed only *one* reading of the text. Given the interdisciplinary nature of the subject matter at hand, its complex and paradoxical political context, and the apparent lack of studies on it, Brummett seems to take the right position in establishing her methodology. She argues that the satirical images of the Ottoman revolutionary press do not define a fixed Ottoman nation, and she calls into question the applicability of the notions of the "traditional historiographic frames" to

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what she calls this "Ottoman cartoon space," in which Ottomanism versus Turkism, Islam versus secularism were not emphasized. The goal of this satiric imagery, she says, was to turn the viewers' attention toward the conditions of the revolution (p. 317).

As Brummett mentions, a work like this requires the collaboration of historians and scholars of Ottoman and Turkish literature (pp. 326–27). With all due respect to the book and its author, I must comment on a few issues that caught my attention. Brummett states that "the rich, evolutionary characteristics of the Ottoman Turkish language may have been communicated only dimly in the translation" (p. xvii), referring to her translations of the captions of the cartoons included in the work. Looking at the captions reproduced and analyzed in this book, I would refrain from characterizing the language used in these cartoons as "Ottoman Turkish." Perhaps a better and more accurate term would be Turkish in Arabic script. It is true that the term "Ottoman Turkish" can be used in a popular way to refer to anything written or published before the 1928 script reform. However, when the term "Ottoman" or "Ottoman Turkish" is used, it almost always refers to the highly cumbersome and rhetorically charged language of Ottoman court literature. The language used here, which I can easily characterize as modern spoken Turkish, with the exception of its representation in Arabic script, is typical of the Ottoman cartoons represented in the book.

Brummett states that "[t]he satirists did surely embody the nation, but not so much to differentiate Ottoman from Turk, or Turk from Arab; rather they embodied the 'nation,' as empire, in order to assert its integrity against the foreign powers and internal factionalism that threatened it" (p. 318). Given the political turmoil of the time and the intellectual quest for identity and rapid solutions for the now-troubled empire, it is true that cartoon literature was not fully transparent in terms of its ideological position(s). This can also be observed in many other branches of Turkish literature during the Second Constitutional era. However, its language, which was far from the complications of the Ottoman court literature, clearly reflects the real beginning of a linguistic Turkification. Even those authors who believed in the Islamist ideology of the time, such as Mehmet Âkif, leaned toward this linguistic Turkification, for it facilitated their wish to communicate with the general public. As the conventions of court poetry disappeared, a new populist literary climate was created, regardless of the authors' outstanding background and training in the high Ottoman literary traditions. Brummett rightly observes that "The press under consideration in this study was a press produced by elites; but their symbolic repertoire was not a discretely elite one. The satiric press evolved out of Ottoman literary, artistic, and theatrical cultures . . . the images of Ottoman satire can never readily be assigned to categories based on a division between aristocrats and masses" (p. 20).

Again, this has to be put into the context of the mostly populist nature of the Turkish constitutional literature, which successfully created the way for national literature after 1911. Brummett asserts that "[s]atire was already a well-established genre in the Ottoman literary tradition; but after the revolution, a public print version of these satiric traditions was allowed to flourish" (p. 3). I cannot go into a lengthy discussion here regarding the origins and/or existence of satire in Ottoman literature, but I have some concerns about the supposed "well-established" nature of this genre—especially when Brummett attempts to make parallels between the evolution of satire and that of the Turkish novel (p. 194 and p. 399, n. 30). The English sources that Brummett consults on the Turkish novel may have contributed to what seems to me to be a misleading assumption.

Despite these minor concerns, I would recommend this excellent work to any student or scholar of Ottoman history and literature.

KEMAL SILAY
Indiana University, Bloomington

KEMAL H. KARPAT. *The Politicization of Islam: Reconstructing Identity, State, Faith, and Community in the Late Ottoman State*. (Studies in Middle Eastern History.) New York: Oxford University Press. 2001. Pp. ix, 533. $49.95.

In this very long, largely unedited book, Kemal H. Karpat presents an encyclopedic description of "every major domestic and international factor" (p. v) that altered state and society during the late Ottoman era. He seeks to explain these transformations and writes against an influential body of work that sees Westernizing and secularizing intellectuals and statesmen as the dominant factors in the evolution of the Ottoman polity. Instead, Karpat insists on the crucial role of Islam in late Ottoman history. Through Islam, he argues, "the lower classes" became involved in altering the social structure (p. v); moreover, the "caliphate became central" to both the domestic and foreign policies of the state during the late nineteenth century (p. 414). Islamists, in his view, were in the mainstream of Ottoman modernism and not, as earlier scholars argued, obscurantist reactionaries blocking Westernizing reform. Less originally, however, the author largely duplicates the earlier scholarship that has argued, unconvincingly, that the Ottoman Empire inevitably evolved into the Turkish republic in 1923. Karpat's contribution here is his emphasis on Turkist influences from the tsarist empire on developments within the Ottoman realms.

Deeply engaged in the politics of contemporary Turkey, the author closes his work with a set of recommendations to warring Turkish secularists and Islamists to work together to preserve modernity, democracy, and Islam within the Republic of Turkey. Behind this admonition stands an enormous volume

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produced by one of the senior scholars in Ottoman and Turkish studies.

There is much of interest here. At one point in the text, for example, the author makes effective use of Ottoman consular sources, thus setting a valuable precedent for subsequent scholars. Karpat, long concerned with demographic issues, persuasively illustrates the crucial impact on Ottoman society and politics of the immigration of millions of Muslim and often Turkish-speaking refugees from tsarist Russia and from lost Ottoman territories in the Balkans. These refugees brought innovations in agriculture and manufacturing, and they form an important element of Karpat's new middle class. The book is also valuable for its focus on the religious brotherhoods that were deeply rooted in Ottoman society and served, as Karpat shows, as powerful mechanisms for social cohesion and political mobilization.

While the purported chronological focus is the reign of Sultan Abdülhamid II (1876–1909), the author digresses back to medieval times and forward well into the 1990s. The book is an extended essay recording the author's ruminations on Ottoman history, Turkish politics, and their interconnections. While the digressions are often fascinating, they detract from the clarity and cohesion of Karpat's arguments.

The book is fully enmeshed in important debates around the nature of the late Ottoman state. Was it multinational and multireligious or Turkish and Muslim? This reader, together with many others, sees the empire as a largely successful experiment in multinationalism that was destroyed by the great powers in World War I. Karpat, in contrast, emphasizes the identity of the empire as a Muslim enterprise and that of Sultan Abdülhamid II as the caliph. He judges the actions of sultans largely according to their promotion of Islamic values (p. 48). The large influx of immigrants, coupled with other developments, did act to Turkify the Ottoman state and society. However, the argument for Turkification is weakened by the presentist bias of the book, located in contemporary Turkish politics, and by the author's search backward into the remote past for the roots of Turkishness (p. 79).

Although I disagree strongly with many of Karpat's conclusions, I welcome his contribution: indeed, Ottoman history writing needs more explicit debates about interpretation and analysis. The argument of whether the late Ottoman state and Ottoman society were multinational or Turkish and Islamic in character is an important one and needs to be raised. In the end, Karpat seems to be arguing that the Ottoman Empire not only was but should have been an Islamic and Turkish enterprise. While Karpat too often refers to Turks rather than Ottomans and presses his arguments beyond the evidence, interpretive differences are part of our profession. My critique derives from my frustration in attempting to grapple with his arguments. This book is bloated, with a text of well over 200,000 words, full of endless repetitions that suggest little editorial control. Thus, the arguments are very difficult to follow. Conclusions are offered at the ends of chapters but then become further ruminations and repetitions of already-stated arguments. As a result, the author's own agenda has been subverted.

DONALD QUATAERT
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AKRAM FOUAD KHATER. *Inventing Home: Emigration, Gender, and the Middle Class in Lebanon, 1870–1920.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 2001. Pp. xiv, 257. Cloth $55.00, paper $22.50.

Akram Fouad Khater breaks new ground in Lebanese history by locating it within a broader, transregional literature on modernity, class formation, and gender. His book examines the experiences of tens of thousands of peasants who emigrated to the Americas and then returned home to Mount Lebanon before World War I. The author argues that returned emigrants' assertion of middle-class identity profoundly shaped Lebanese society's engagement with modernity and, more precisely, its redefinition of gender roles and family life in the twentieth century.

Khater's focus on the experience of emigrants is ingenious and important. Anyone who has traveled through the Americas or Africa knows that the Lebanese rival the Chinese and South Asians in the scope of their mercantile diaspora. Khater estimates that one third of Mount Lebanon's population emigrated between 1887 and 1914 (p. 48), and that nearly half of those emigrants (about 78,000) had returned home by the outbreak of World War I (p. 112). These numbers suggest to Khater that the impact of foreign ideas and culture on Lebanon came not only through missionaries and European merchants—who are the usual focus in studies of Western imperialism—but perhaps more importantly through Lebanese peasants themselves. Indeed, Khater intends this story to challenge colonial studies that too often have focused on elites.

The book is richly satisfying in its focus on these extraordinary peasants, and on why they undertook emigration, how they encountered American society, and what cultural and social baggage they carried back home. Contrary to popular accounts, Khater argues that emigrants left not because they were oppressed by the Ottoman Turks but rather because they had had a small taste of a better life and they wanted more. The French silk industry that had given them extra pocket money in the 1850s and 1860s declined in the 1880s. Meanwhile, land became more expensive as the mountain's population doubled in the late nineteenth century (pp. 57–61). Faced with declining standards of living, sons and daughters of mill workers sought their fortunes overseas. Mostly illiterate, these peasants left scant sources for historians. Khater has made poetic and inspired use of oral histories and Arabic newspapers to suggest the diversity of survival strategies they adopted. He also employs analogy, especially comparisons to Italian return emigration, to help connect

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disparate dots of data. Khater argues that Lebanese peasants resisted the mapping of the world into a "modern" West and "traditional" East; rather they forged their own, unique concept of modernity upon their return to Mount Lebanon in order to justify new social practices that would otherwise have been viewed by homebound neighbors as shameful.

Indeed, a primary challenge that these peasants faced was the reorganization of gender roles and family life. They had bartered family honor for economic well being by permitting their daughters to work alongside men in silk mills; then, in the Americas, wives, mothers, and daughters worked outside of the home, most often as peddlars, and within the home often accepted boarders. In response to these adaptive practices and to new models of middle-class domesticity that they encountered in the Americas, the peasants engaged in heated debates about women's dress, role in the family, and place in society. While some women embraced their move into public life, many peasants now asserted their middle-class status through a renewed code of gender segregation that placed women back in the home as childrearers. And while some returned emigrants espoused the ideal of companionate marriage, most still favored arranged marriages designed to protect the family's economic and social status. By World War I, the new, rural Lebanese middle class helped to foster a female intelligentsia that criticized middle-class norms even before they were transplanted into Lebanese society. These women drew on their life experiences outside the home to resist modern forms of patriarchy modeled on American middle-class norms.

Khater's study grants Lebanese peasants remarkable rationality and agency. It thereby challenges not only universalist models of modernity but also the class and gender perspectives that have framed histories of late Ottoman Lebanon. As all good books should, this one raises new questions that should inspire future scholarship. Khater addresses, for example, the issue of sectarianism in an extended footnote, remarking that only Christian peasants managed to emigrate and so move into the middle class (pp. 231–32). How might Christian middle-class modernity have been based on simultaneous constructions of Muslim backwardness? How did this discourse encounter that of contemporary Muslim reformers, who asserted their own visions of moral modernity? What is clear already is that, if gender identity was integral to modernity, Lebanese women traveled a terribly complex and contested path into the twentieth century.

ELIZABETH THOMPSON
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AVI SHLAIM. *The Iron Wall: Israel and the Arab World.* New York: W. W. Norton. 2000. Pp. xxv, 670. $32.50.

In this overview of Israel's relations with the Arabs, Avi Shlaim argues that Israeli leaders have been driven by a strategy, constructed by Zeev Jabotinsky (father of right-wing Zionism) in the 1920s, called the Iron Wall. Aimed at the creation of a secure state for the Jewish people in Palestine at a time when the vast majority of its inhabitants were Arabs, this strategy called for an alliance with a Western power and the buildup of military strength that would be used against the Arabs until they realized the futility of defeating Israel. Jabotinsky accepted the Palestinians as a people, and he anticipated negotiations with them, but only after the Arabs, who, he believed, understood only the language of force, had been decisively defeated. Superior military power, anchored in an alliance with a Western nation, would compel the Arabs to negotiate an end to the conflict. According to Shlaim, this is exactly what has occurred. Beginning in the 1970s, first the Egyptians and then the Palestinians and the Jordanians accepted Israel's military superiority and entered into negotiations from a position of weakness. Israel, Shlaim contends, is vindication of this strategy.

From this vantage point, and armed with an array of official and unofficial Israeli documents (diaries, memoirs, cabinet records, and interviews, including an interview with Jordan's late King Hussein), the author reappraises Israel's foreign policy. The country's entire leadership, military and political, he argues, has been Jabotinskyite. This is true not only of well-known hawks like David Ben-Gurion (of whom the author paints a fascinating portrait), Moshe Dayan, Golda Meir, and Menachem Begin but also of doves like Moshe Sharett and Levi Eshkol, who favored negotiation but were uncompromising on the essentials. Such leaders forged aggressive policies and made Israel into the Middle East's greatest military power. They won a strategic partnership with the United States, brought the Israeli military into politics, built a nuclear arsenal, engaged in provocative acts, and embarked (in the 1950s) upon territorial expansion. The problem, according to Shlaim, is that Israel's leaders fell too much in love with this strategy. After Israel became secure within its 1948 borders and could dictate peace to the Arabs from a position of strength, right-wing politicians used the doctrine to argue for an expansion of Israeli control to the Jordan River. The first serious attempt to end the love affair with this idea was made by Yitzhak Rabin, beginning in 1992. Influenced by Jabotinsky and suspicious of Arabs, Rabin nonetheless understood "that the iron wall of Jewish military power had achieved its purpose and that the time had come to negotiate an end to the conflict with the Arab states and with the Palestinians" (p. 504).

Shlaim must offer proofs, not just assertions, that Israel's leaders were driven by this ideology. The evidence adduced is mostly circumstantial; in retrospect, the Iron Wall seems to be a good "fit" for what eventually happened. To be sure, Israel's leaders were influenced by inherited attitudes and their own preconceptions, but circumstances and the actions of the Arabs themselves were also important. Aware of the superiority of Arab numbers, space, and financial

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resources, Ben-Gurion's natural reaction was to build up power and seek external alliances. In 1964, Shlaim acknowledges, Arab states for the first time declared their aim to be the destruction of Israel and began preparing for confrontation. One can imagine the effect that actions like this had on Israeli leaders. Hard-line policies were the product of many things, not just ideology.

This approach does enable the author to challenge Israel's nationalist historiography. Historical revisionism, in fact, is one purpose of the book. Nationalist historians and their supporters outside Israel have argued that peace has always been Israel's first priority; the problem, they aver, is that there never was anyone to talk with on the other side. Shlaim demolishes this argument by revealing case after case of peace feelers from Arab states that were rebuffed or met with silence by Israel in the early years of their conflict. Israel's first priority was the buildup and development of a power state, not peace with Arabs. Overtures from Jordan, however, were accepted, inaugurating a long period of secret talks, understandings, and cooperation between the two states. Shlaim also reveals the opportunism and desire for territorial expansion that lay behind Israel's decision to join forces with France and Britain in their 1956 invasion of Egypt. In the final analysis, one cannot argue with the author's conclusion that Israel's leaders and their supporters bear considerable responsibility for perpetuating this conflict.

With the occupied territories now inextricably tied to Israel, the Iron Wall, it seems, has been breeched. By 2025, the number of Palestinians living in Gaza and the West Bank will reach 7.4 million, as against about 3 million today. There are 4.8 million Jews now living in Israel, along with 1.2 million Palestinians. "Trojan Horse" may be a more appropriate metaphor for understanding a conflict whose outcome is still in doubt.

F. Robert Hunter
Indiana State University

Isabelle Rivoal. *Les Maîtres du secret: Ordre mondain et ordre religieux dans la communauté Druze en Israël.* (Studies in History and the Social Sciences, number 88.) Paris: École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales. 2000. Pp. 432. FR 250.

One of the last vestiges of Orientalist scholarship, the Druze community in the Middle East is still generally presented as an enigma, highlighted for the secrecy and mysterious rituals its scriptures seem to warrant. This, of course, is an essentialist reading that remains stuck on the text and, even when it (re)discovers them as people, turns the Druzes into witnesses of that text. Probably the most refreshing aspect of Isabelle Rivoal's fascinating new study is that, by reversing that order, she succeeds not only in debunking the fancies of the Orientalists but also in giving us an inside view of contemporary Druze society as lived in the village of Isfiya (in today's Israel). The author's extensive fieldwork has led to an interpretation of culture that offers us "real" people within their social and political contexts. Thus, when she describes the Druze faith as reflected in the community's traditional customs and its religious rituals, ceremonies, and hierarchy, her understanding proves at once more comprehensive but also clearer than that of most other scholars who have written on the Druzes. What is more, her ethnographic observations on the social and political life of the village enable her to paint a broader picture of the entire Druze community in the Middle East.

Rivoal's approach pays dividends from the start, as she gives us in chapter one a survey of Druze faith and history that is rare for its clarity of exposition, even though the written sources she relies on are largely secondary ones. For the history and geography of Isfiya in chapter two, she uses both written and oral history. Here her anthropological insights succeed not only in laying bare the counternarratives the inhabitants tell about their past but also in offering a wholly convincing interpretation of the internal political motivations that underlie these controversies. She writes: "The new interest the Druzes showed in studying their traditions [was not] the result of an internal demand . . [but] of an external demand that came to the fore particularly in Israel" (author's translation, p. 56). What she refers to is the longstanding Israeli government policy of encouraging a separate Druze identity separates them from the other Arab communities in Israel.

Analyzing, in chapter three, how adaptable this traditional society proved in the face of modernity, Rivoal convincingly shows that "modernization" has been unable to do away with communal and familial bonds. Although division of labor and social mobility have become more pronounced, Druze society as a whole is still seen as organic, held together by communal, clannish forms of solidarity. The author's interpretation of the interplay of political forces in the village points up the compromise the Druzes in Isfiya arrived at between "tradition" and "modernity" and can serve as a case study for the internal politics of all Druze villages in Israel.

In chapters four through seven, Rivoal looks in great detail at the pivotal role of the religious order in the Druze society. She competently sets out the religious hierarchies on both the local level (of the village) and the communal level (Druzes within Israel). A valid description follows of the way such institutions as *waqfs* and shrines (pp. 206–215) function in the Druze villages, not to mention the different clans or individuals who are associated with them. Anecdotes illustrate the close connection between the secular and the religious alluded to by the subtitle of her book. A historical survey of the emergence of Sheik Amin Tarif as spiritual leader further relates the local level to the community level and from there to the wider political context of Israel.

Somewhat disappointing, however, is how little Rivoal has to contribute on Druze women. Partial

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compensation comes in her final chapter on the role women play at funeral rituals to ensure the continuation of the life cycle. But even then, Rivoal cannot escape "creating" some of these rituals so that they fit into the structure she has built with her anthropological tools. For example, in the ritual of *tanawih* the women do not sing "religious songs" (p. 361) but a kind of poetry that praises the deceased and his/her relatives and is not exclusively Druze.

Likewise, some caution is warranted vis-à-vis Rivoal's Arabic terminology and names. For example, the Arabic transliterations of the characteristics she lists for *zaʿim* (a crucial term in the Druze context) contain mistakes, while her rendering of the meaning of the verb *zaʿama* is incomplete (pp. 83–86). The term *safin* (p. 173) does not exist at all and may have been derived by her from the phrase *safu al-khatir* used to signal the end of the *shurrah* prayer. Also, she is inaccurate on the important division within Druze society among *juhal*, *ʿuqal*, and *shurrah* (the adjectives *khatim* and *jwayid* used to signify *ʿuqal* are not synonymous). *Sharrah* (or *musharrih* with Rivoal) is someone who has committed one of two *kabaʿr*, murder or adultery against fellow Druzes or non-Druzes, not just the latter, as Rivoal has it. The term of *shummaʿa* (p. 179) should be *sawmaʿa*. There is no division between leading families and *fallahs* (peasant farmers) but between the former and *falatiyya* (low-ranking families). Isfiya's eastern quarter is not Lebanese, nor are the *shukunat* exclusively Hawranese or Syrian (pp. 79–80).

These minor shortcomings, however, in no way detract from the fact that Rivoal has given us an excellent study whose many insights form a significant and highly welcome contribution to our knowledge not only of the Druze community in Israel but also of the wider context of Middle Eastern societies.

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DANIEL LEFEUVRE. *Chère Algérie: Comptes et mécomptes de la tutelle coloniale, 1930–1962*. Foreword by JACQUES MARSEILLE. (Études, new series, number 15.) Saint-Denis: Société Française d'Histoire d'Outre-Mer; distributed by Didier Érudition, Paris, 1997. Pp. 397. 170 FR.

"Chère Algérie" ("Dear Algeria") has the same double meaning in French that it has in English: Algeria was both an object of affection and represented a high expense. Daniel Lefeuvre, the leading student of Jacques Marseille, follows his teacher's views that empire was overall an unprofitable venture. In this study, based on his dissertation, Lefeuvre looks at the economic relations between France and Algeria from the 1930s to independence, concentrating on government-business relations in regards to the North African possession. He documents the truth that President Charles de Gaulle shared with his countrymen in April 1961 when he pronounced that "Algeria costs us—that's the least one can say—more than it provides."

A recurrent theme throughout the period of Lefeuvre's study is that the successive governments that shaped economic policies for Algeria were less interested in profit than in social and political stability in Algeria. If the government tried to direct investments to Algeria, it was to prevent what it recognized to be a coming implosion as a result of the colony's dramatic population increase. Because employment opportunities were unable to keep up with population growth, Muslims were becoming increasingly restive, open to nationalist propaganda. As late as 1958, when de Gaulle instituted the Constantine plan for the industrialization of Algeria, economic growth and stability were seen as effective antidotes to nationalism.

The study is based on hitherto unavailable government documents and an unprecedented access of a number of important business archives. They reveal that French business on the whole was reluctant to invest in Algeria, seeing it as unprofitable because its inefficient labor force and poor communications made production costly, while the market was too restricted. At its height, the European population numbered one million with an average income that was twenty percent less than that of metropolitan French citizens, while the Muslim population prior to the outbreak of the Algerian War in 1954 numbered eight million, with an average income that was but a tenth that of the European inhabitants of the colony. This was not a tempting market for French businesses desiring to expand or diversify.

Lefeuvre starts his account in the 1930s, during the Depression. He finds that while France's trade increased with Algeria in this period, the terms of trade benefitted the latter. For instance, wanting to protect Algeria's wine market, French authorities raised tariffs on Italian and Spanish wine, considerably cheaper than that from the North African colony. The French consumer was subsidizing the Algerian wine maker. From then until the end of colonization, Algeria imported from France more than it exported to it, creating a deficit that was covered by the metropole. "The province was on artificial respiration," remarks Lefeuvre (p. 48). Since France provided protection for Algerian goods, they found a ready market, unavailable elsewhere. Other Mediterranean countries successfully competed with Algerian agriculture, depriving Algeria of any markets but those of France.

The 1930s was also a period when the demographic crisis in Algeria reached critical proportions; in the ten years between 1926 and 1936, the Muslim population grew by twenty percent, and the growth continued thereafter. The population was outstripping the resources of the colony, threatening its economic survival and, it was feared, the continuation of its ties to France. The authorities considered possible outlets for the booming population, among them rather quixotic plans to colonize along the Niger River in the French Sudan, Madagascar, and French Guyana. But the best

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outlet seemed to be to encourage the "surplus" population to come and work in France. France suffered a labor shortage after World War II and could have limited its recruitment of labor to Italy, Spain, and Portugal—the countries favored by French employers. While Algerian labor was seen as less productive, the government encouraged a policy of employing migrant labor favoring Algerians. Here again, economic efficiency (or at least what was perceived to be economic efficiency) was sacrificed for political purposes. Finding an outlet for the large unemployed Algerian population would, it was thought, prevent the feared explosion.

There were limits to the number of Algerians who could be absorbed by the French economy, and some officials were concerned about the impact upon France of a growing Algerian presence. Industrialization was an option. In the 1930s, even during the Popular Front Government, which in many ways attempted to improve the well-being of the indigenous populations, industrialization was discouraged overseas lest it hurt domestic industry. But during World War II, fearful that local misery or the impact of foreign economic power would weaken the links to France, Vichy-era technocrats drew up blueprints to industrialize Algeria. Many of these schemes became the basis for economic planning in the 1950s, culminating in the Constantine plan of 1958. While there were many points to the program, including the promise of a massive literacy drive, the focus of the plan was the economic development of the colony, including massive industrialization. Lefeuvre shows that the plan fell far short of its promise, less money was invested than promised, and many of the plans never got off the ground.

Private enterprise continued to be hesitant to invest in Algeria, especially given the likelihood that Algeria would soon be independent. Few businessmen had illusions that Algeria could be preserved as a French possession, being far more realistic than the politicians who held on for a longer period to the dream of a French Algeria. Lefeuvre's analysis is careful and discriminating, showing that while many businesses stayed away from Algeria, others invested in the colony in anticipation of independence. Thus the Berliet truck company, afraid that an independent Algeria would turn to other markets, decided to build an assembly plant in Algeria so that there would be a reason after decolonization for Algerians to favor Berliet trucks.

Missing from this story is the role of oil in France's assessment of its economic interests in Algeria. Lefeuvre has researched this subject and published his findings in other scholarly sites. His conclusion is that Algerian oil did not play an important role in French calculations; it was of poor quality and could be had cheaper on the world market. So, although not included in the book, it does not change the story.

Lefeuvre convincingly argues that no matter how much French policy makers might cherish the idea of a French Algeria, it was a luxury that they realized they could no longer afford, and Algeria became independent in 1962.

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JAMES D. LE SUEUR. *Uncivil War: Intellectuals and Identity Politics during the Decolonization of Algeria*. Foreword by PIERRE BOURDIEU. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 2001. Pp. x, 342. $46.50.

Algeria's war of national liberation (1954–1962) represented a decisive event in the struggle of African and Asian peoples to overcome European colonial rule and achieve political independence free of external control. Yet its bloody character and revolutionary scope left a legacy of political disorder and sociocultural chaos with which Algerians continue to struggle. Indeed, some believe that Algeria's current civil war, involving deadly combat between Islamic radicals and an authoritarian regime that has cost the lives of nearly 150,000, is but a continuation of that country's ongoing effort to overcome its destructive past and reconstitute a viable national identity capable of integrating state and society into a meaningful whole.

France, too, continues to suffer from the legacy of its 132 years of colonial occupation—more so than those who sought to explain, excuse, justify, and/or rationalize that experience. France's intellectual class was instrumental in contextualizing and deconstructing the Algerian war in ways that dovetailed with its own historical predilections and philosophical biases. In the process, that privileged elite revealed many internal contradictions, including hypocrisies, duplicities, inconsistencies, and plain cruelties. In this eloquent elaboration of the "uncivil war" taking place between as well as within French and Franco-Algerian intellectual circles, James D. Le Sueur provides both an intellectual history and an intimate profile of the people who struggled to reconcile the competing images that French Algeria and then independent Algeria came to represent.

Le Sueur has organized his book into two parts and seven chapters that include useful summary introductory and concluding sections. Blending craftsmanlike historical description with a lively narrative style, the author explains the complexities and contradictions that colonial Algeria represented for France and French intellectuals, beginning with the origin of the occupation in 1830. From the outset, two completely different societies were forced to live side by side under enormously uneven conditions in which French citizens were highly privileged while Algerian "natives" served as little more than human capital. It should come as no surprise, therefore, that policies promoting assimilation, association, and integration failed so dramatically when they were attempted in the late stages of colonial rule.

Successive efforts to create an architecture of reconciliation between cultures while maintaining the

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existing hierarchy of power and privilege seemed futile and, ultimately, disastrous. The example of the Service des Centres Sociaux, a tepid experiment in social engineering that sought both to combat Algerian rural poverty and to foster a viable Franco-Muslim community, was emblematic of the "too little, too late" strategy that French intellectuals and enlightened government officials sought to implement in the face of increased violence emerging from extremist tendencies on both sides of the cultural divide.

Le Sueur's revealing and empathetic portrayal of the controversial, Algerian-born French novelist Albert Camus marks an important step in the fuller comprehension of the personal and political dilemmas faced by intellectuals unwilling to be "politically correct." Clearly the man was "out of step" with his own time, as he remained committed until his death in 1960 to the idea of a single Algeria representing one fused Franco-Algerian personality. Although he was the object of repeated criticism by other French and Algerian intellectuals of his time for his unwillingness to recognize the inevitability of a separate Algerian identity deserving of separate statehood, the country's multiple postindependence failings, including its rampant authoritarianism, have redeemed Camus in the eyes of many scholarly observers and intellectuals of the current Algerian political scene. Le Sueur does an excellent job of elaborating the Camus "complex" and releasing the man from his narrowly defined historical straightjacket. In the current atmosphere of daily death and destruction at the hands of a rapacious state and equally sanguinary Islamic terrorists, "Camus's assessment of the result of violence [so much heralded by Frantz Fanon and Jean-Paul Sartre in the 1950s] and the possibility that antidemocratic tendencies of the FLN would make stability unlikely seems all too prophetic to today's audience" (p. 126).

Overall, Le Sueur has provided an insightful and lively interpretation of an ongoing moral, sociological, political, and intellectual struggle taking place on both sides of the Mediterranean Sea. French and Algerians continue to define their separateness while acknowledging the authenticity of the "other" in a conflict made painfully visible by the profundity of a national liberation struggle whose causes and consequences continue to reverberate within both societies.

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SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

LOUIS BRENNER. *Controlling Knowledge: Religion, Power and Schooling in a West African Muslim Society*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2001. Pp. xv, 343. $39.95.

Schooling is central to the creation of any Muslim society, to its reproduction, and to any transformations. Louis Brenner's study of schooling in what is now Mali is thus a lens through which the reader can see transformations in the way power is conceived and structured. The book's central theme is the history of Franco-Arab schools called *medersa*. The first *medersa* were set up by the French during the opening decade of the twentieth century to attract Muslim students, both to produce a Muslim elite literate in French and to provide clerks, interpreters, and teachers for the colonial regime. The goal was assimilationist, but only one *medersa* lasted long, and other methods proved more effective at producing Muslim intermediaries. Then, after World War II, a number of Muslim intellectuals, many of them educated at Al-Azhar University in Cairo or in North Africa, turned to the *medersa* to reform Muslim education. They were interested in a better knowledge of Arabic and turned to French pedagogy to get it. Traditional Qur'ānic schools were generally based on memorization. Only the higher level, where itinerant students read a book with a scholar expert on that book, produced real understanding of Muslim law and theology. The new *medersa* were also intended to teach secular subjects and thus to produce educated Muslims capable of competing in the job market. French obstruction and the resistance of both secular and traditional Muslim elites limited their progress, but from the early 1970s, *medersa* increased dramatically, their growth often fueled by gifts from oil-rich countries of the Middle East. Within a decade of the oil boom, they educated about twenty percent of the students in Mali.

Brenner weaves a number of other themes around this simple tale. The most important is the different ways Muslims have organized themselves and legitimated Muslim political and religious authority. Using Michel Foucault's notion of an *episteme*, Brenner describes a precolonial Islam based on lineage structures and on the esoteric ideologies of Sufi mystics. The French saw these structures as anachronistic and therefore manipulable, but they gave way to more rationalist ideologies, and by the end of the century there was an increasing emphasis on association rather than kinship. A key role was played by a group of reformers whom the French labeled Wahabi, but who saw themselves simply as Sunni or orthodox Muslims. These Sunni reformers did, however, share with Saudi Wahabis a hostility to Sufism and a desire to return to the fundamental texts of Islam.

A second theme is the resistance to the reformers. At a time when deputies from the Soudan, as it was then called, were sitting in the French chamber of deputies, the colonial administration was still resolutely and ineffectively trying to control the nature of Malian Islam. To do so, it tried to create a counterreform movement led by the Malian writer Amadou Hampaté Bâ, which supported education in African languages and preservation of indigenous Muslim traditions. With independence, the counterreform movement collapsed and the Muslim reformers had a brief moment of freedom. Most of them supported the socialist Union Soudanaise, but the new regime turned out to be resolutely secularist and tried to incorporate

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the *medersa* into Franco-Arab schools. Aid givers, in particular the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), have also been reluctant to fund *medersa*, and the Malian bureaucracy remains predominantly secularist.

This book is the product of twenty years of research conducted by Brenner and a team of able Malian researchers. It thus involves interaction with Malian Islam during a period of change. Brenner's analysis dispels many of the fears of both the French colonialists and the Malian secularists. It makes the French distinction between a fanatical "white" Islam and a tolerant "black" Islam seem absurd. It also makes clear that the reform of Muslim schooling and the increase in Muslim associational life have not contributed to the growth of fundamentalism, although some Muslim groups want a more Islamic state. Surprisingly, although the *medersa* recruit from poorer and less-educated families, the *medersa* and the state schools have almost the same results on examinations. Those parents who put their children in *medersa* are generally more concerned with their moral growth than with their career options. Their children, however, are very similar to those graduating from state schools, both in how they spend their time and in what they expect from their education. Brenner stresses the pluralism of Malian Islam and its commitment to values not radically different from those of its secular rivals.

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LINDA HEYWOOD. *Contested Power in Angola, 1840s to the Present*. (Rochester Studies in African History and the Diaspora, number 6.) Rochester, N.Y.: University of Rochester Press. 2000. Pp. xviii, 305. $79.95.

This book is a history of the Ovimbundu peoples of Angola during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The Ovimbundu are located in the densely populated, agriculturally productive central highlands of Angola, and they comprise the largest ethnic group in the country. They have provided considerable support to the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), the opposition movement led by Jonas Savimbi that has been engaged in a deadly conflict with the ruling Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) government practically since independence in 1975. Although Savimbi's death during a battle between UNITA and the Angolan armed forces in early 2002 has eliminated one of the main obstacles to peace, this book shows that bringing about the cultural, political, and economic inclusion of the Ovimbundu into the Angolan polity remains a formidable task.

Linda Heywood provides an extensively researched account of identity formation among the Ovimbundu over the last 150 years. She has consulted government and missionary archives in eight locations including Scotland, the United States, Portugal, and Angola and has relied on Angolan, Portuguese, and American daily newspapers and monthly religious journals to support her analysis. Her focus on local struggles and the dynamics of ethnic, regional, and national politics incorporates several of the theoretical insights that social historians have brought to the study of Africa during the last two decades. Although she often does not engage directly with existing historiography on Angola, her examination of processes of social change departs significantly from earlier elite, policy-based, and structuralist interpretations.

By situating her study in the 1840s, Heywood demonstrates that the "politics of belonging," in the words of Peter Geschiere and Francis Nyamnjoh, emerged long before the creation of formal colonialism and long before contemporary struggles over power and economic wealth. For the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, she presents a complex account of shifting alliances, adaptation, resistance, and collaboration by the Ovimbundu to explain how they navigated the booms and busts in the trade of commodities, the growth of missionaries, the imposition of colonial institutions, and the arrival of settlers. To illustrate the fluidity of identity politics, Heywood shows how some Ovimbundu blended customary social mores with Protestant values to challenge the exploitative practices of the Portuguese colonial government in the 1940s. However, the book also asserts that the "New State" regime exploited regional and ethnic differences to create among the Ovimbundu a group of collaborators with the state during the anticolonial struggles of the 1960s.

Heywood argues that an anticolonial, pan-Ovimbundu identity had solidified by the time of independence in 1975, yet the latter part of the book lacks the nuanced, localized approach of the earlier chapters. Chapters six, seven, and the epilogue vacillate between essentialist claims about ethnicity and regionalism in order to illuminate the differences among the anticolonial movements of the 1960s and the adversaries of the postcolonial period, and a more amorphous and equivocal, but perhaps more realistic, delineation of the ideological, educational, geopolitical, economic, and religious motivations driving the antagonisms. For example, the book asserts that by independence "UNITA had become an umbrella for southern Angolans of many different political persuasions and a variety of ethnic, racial, and religious backgrounds" (p. 194). Yet the same page claims that "[Savimbi's] appeal to the Ovimbundu also strengthened the belief that UNITA was not a nationalist movement as its propaganda asserted, but an ethnic Ovimbundu organization."

Since earlier chapters established that Ovimbundu ethnic identity was both complex and fragmented, it is hard to understand on what basis Savimbi marshalled "Ovimbundu ethnicity" to engage in armed struggle against the MPLA government after 1975. If a recent work by Tony Hodges is to be believed, mismanagement and corruption by the MPLA, Savimbi's personal charisma, and the income from the sale of diamonds

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are at least as responsible as appeals to ethnicity for cementing loyalties within UNITA and prolonging the war. Furthermore, Heywood does not discuss how urbanization, forced relocations, and economic disruption weakened, strengthened, or changed Ovimbundu identity politics over the last twenty-five years. Undoubtedly, Angola's persistent conflict explains the absence of oral sources and fieldwork that might have clarified these important issues, but it does not excuse the author's inconsistent use of a theoretical framework that might allow readers to comprehend the explosive contradictions and fragile complementarities among ethnic nationalism, resistance, and the state in contemporary Angola.

Despite the analytical shortcomings, this history suggests that a peaceful solution to years of violent contestation and abject neglect will require not only an enlightened leadership and careful diplomacy but also the creation of an appropriate institutional framework for handling ethnic grievances and regional demands.

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Film Reviews

THE INTERNATIONALE. Produced and directed by Peter Miller. 2000; color; 30 minutes. Distributed by First Run/Icarus Films.

In June 1871, Eugène Pottier, an elected member of the Paris Commune in flight from the convulsive violence that finished off that brief experiment in radical democracy, wrote the words of the "Internationale." His poem, however, sank into obscurity with the exiled Pottier. Not until 1888, a year after his death, was it rescued and given new life when set to music by Belgian-born worker Pierre Degeyter. Within a quarter century, the song became the anthem of the Left, translated into dozens of languages, the accompaniment of strikes and revolutions: six verses that shook the world. Using archival footage, interviews, and original film of performances, Peter Miller's short documentary examines what the "Internationale" meant to individuals and social movements in the twentieth century and asks how the old staple will fare in a post-Soviet world.

The most compelling parts of the film are the recollections of those who grew up with the song. Indeed, the anthem's association with childhood and youth supplies particularly poignant memories for a number of the interviewees. Russian, Israeli, Filipina, and American alike remark, with barely diminished ardor, upon the transformative quality of singing the "Internationale": the excitement of being part of a movement that bridged national, racial, and ethnic boundaries; the fervent hope it instilled for a better world; and the sense of imminence it imparted. The disappointment and betrayal of such ideals account for the elegiac tone of much of the film, and inevitably the shadow of Soviet Russia falls over the anthem's biography. Labor folklorist Archie Green argues that the "Internationale" gradually lost its appeal to a broader Left, becoming associated in the West from the 1930s onward almost exclusively with the Soviet Union through newsreels (and later television broadcasts) of the vast parades in Moscow's Red Square. And folksinger Pete Seeger notes the devitalizing consequences of making anything "official," as the Soviet Union did the "Internationale," how the once brisk tempo of the song was lost and it became as ponderous as the new establishment it represented.

The bromides about internationalism are balanced by the memory, the very real tragedy, of those who perished believing in it, whether they fought in Spain during the Civil War or died at the hands of Joseph Stalin's secret police. As Yehoshua Zamir, a young socialist kibbutznik, observes of those who fought in Spain, "the tragedy is that the people who were in power in Russia . . . were not worthy of the cause that people gave their lives to." How, then, to rescue this beautiful melody and revitalize the ideals that animated Pottier in the first place, inspiring so many?

English political folksinger Billy Bragg, taking seriously the song's assertion, "No more tradition's chains shall bind us," was moved by the crushing of the student movement in Tiananmen Square in 1989, where the "Internationale" was sung regularly during the occupation, to write new words. Observing that the original words were "archaic" and that it had picked up a lot of baggage over the years, notably that of state communism, a freight that would surely scupper most attempts at salvage, Bragg has fashioned an updated version that manages to be both generic and bathetic. The song has been altered ever since it first became widely known; the fifth verse, for example, rarely made it into songbooks outside France because it referred specifically to the Commune, and anarchists used different words in some verses. But attempts to rewrite it point up the tension in the Left's own ambivalent relationship to traditions, whether they are invariably dead weights or building blocks to the future. This film prompts us to ponder the question again, just one of its many fine qualities.

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MARKOVA: COMFORT GAY. Produced by Ródolfo Quizon; directed by Gil Portes; screenplay by Clodualdo Del Mundo Jr. 2000; color; 97 minutes. Distributed by Vagrant Films.

From the outset—indeed, from its very title—*Markova: Comfort Gay* announces itself as an ambitious and uncompromising offering by Filipino director Gil Portes. The film is based on the life of Walter Dempster, Jr., a gay transvestite performer with the stage name Walterina Markova. Ródolfo Quizon, "Dolphy," a beloved comic actor who has made something of a career out of gay roles, portrays the older, narrating Markova/Walter. The young Markova is played by Dolphy's son Jeffrey Quizon,

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and Dolphy's elder son Eric Quizon plays Markova as a young adult.

During the Japanese occupation of the Philippines, Walterina and his fellow performers were at first mistaken for women and then, as punishment for their "deception," quartered in a barn and sexually brutalized by a group of soldiers over an unknown period of time. Consequently, the film invites comparison between Walter's experiences and those of the estimated 80,000 to 200,000 women who were forcibly "enlisted" to service Japanese troops at "comfort stations" throughout the Pacific. The intentional nature of the comparison drawn between institutionalized rape and an act of revenge directed against a particular group is made explicit as, years later, a televised documentary about former comfort women provokes Markova to reveal his own story. He lures television news reporter Loren Legarda to the Golden Gays Rest Home with the promise of an interview with a former comfort woman. Although Legarda is at first angered and dismayed to discover that Markova is the "woman" in question, she nonetheless consents to record his story. The unexpected nature of Markova's tale occasions a series of questions—about, for instance, the history of his cross-dressing habits—that allows the film to trace, albeit episodically, much of Markova's life, from his youthful fascination with movie starlets to his current position as a Golden Gays den mother and trainer of aspiring showgirls.

Markova's reminiscence begins with his childhood. Although many of his schoolmates—particularly a group of giggling young girls—seem to delight in his affectedly feminized behavior, his older brother beats him out of shame and disgust and even pimps him off to a friend. Over the years, Markova and his fellow cross-dressers develop a familial intimacy with one another, but their lives vacillate between persecution and acceptance, despair and triumph. Such patternings find some correlation in the scope of Johnny Araojo's cinematography, which manages to embrace both glittering musical numbers and scenes of political torture, often with barely a breath between the two. The golden-hued, soft focus that marks Markova's childhood memories captures the young Markova's fascination with his own reflection as he tries on his women's clothing and makeup as well as the brutality of his sexual initiation at the hands of his brother's friend. Style thus becomes a marker more of spatial and temporal distance—childhood memories and dreams have a similarly hazy look—than emotional register. Because *Markova* insists upon this dissymmetry between cinematographic style and content, the term "comfort gay" is unhinged from a particular period in Markova's life and takes on a wider political significance, alluding to the treatment of male homosexuals and transvestites in Filipino society throughout the decades.

The fate of the "comfort women" has become an international feminist issue, seemingly inextricably bound to the politics of gender. As a result, the appropriation of the term by Markova's character registers as both provocative and questionable. In particular, *Markova* presents the "comfort gay" as wholly idiosyncratic. Not only does the reporter react with skepticism to Markova's claim of being a comfort woman (never having heard of such a thing before), but the seizure and confinement of Markova and his friends is presented as a form of punishment or revenge. But, as several members of the group are later arrested and tortured for political crimes, the "comfort gay" accrues more association with the social persecution of overt homosexual behavior (as, for instance, by Markova's older brother) than with the problem of rape as a war crime. More abstractly, the juxtaposition of the seemingly joyous but self-consciously mannered world of the theater and the realities of abuse, alienation, self-loathing, and sickness suffered by members of Markova's community finds a certain logic in the oxymoronic term "comfort gay." For as much as this film offers glimpses into Filipino history—ranging from the American military presence to the rise of popular comic acts—it is equally invested in the search for individual gay identity. Hence, in the broadest sense, *Markova: Comfort Gay* is about the problems besetting individuals like Markova as they seek to find a place of comfort in themselves and their communities amidst vast sweeps of personal and national historical change.

At the same time, as with the term "comfort gay," *Markova* leaves other issues and questions unresolved. That, for instance, Markova's brother can both despise him and knowingly hand him over to a male friend suggests a complex relationship between sexual acts, sexualized and gendered behavior, and sexed and sexual identities. Markova's mother's seeming acceptance of her son's cross-dressing only compounds this sense, but the film offers no further commentary on the matter. The same could be said for the tradition of transvestite performance in Filipino society, which appears at times wholly naturalized, but which also clearly provides a mechanism for identifying "political dissidents" during times of unrest.

While *Markova* refuses to take definitive stances on any such issues, it does effectively negotiate disparate styles and subject material while exhibiting a broad, if not dizzying, emotional range. Director Portes noted that many women reacted with "strong interest and sympathy" when the film was screened at the Pusan International Festival in Korea (*"http://ca.geocities-.com/qphs68/spotlight/gilmportes.html"*). Closer to home, not only did Jeffrey Quizon win Best Supporting Actor at the Gawad Urian Awards in the Philippines, but Dolphy and the film's music were nominated in their respective categories. Thus, although Portes's work remains virtually unknown in much of the world, the particular successes earned by *Markova: Comfort Gay* give hope that provocative questions, posed in unexpected ways, can find a welcome and sympathetic audience despite Hollywood's dominance of the international film market.

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BLACK HAWK DOWN. Produced by Jerry Bruckheimer and Ridley Scott; directed by Ridley Scott; screenplay by Ken Nolan. 2001; color; 144 minutes. Distributed by Sony Pictures.

Still irate about what Jerry Bruckheimer and friends had done to the history of the Asian-Pacific War in *Pearl Harbor* (2001), I approached this film skeptically, although I knew Ridley Scott was the director and I had read Mark Bowden's excellent book upon which it is based. But *Black Hawk Down* is the most intense and graphic war film I have yet seen—it won the Academy Award for sound, as well as editing—and my initial reaction was that this amounted to a "docudrama" portraying American soldiers' heroism and sacrifices as accurately and honestly as possible. But was this action without deeper ethos? Does Scott offer, finally, spectacle over substance?

Then, as after *Gladiator* (2000), images and moments began returning. U.S. soldiers refer to the malnourished Somalis as "skinnies" while eating colorful, luscious heaps of food from their mess trays in their insulated American enclave. Their young faces earnestly accept the confident orders of General Garrison—well played by Sam Shepard—for a quick, "surgical" strike downtown to capture aides of the tribal strongman Aidid. They gird themselves for battle with individual weapons rivaling World War II tank armaments. They mount helicopters and wheeled vehicles, which roar out of base, seemingly invincible.

But we also see immediate resistance to the outsiders' forces. With cell phones, Somali children simply and quickly warn of the incoming raid. Weapons are handed out to local militia. Roadblocks are erected and tires burn, obstructing American forces' mobility and vision. Garrison fumes at not having heavier weapons for support. As soon as American forces have taken their objective, things begin to go wrong. An accidental injury causes delay, which enables Somali counterfire, inflicting more casualties. Supporting Black Hawk helicopters become targets and victims themselves, requiring rescuers who in turn are attacked and surrounded at the crash sites. Still more young Americans are sucked into this vortex of carnage by fate and their loyalty to their friends, trapped by their determination to "leave no man behind." From his high-tech vantage point, Garrison can see exactly what is happening, even as he loses initiative and control.

The film shifts into an unstoppable blur of combat action punctuated by disturbing scenes. U.S. forces blast away "skinnies," like the troops in *Starship Troopers* (1997) obliterating "bugs," but more appear, endlessly. (In his book, Bowden mentioned how the battle seemed unreal—like a movie—to many of the U.S. soldiers, who had just seen Michael Mann's masterpiece of tribal warfare, *The Last of the Mohicans* [1992].) Meanwhile, the film gives the Somalians human faces too. A young mother protectively embraces her many children as an American passes through her home. Stricken by grief and remorse, a boy gunman throws down his weapon and runs screaming and crying to his father, whom he has mistakenly and mortally shot.

Out of the chaos, moments of truth arise. Delta Force snipers Gordon and Shughart insist on being landed in the face of an oncoming mob, in a self-oblivious attempt to defend the pinned pilot Durant. They fight and kill superhumanly only to die nonetheless, overwhelmed by the Somalis' sheer numbers and irrational courage. (It was Gordon's body that was later mockingly dragged around the city, Hector-like.) It is instead a militia leader who saves Durant's life, merely by invoking Aidid's name. An Army Ranger does not want to go back into the city but, honor-bound, subdues his fear and reboards a returning vehicle. After helping in a desperate, gruesome attempt to clamp a femoral artery of one of his men, the main character—Sergeant Eversmann, understatedly played by Josh Hartnett—can only watch helplessly as the man dies. Although much of the bloodiness of battle is conveyed in such scenes, the extent of the brutality was softened in the film. Wall-piercing heavy machine guns were used by both sides, for example, and it is believed that many more women and children perished than the one woman we see in the film who is killed when she raises her rifle.

Black Hawk Down is not a "horde of savages" movie like *Zulu* or *Dark of the Sun*. It certainly is a tribute to the courage and devotion of America's professional soldiers, and it and the book guarantee that the truth and lessons of their ordeal will not be forgotten. Both the Department of Defense's Office of Public Affairs and Bowden praise the film for its authenticity and fidelity to its fact. But the film also raises and leaves disturbing uncertainties about why this tragedy happened and how it could happen again, unless there is a change in Americans' attitudes about themselves and their relation to others in the world. Eversmann is jeered by his friends for respecting the Somalis as people. And as Garrison finally gets Pakistani U.N. help in rescuing his men, we are reminded that it was U.S. unilateral action—and perhaps arrogance—that triggered the tradegy.

Somalia was a mini-Vietam, in that we overestimated the advantages of technology and power, underestimated the pride and defiance of indigenous forces, and proved irresolute in our laudable intentions. Despite such aberrations, much of the world still looks to the U.S. for leadership—for us to do the right thing. But to know what the right thing to do is, Americans must have an accurate, truthful understanding of what has happened, the lessons of the past, and the questions that remain. As journalist Frank Reynolds once exhorted, we must "Get it right!" For this piece of history, Hollywood has managed to do so.

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Collected Essays

These volumes, recently received in the *AHR* office, do not lend themselves readily to unified reviews; the contents are therefore listed.

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

To the Editor:

In the June 2002 issue of the *AHR* [p. 970], Padraic Kenney erroneously calls Jan Błoński a theologian. In fact, Błoński is a professor of Polish philology and literature at the Jagiellonian University in Kraków.

Piotr S. Wandycz
Yale University

Padraic Kenney replies:

I am grateful to Piotr Wandycz for correcting my mistake.

Padraic Kenney
University of Colorado

To the Editor:

Jacqui Sadashige's review of *Atanarjuat the Fast Runner* [*AHR* 107 (June 2002): 1019–20] displays unfamiliarity with the geographical area and cultural traditions that are subjects of the film. Igloolik and Nunavut are not "two native communities": Igloolik is a hamlet within gigantic Nunavut, the new Canadian territory created in 1999 from the old Northwest Territories. Nunavut encompasses nearly 1.2 million square miles (twenty-five times the size of the reviewer's Pennsylvania) and about one-fifth of all Canada, including most of the Arctic islands and the geographical center of the country. Even though the total population is less than 30,000 (85 percent Inuit), Nunavut is far more than a "community" to the Inuit, who have finally gained a substantial degree of self-government within their own huge Canadian territory. An example of unfamiliarity with the culture depicted in the film is the reviewer's implication that, in portraying traditions that have sustained the world's most hardy people for centuries, director Zacharias Kunuk did not yield to the Qallunaaq urge to impose current gender views upon his simple but profoundly successful effort to portray history as it was, rather than as the reviewer wishes it had been. If the director had wanted to color his story with his personal political views, he could have noted in the film the fact that in 1999 the citizens of Nunavut came within a few votes of establishing the first government in the world requiring one male and one female delegate from each of its legislative districts. Instead, by letting the past speak for itself, Kunuk, an Inuk born in an aboriginal camp and self-educated without exposure to the doctrine of political correctness, emerges as the true historian.

H. G. Jones
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

To the Editor:

In his letter regarding my review of *Atanarjuat*, H. G. Jones voices two particular objections. In the first, he takes issue with my reference to Igloolik and Nunavat as "two native communities." Jones's objection surely stems, in part, from the vagueness of the term "community," which comprises a broad range of meaning. Nonetheless, Igloolik Isuma Productions, Inc. repeatedly refer to Igloolik as a "community" throughout their web pages and press releases. Furthermore, not only does the Government of Nunavut invoke the term "community" in reference to the territory, but, in the passage that I quote from the Isuma web site, Igloolik and Nunavat are grouped in a grammatical construction ("Igloolik and Nunavut") that suggests an equivalence of sense. Thus my qualification of "Igloolik and Nunavat" arises from my attempt to attend to the language and the self-representation of the production company.

Regarding the second objection to my review: Jones suggests that I would prefer it had director Zacharias

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Kunuk manipulated traditional gender relations to reflect current sensibilities. Such an opinion is nowhere evident in my review. At no point do I deny the fact that gender and its articulation are culturally and historically contingent, nor do I advocate a "politically correct" revision of the past. I do, however, note that the obvious lack of a *documentarian's* gaze or voice in *Atanarjuat* creates a point of view that is only *seemingly* detached and objective.

What my discussion of gender does address, then, is the film's complicity with what it represents. It is one thing to reconstruct a narrative in which male characters sexualize and objectify a female character; it is quite another matter when the camera's gaze invites the audience to participate in that process. Thus I raised concerns about the film's use of nudity with respect to its male and female actors. Scholars working in the areas of travel writing and photography and documentary filmmaking have posed similar questions about perspective and representation, and thus my concerns are in no way unprecedented nor voiced in the interest of pursuing a personal agenda.

JACQUI SADASHIGE
University of Pennsylvania

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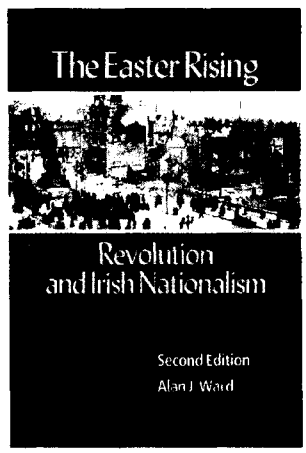
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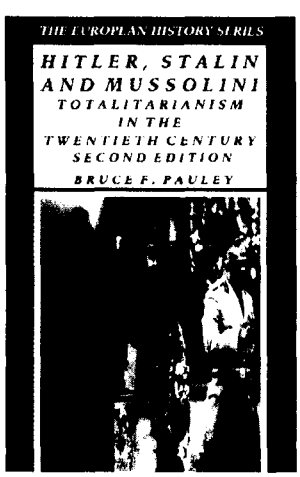
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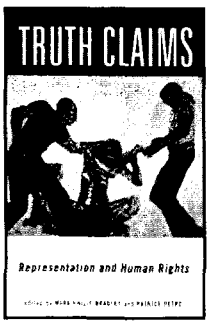
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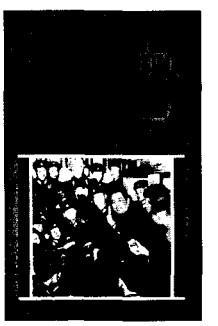
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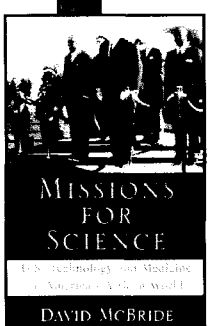


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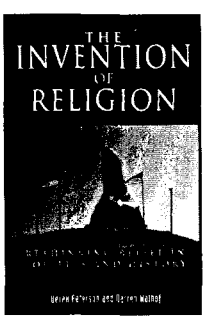
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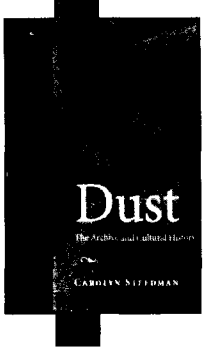


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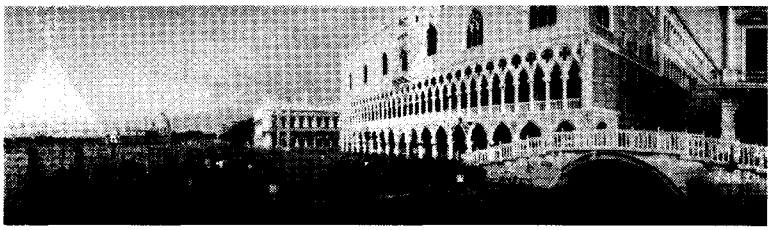
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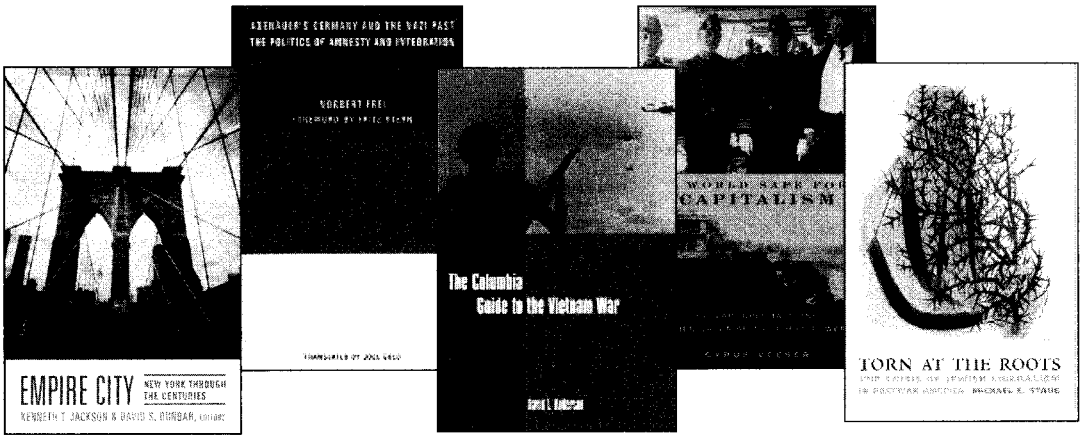
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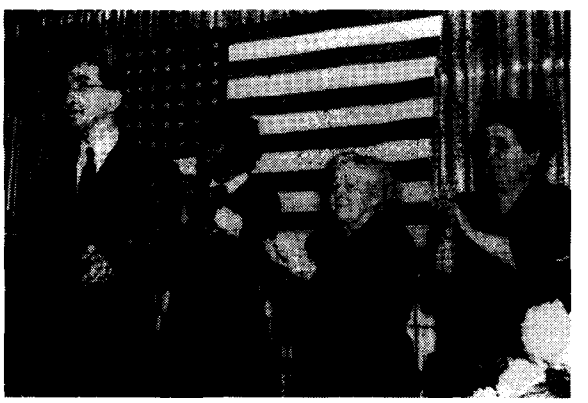
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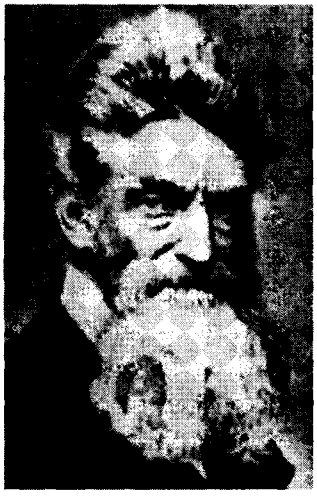
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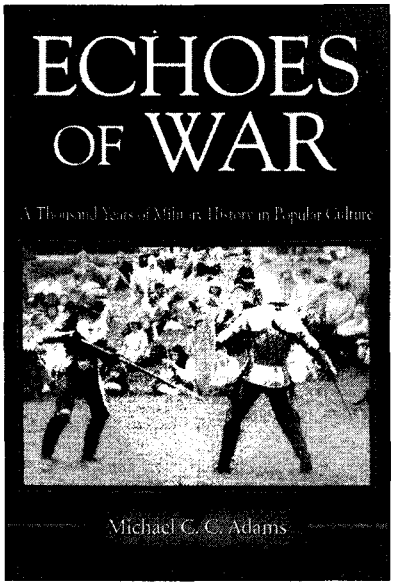
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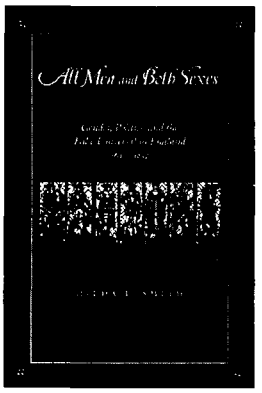
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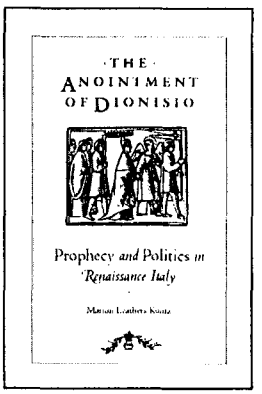
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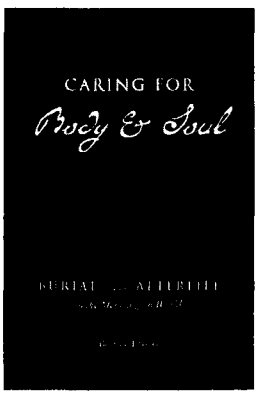
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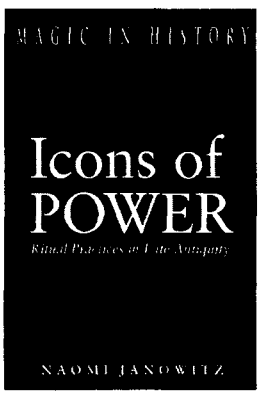
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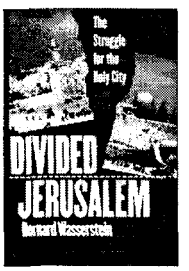
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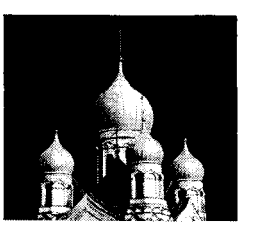
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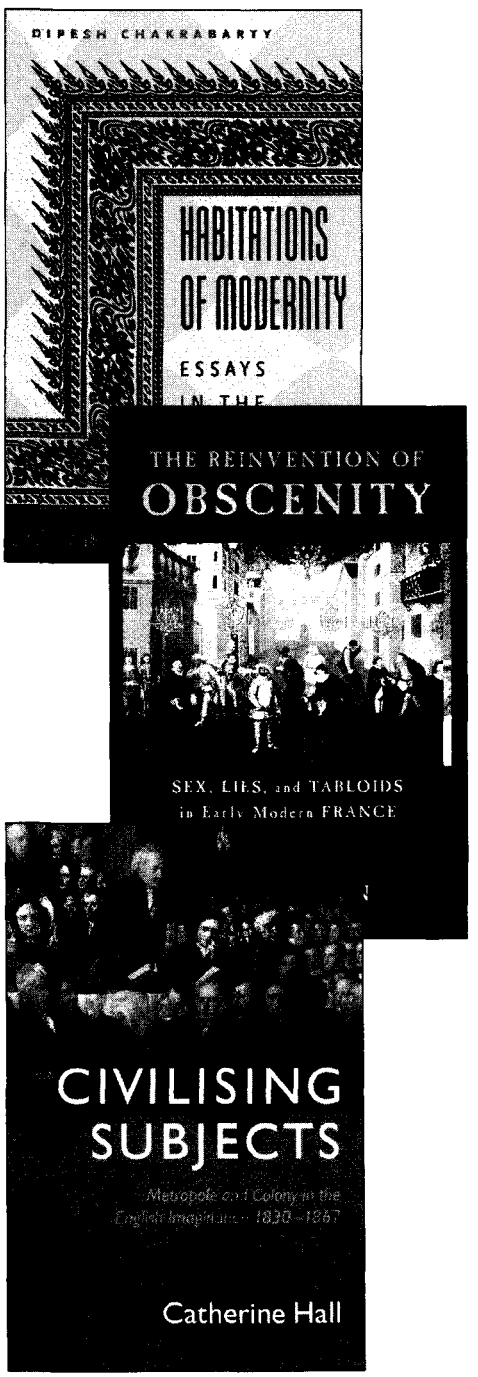
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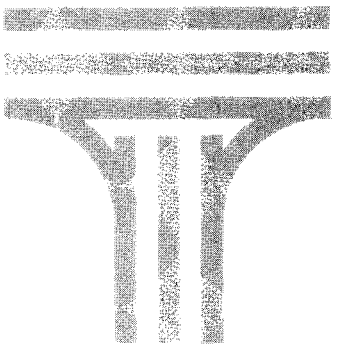
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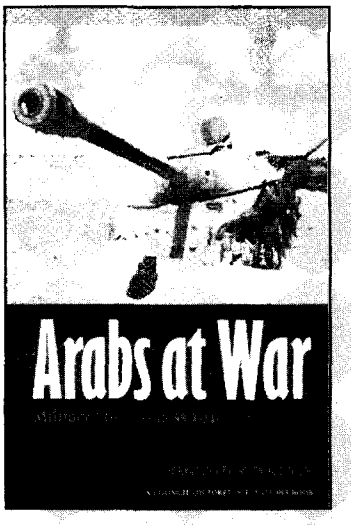
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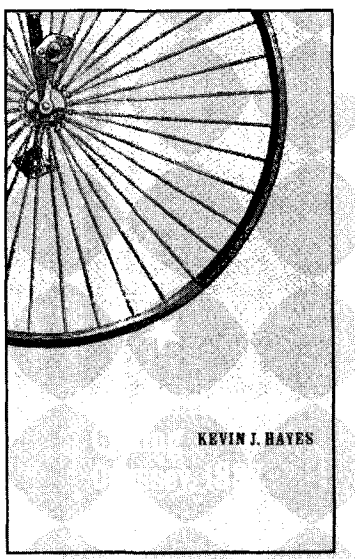
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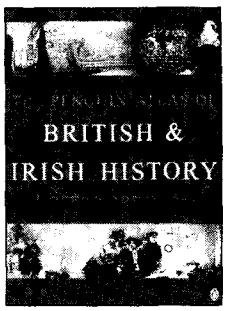
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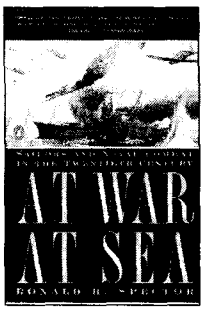
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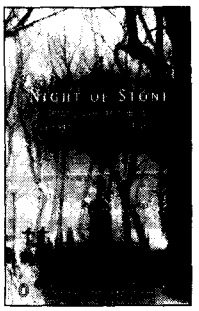


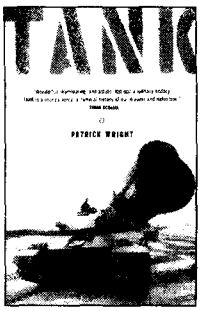
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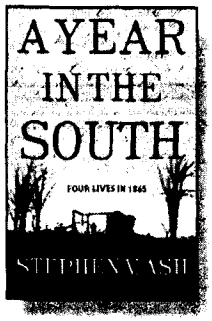
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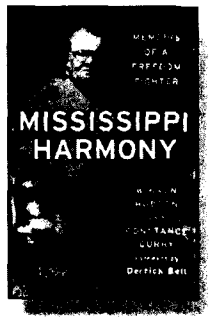


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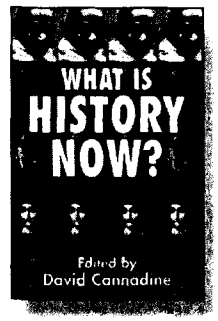
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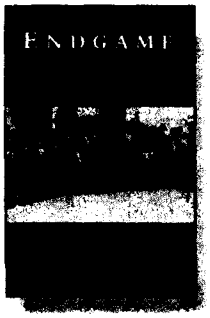
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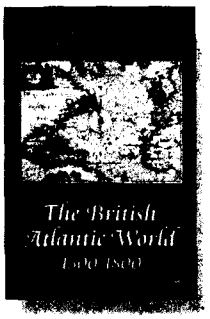
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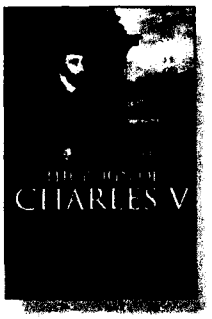
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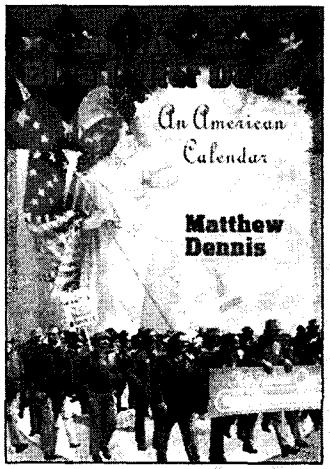
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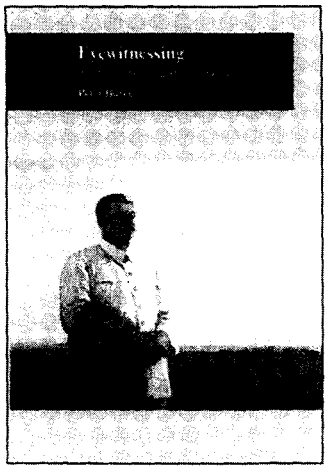
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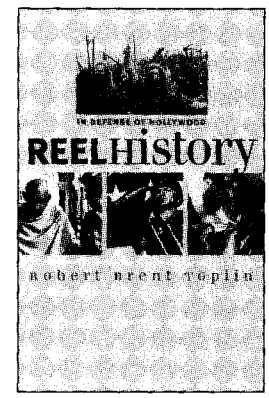
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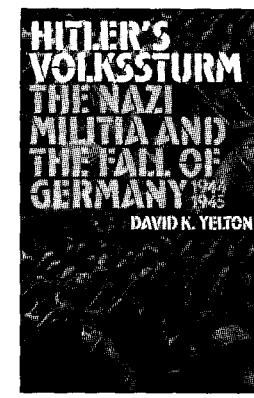
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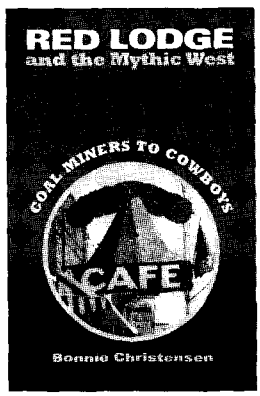
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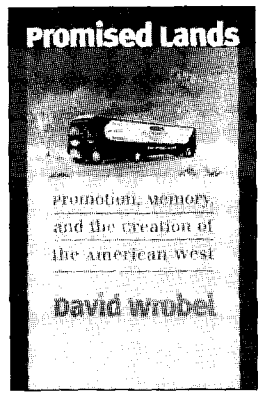
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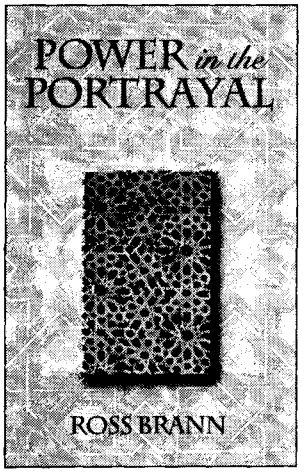
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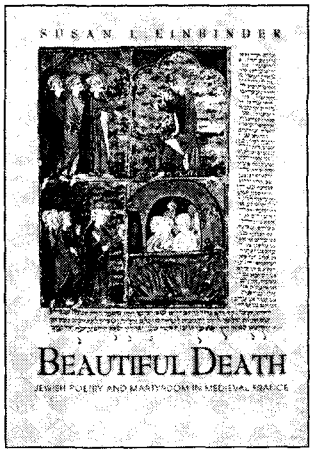
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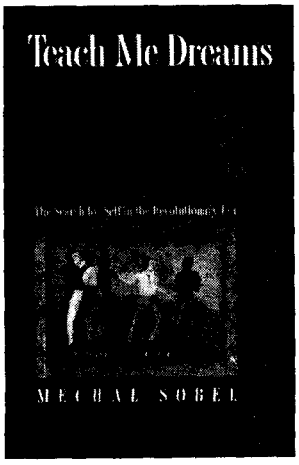


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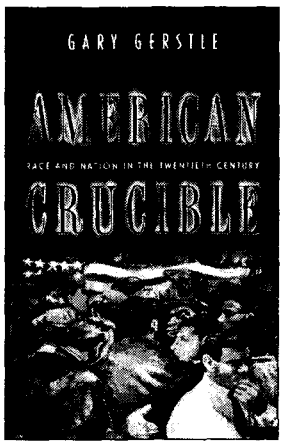
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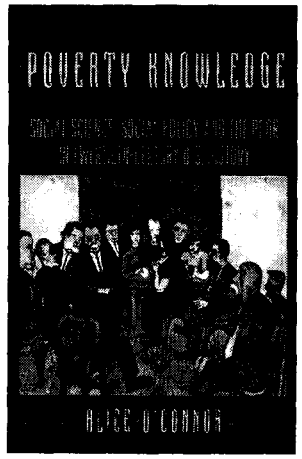
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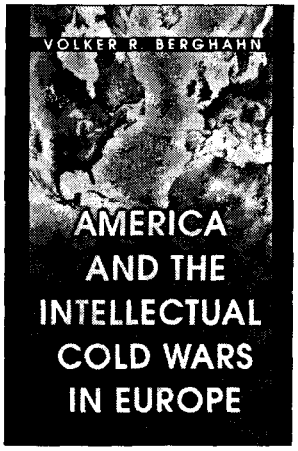
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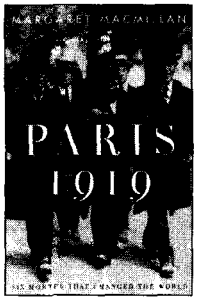
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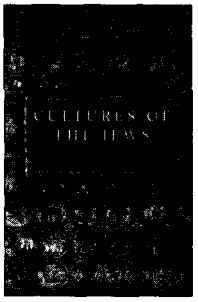
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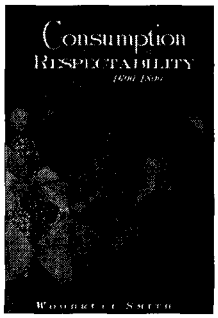
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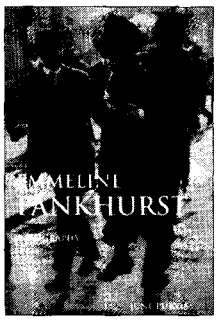
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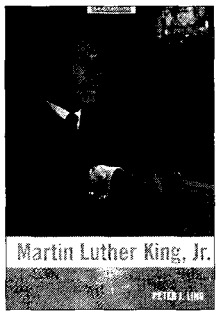


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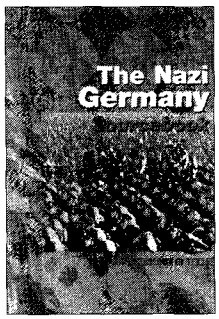
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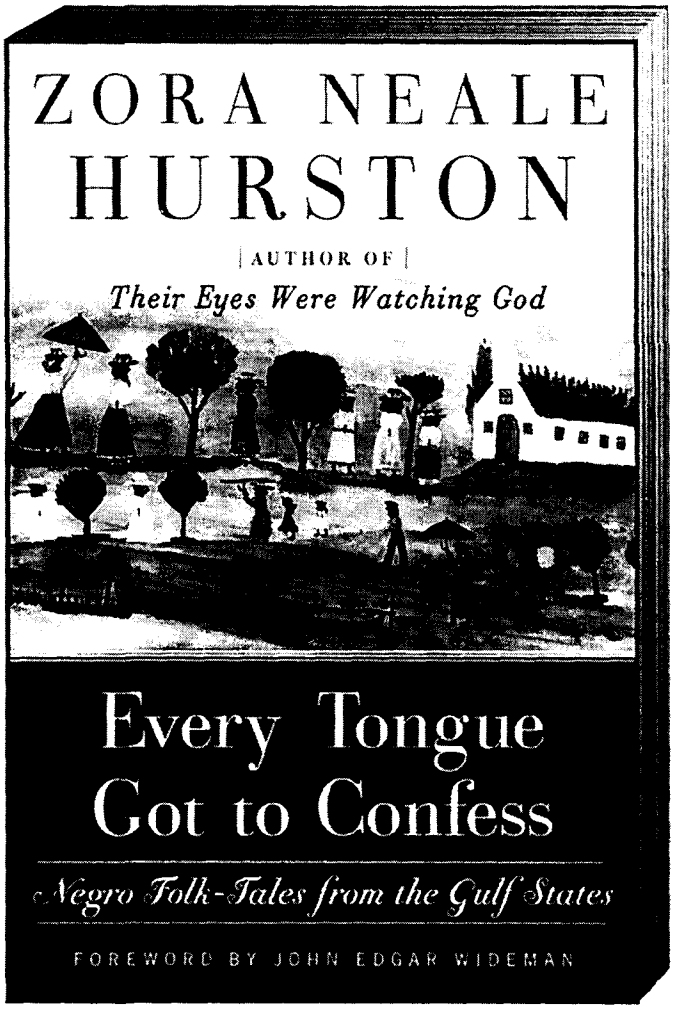
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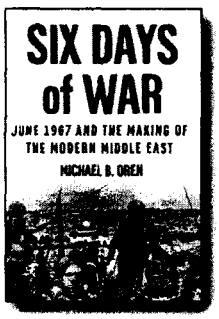
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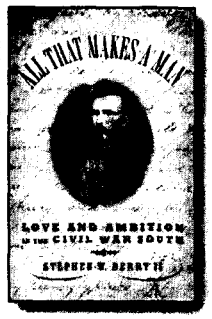
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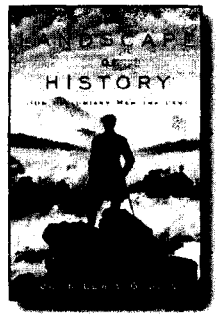
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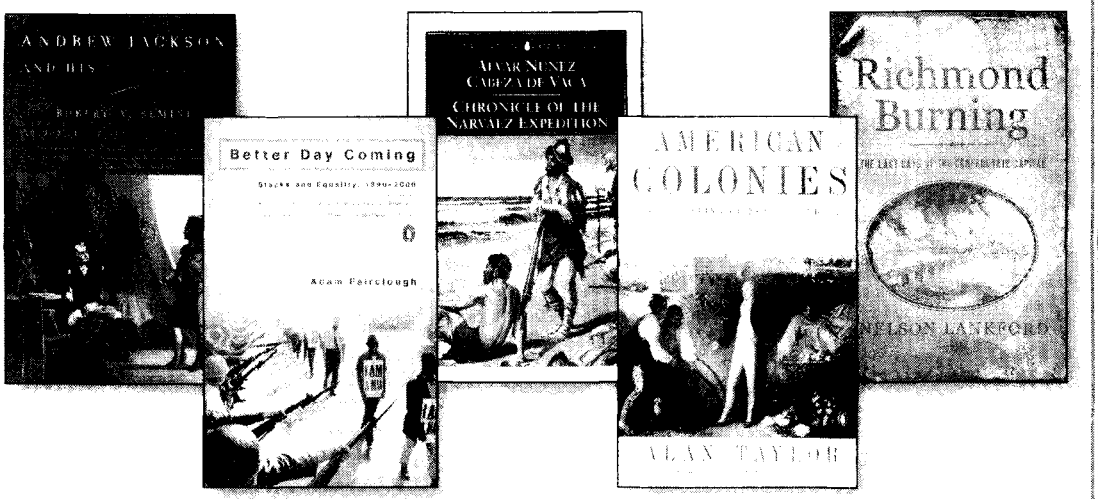
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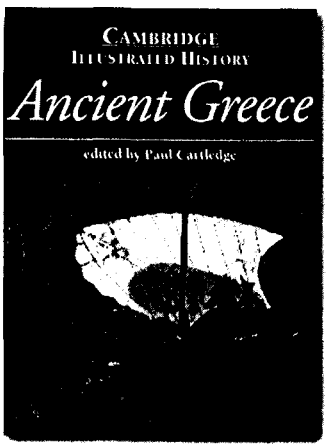
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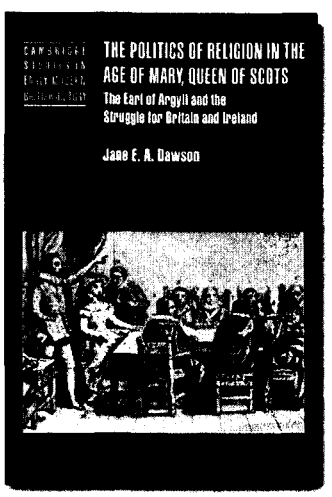
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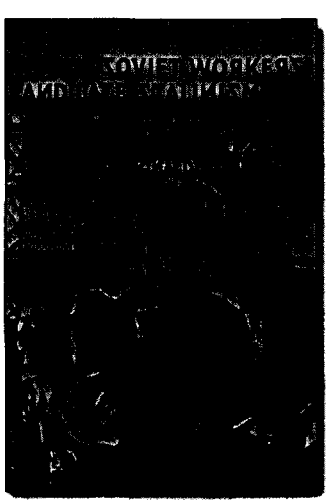
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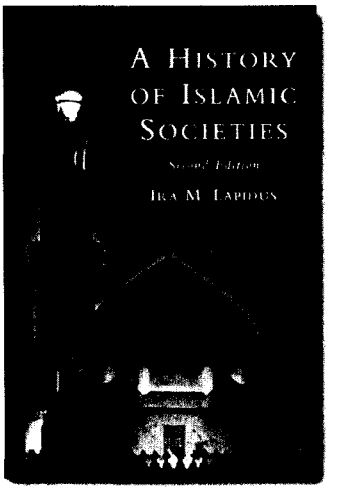
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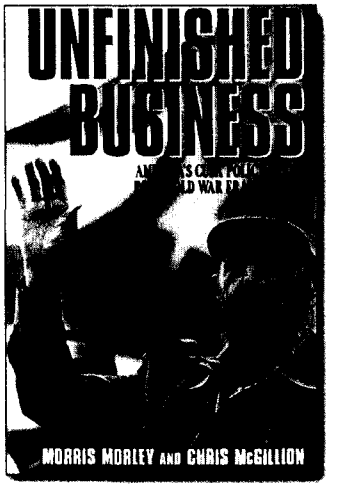
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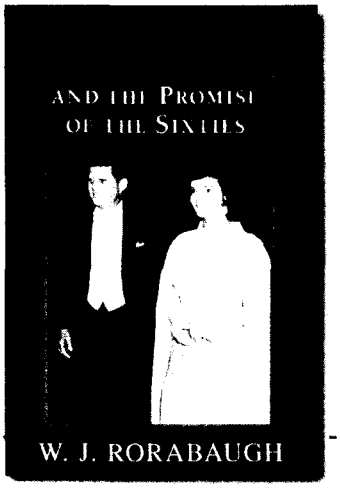
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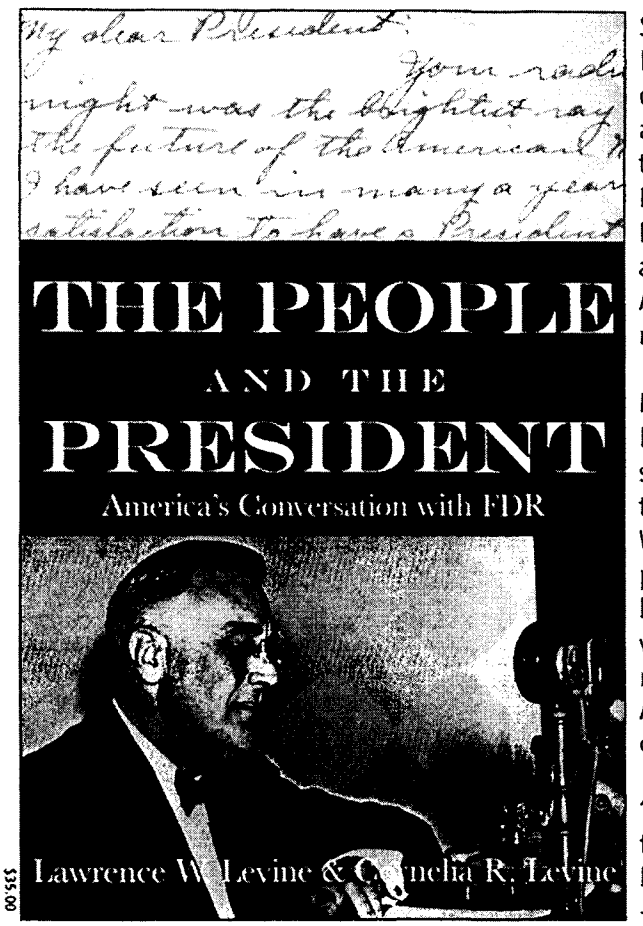
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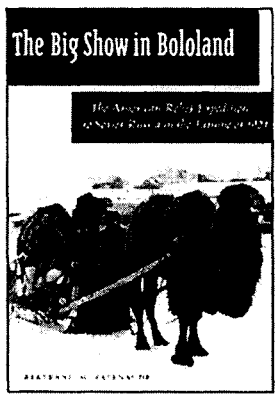
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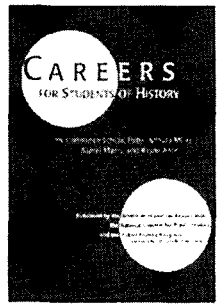
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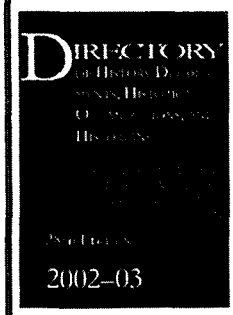
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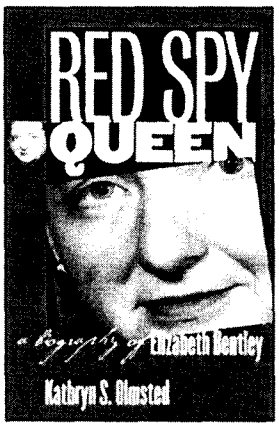
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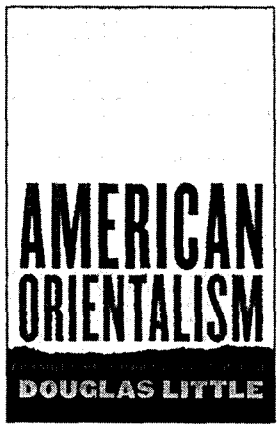
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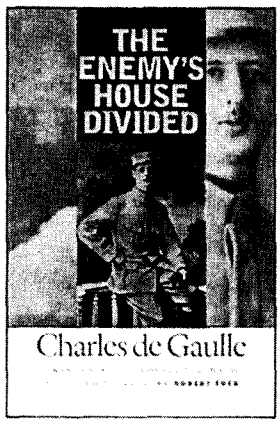
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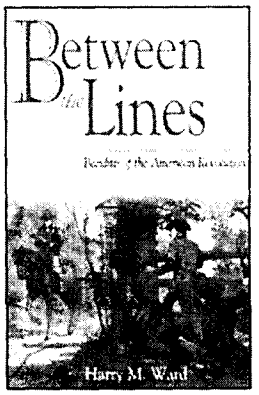
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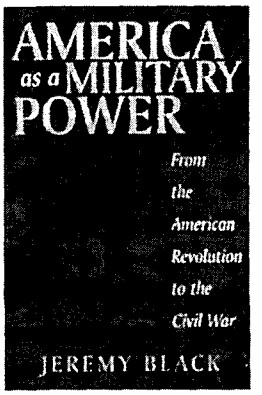
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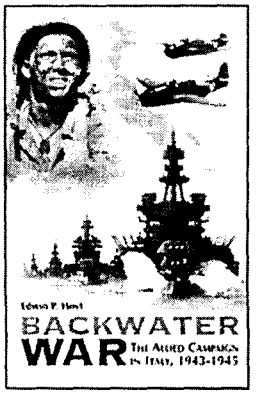
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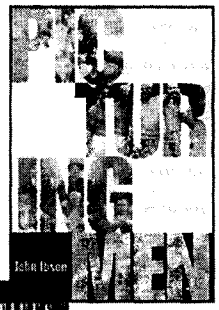
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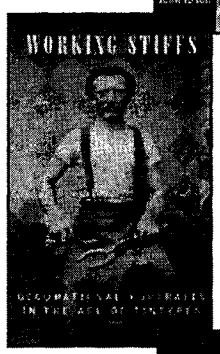
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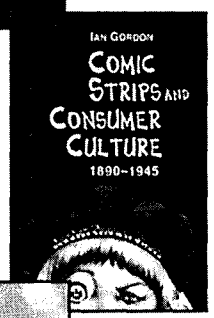


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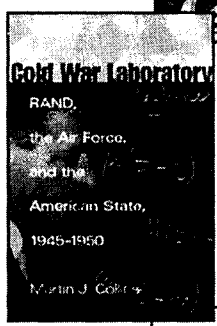
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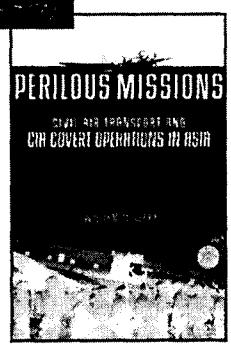
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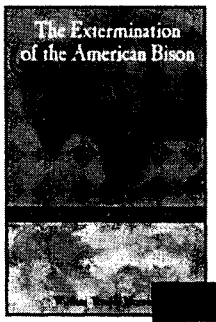
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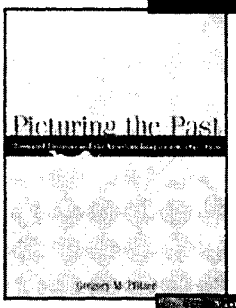


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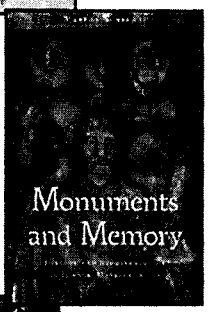


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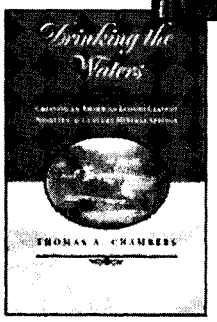


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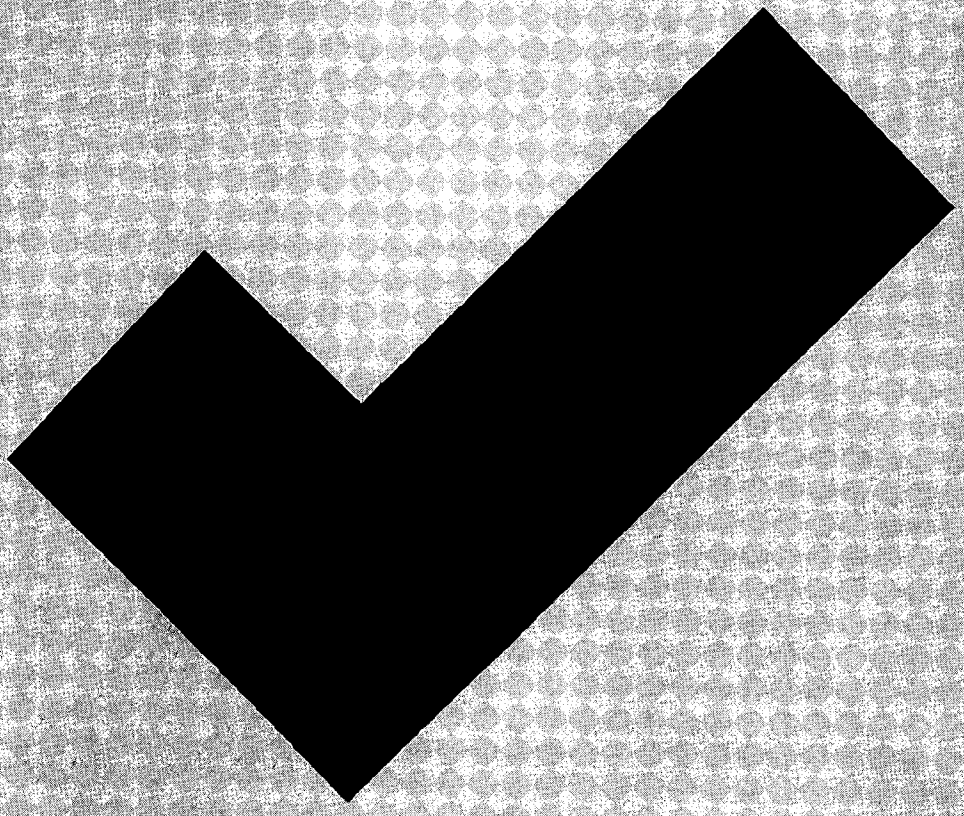
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REMINDER!

Ballots for the *2002 Election* have been mailed to members.



❄ Please return your completed ballot to the AHA by

November 1, 2002

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12th NANCY LYMAN ROELKER MENTORSHIP AWARD

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

CALLS FOR NOMINATIONS

for the Nancy Lyman Roelker Award

ABOUT THE AWARD

This award was established to honor teachers of history who taught, guided, and inspired their students in a way that changed their lives. Mentoring is as important to the discipline of history as fine scholarship and good teaching. The ideal mentor is forthright, supportive, and constructively critical, committed to the student as a person, regardless of age or career goals.

While it is difficult to formulate a precise definition of a multifaceted process, there are some essential elements:

- belief in the value of the study of history and commitment to and love of teaching it to students regardless of age or career goals;
- consistent personal commitment by the mentor to the student as a person;
- honesty and integrity of the mentor; and
- the mentor's contribution to the process of mentoring as a one-to-one partnership in learning that is comfortable to both, that is likely to endure and develop beyond the initial context as each learns from, gives to, and shares with the other, enriching both professional and personal lives.

The Nancy Lyman Roelker Mentorship Award is given on a three-year cycle: graduate mentors (including combined graduate and undergraduate teaching); undergraduate mentor (both two- and four-year colleges); and secondary school teachers.

THE 2003 AWARD IS FOR GRADUATE MENTORS AND CARRIES A CASH AWARD.

APPLICATION PROCESS

Nominations should include:

1. A completed **cover sheet and check list.**
2. A **minimum of five letters supporting the nomination.** These letters can be from students, former students, parents, colleagues, and others. There is no set proportion or formula on the "right" mix of letters. Individuals organizing nominations should solicit a cross selection as appropriate to address the essential elements noted above. *Preferred maximum length of letters is two pages.*
3. The nominee's **vita** highlighting educational experience and student mentoring (publications and professional activities should be summarized in no more than 2 pages). *Preferred maximum length of c.v. is five pages.*

***Mail to*: Roelker Mentorship Award,**
AHA, 400 A Street S.E.,
Washington, D.C. 20003

The award will be announced at the January 2004 Annual Meeting.

Cover sheet and checklist, all letters supporting the nomination, and vita must be postmarked *no later than* March 31, 2003.

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Dates and Deadlines

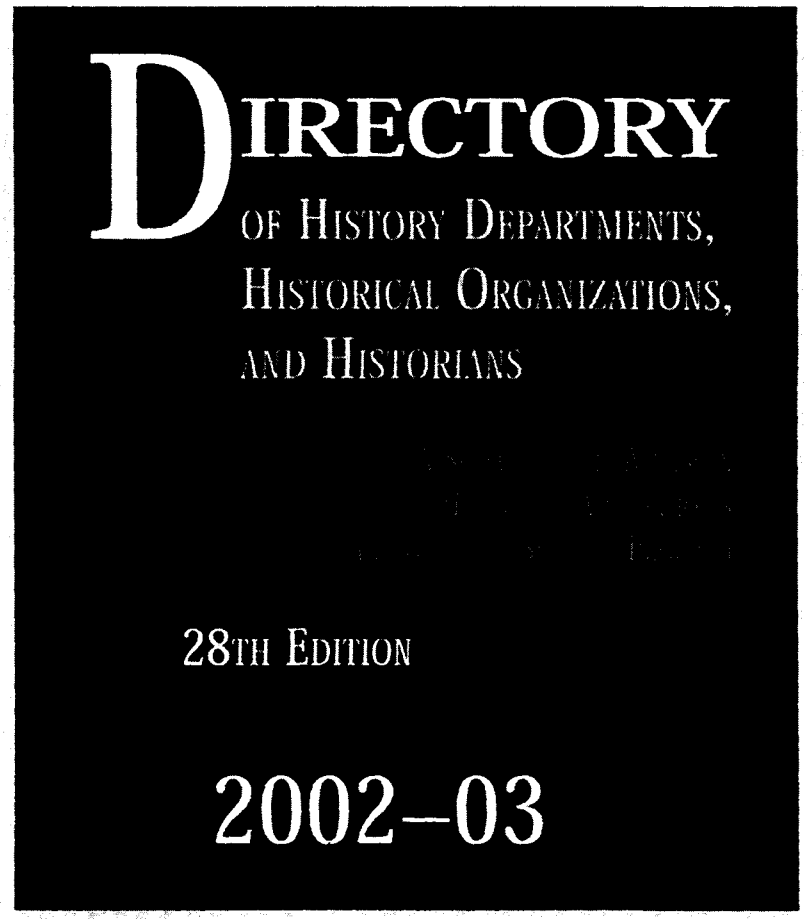
September 3:	Housing and registration opened. Processing of preregistration began.
September 25:	Dues paid and address changes registered with the Membership Department in order to receive a copy of the Annual Meeting *Program.*
October 16:	Program mailed to members.
October 16:	Job Register reservation forms are posted to the AHA web site for downloading by institutions that will be interviewing in Chicago. Suites and tables are available on a first-come, first-served basis.
November 15:	Final deadline for reserving a table or suite for the Job Register.
December 4:	AHA preregistration closes; after this date, attendees must register on-site.
December 6:	Job Register suite and table confirmations e-mailed or faxed to institutions.
December 8:	Housing cutoff date. Reservations taken on a space-available basis; availability of convention rates will vary from hotel to hotel.
December 20:	Deadline to receive preregistration refund.
January 2:	2003 Annual Meeting opens at 12 p.m., at the Hilton Chicago and Palmer House Hilton hotels.

Log onto **http://www.theaha.org** to find all information and forms pertaining to Preregistration, Housing, and the Job Register, and the online version of the Annual Meeting *Program*

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Nominations are invited
for the

2003 JOHN E. O'CONNOR *film award*

The AHA annually offers the John E. O'Connor Film Award to recognize outstanding interpretations of history through the medium of film or video. The award honors Professor O'Connor's exceptional role as a pioneer in teaching and researching film and history.

The honorific award will be offered for the 11th time in 2003 and will be announced at the 2004 annual meeting in Washington, D.C. Key elements to be considered by the committee are stimulation of thought, imaginative use of the media, effective presentation of information and ideas, sensitivity to modern scholarship, and accuracy.

The committee will receive nominations from filmmakers, historians, and others. Eligibility will be restricted to films and videos completed between June 1, 2002, and May 31, 2003. Laserdiscs, slides, and related teaching materials will not be eligible for consideration. The nomination deadline for the 2003 award is **June 2, 2003**. For guidelines and submission information, please visit:

http://www.theaha.org/prizes

Deadline June 2, 2003

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The 2003-2004 Fellowship in Aerospace History

Supported by the National Aeronautics & Space Administration (NASA)

The American Historical Association will annually fund at least one Fellow, for one academic year, to undertake a research project related to aerospace history. It will provide a Fellow with an opportunity to engage in significant and sustained advanced research in all aspects of the history of aerospace from the earliest human interest in flight to the present, including cultural and intellectual history, economic history, history of law and public policy, and the history of science, engineering, and management. A list of past fellowship research is now available.

Eligibility: Applicants must possess a doctorate degree in history or in a closely related field, or be enrolled as a student (having completed all coursework) in a doctoral degree-granting program.

Term And Residency: The Fellowship term is for a period of at least six months, but not more than one year. The Fellow will be expected to devote the term entirely to the proposed research project. The Fellow will have (and be encouraged to take advantage of) the opportunity to use the documentary resources of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, and may also spend the Fellowship in residence at the NASA headquarters or one of the NASA centers.

Other Requirements: The applicant must complete an application form and offer a specific and detailed research proposal that will be the basis of the Fellow's research during the term. At the term's conclusion, the Fellow will be expected to write a report, and to present a paper or a public lecture on the Fellowship experience.

Stipend: The stipend is $20,000 for a 6 to 9 month fellowship. This amount is adjustable to the length of the fellowship term. Funds may not be used to support tuition or fees. A Fellow may not hold other major fellowships or grants during the fellowship term, except sabbatical and supplemental grants from their own institutions, and small grants from other sources for specific research expenses. Sources of anticipated support must be listed in the application form.

Deadline, Submission Information, and Notification: Applications and letters of recommendation must be postmarked by **March 1, 2003.**

Submit to:Fellowship in Aerospace History, American Historical Association, 400 A Street, SE, Washington, DC 20003-3889

Notification: Names of the winner and alternate will be announced in **May 2003.**

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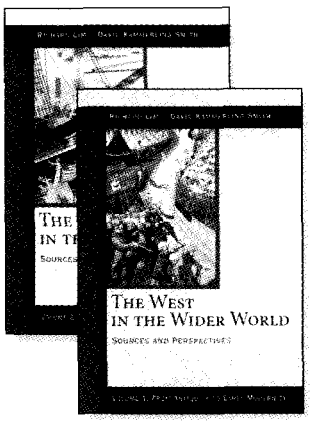
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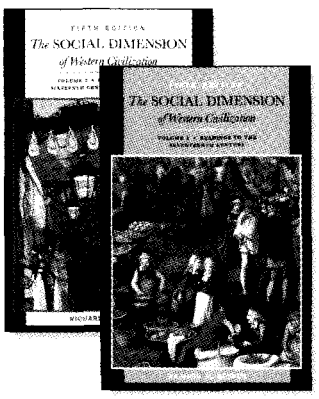


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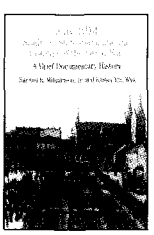
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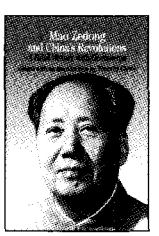
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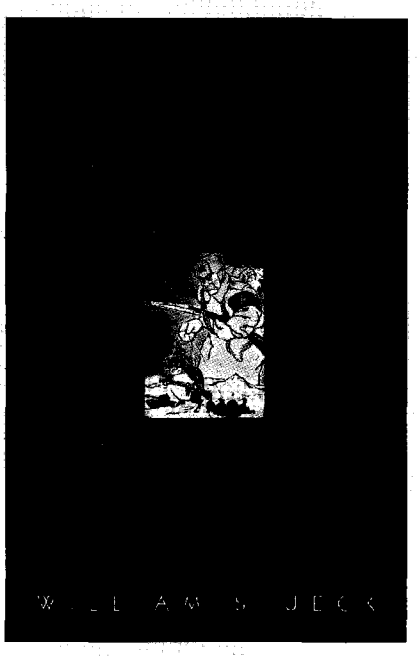
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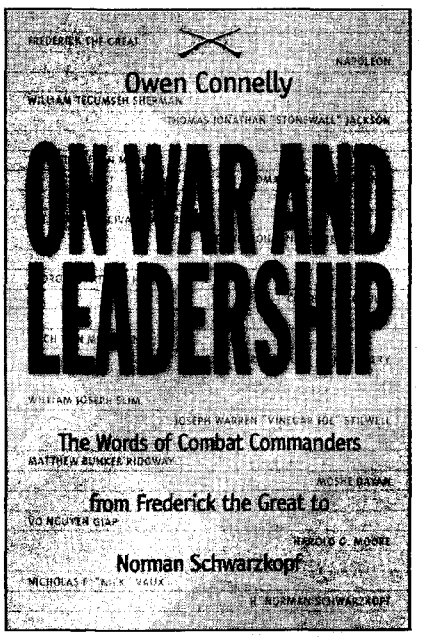
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